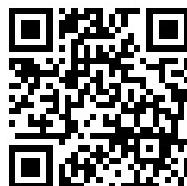


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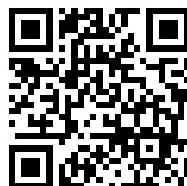


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# **Studies in Philology**

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# Studies in Philology

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## THE ROMANTICISM OF WILLIAM COLLINS

BY ALAN D. MCKILLOP

By common consent William Collins is reckoned among those writers who prepared the way for the full romantic revival, and yet it requires some care to reach a precise estimate of his work and to calculate its trend. In the middle decades of the eighteenth century a thousand roads led men from the neo-classical temple of taste and wit, and we find Collins, like many others, making his way along these various paths. When he inscribes to John Home *An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland*, we know where to have him; it is clear whence the poem derives and whither it tends. Professor Beers has pointed out in the work of Collins's friend James Thomson the very passages that gave the starting point for the ode,<sup>1</sup> and, as an investigator of the origins of romanticism, finds it the most interesting of Collins's poems;<sup>2</sup> James Russell Lowell long ago remarked that it contained the whole romantic school in the germ.<sup>3</sup> And yet, splendid as this poem is, it lacks the prestige it would have won had it been published when it was written, more than ten years before James Macpherson came forth with Ossian. By 1789 Collins's Celtic notes could not get all the esteem that was being lavished on the "big bow-wow" of Macpherson. Are there other elements in Collins which have a direct connection with the eighteenth century revolt? His best and most famous piece of work, the *Ode to Evening*, hardly helps us to answer this question. In this almost

<sup>1</sup> *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1906), 94, 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Prose Works* (Boston, n. d.), iv, 3.

perfect poem there is nothing fragmentary, ecstatic, or malcontent. It opens a perspective of nature in which the meditative soul can dwell at ease and reconciled. But if we read through at a sitting the slender collection of Collins's verse, we find that these two poems, for the reasons indicated, together with some short pieces of exquisitely simple and mellow quality, such as the *Ode Written in the Beginning of the Year 1746* and the *Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson*, stand somewhat apart from the rest of his work. Must the remaining poems be put into the lumber-room of neoclassicism, or do they offer something to the critic who is looking for romantic impulses in the middle of the eighteenth century?

In Collins's own time his unfortunate life tinged his personality and his work with adventitious romance; and a little more explicitness in biography or tradition, a little more elaboration of a legend, might have put him on the beadroll of romantic martyrs along with Chatterton. Goldsmith struck the key thus: "The neglected author of the Persian Eclogues, which, however inaccurate, excel any in our language, is still alive: happy, if *insensible* of our neglect, not *raging* at our ingratitude."<sup>4</sup> These words, written in 1759, were anticipated by John Gilbert Cooper, who in his *Letters concerning Taste* referred the reader to "a Collection of Odes published a few Years ago by Mr. WILLIAM COLLINS, whose neglected Genius will hereafter be both an Honour and a Disgrace to our Nation."<sup>5</sup> Years later John Scott of Amwell wrote:

Alive neglected, and when dead forgot,  
Even COLLINS slumbers in a grave unknown.<sup>6</sup>

To the end of the century the poet was in the opinion of many readers "the admirable and . . . much injured Collins."<sup>7</sup> Professor Bronson has proved that Collins was not really neglected in

<sup>4</sup> *Works* (London, 1908), III, 508.

<sup>5</sup> Third edition (London, 1757), 47. First edition, 1754. H. O. White, "William Collins and his Contemporary Critics," *Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 5, 1922, suggests that Goldsmith may have taken his cue from Cooper.

<sup>6</sup> "Stanzas written at Medhurst in Sussex, after attempting in vain to find the Burial Place of Collins, the Poet, which is said to be at Chichester." *Universal Magazine*, LXXIII (1783), 278.

<sup>7</sup> William Preston, "Thoughts on Lyric Poetry," *European Magazine*, XIV (1788), 174.

the generation following his death,<sup>8</sup> but it must be said that there has always been a touch of the esoteric about his reputation. The situation is well summarized in *A Dialogue in the Shades between Churchill and Collins*, published in the *European Magazine* in 1793.<sup>9</sup>

"Collins: Where so fast, *Charles!* You might at least congratulate me on the honour the world has lately done my memory, and felicitate me upon obtaining that fame which an insensible nation would not give me while living. . . . Churchill: Your fair fame has been long established among those whom it is alone flattering to be beloved by. Your elegant Verses have always charmed, and always will, all true Poets, and all men of fine taste and delicacy of sentiment."

The early criticisms of Collins develop a kind of double tradition: the unfortunate poet is presented on the one hand as the feeble victim of extreme sensibility, and on the other as one swept away by the strength of his imagination. The first aspect may be illustrated by these lackadaisical lines:

Poor Collins sung, but Nature could not bear—  
The wild bard fainted in his sister's arms,  
He sigh'd and died—pale Fancy dropt a tear  
To see her son o'erpowered by her charms.<sup>10</sup>

And the second by the following passage from a set of *Verses on some late English Poets*:

O COLLINS! nobly warm and wild,  
Fair Fancy's best beloved child!  
What mad ambitious thoughts could fire  
Thy mind to seize Apollo's lyre?  
Didst thou not find those hands of thine  
Too rough to touch the chords divine?<sup>11</sup>

Or both aspects may be combined, as in an ode *To the Lyric Muse* published in the same year as Langhorne's edition of Collins:

If e'er to modern days  
Descend thy genuine lays,

<sup>8</sup> Athenaeum Press *Collins* (Boston, n. d.) xxx-xxxix. For important additional references see H. O. White, *loc. cit.* Still other early tributes to Collins are cited and discussed below.

<sup>9</sup> By Thomas Clio Rickman. *European Magazine*, xxiv, 345.

<sup>10</sup> *Scots Magazine*, xxviii (1766), 544.

<sup>11</sup> *Scots Magazine*, xxxv (1773), 486.

Thee *Collins*, hapless *Collins* did possess:  
 Curdles my blood in every vein,  
 Fear, with all his ghastly train,  
 Danger with his giant stride,  
 Murder fell, and Ruin wide,  
 On my thick-beating heart tumultuous press—  
 That Pity with her dewy lighted eyes,  
 Curs'd be the wretch his memory who denies,  
 Which erst he bade in numbers soft to flow,  
 And pluck'd the cypress wreath for yet another's woe.<sup>12</sup>

- Dr. Johnson's downright words, in which he debits all Collins's work to extravagant romanticism, with the emphasis on imagination rather than sensibility, have been repeated by many, and notably adapted by Scott in *The Bridal of Triermain*. Collins's first editor, Dr. John Langhorne, held the same opinion independently: "A passion for whatever is greatly wild, or magnificent in the works of nature, seduces the imagination to attend to all that is extravagant, however unnatural. Milton was notoriously fond of high romance, and gothic *diableries*, and Collins, who in genius and enthusiasm bore no very distant resemblance to Milton, was wholly carried away by the same attachments."<sup>13</sup> And in two sonnets Langhorne had already described Collins as the pathetic victim of imagination:

#### FANCY. SONNET I.

\* \* \* , the hope of all my studious care,  
 The Muses' love whose blooming genius won;  
 O, while the Nine for thee, their favour'd son,  
 The wreathes of \* \* \* 's living groves prepare;  
 Of FANCY's too prevailing power beware!  
 Ott has she bright on life's fair morning shone,  
 Ott seated HOPE on REASON's sovereign throne,  
 Then clos'd the scene in darkness and despair.  
 Of all her gifts, of all her powers possest,  
 Let not her flattery win thy youthful ear;  
 Nor vow long faith to such a various guest,  
 False at the last, tho' now, perchance, full dear:  
 The casual lover with her charms is blest,  
 But woe to them her magic bands that wear!

#### WISDOM. SONNET II.

Reclining in that old and honour'd shade,  
 Where MAGDALEN's graceful tower informs the sky,

<sup>12</sup> *Scots Magazine*, xxvii (1765), 101-102.

<sup>13</sup> *The Poetical Works of Mr. William Collins* (London, 1765), 153.

Urging strong thought thro' contemplation high,  
 WISDOM in form of ADDISON was laid;  
 Who thus fair Truth's ingenuous lore convey'd  
 To the poor shade of COLLINS wandering by.  
 The tear stood trembling in his gentle eye,  
 With modest grief reluctant, while he said—  
 'Sweet Bard! belov'd by every muse in vain!  
 'With powers whose fineness wrought their own decay!  
 'Ah! wherefore, thoughtless didst thou yield the rein  
 'To Fancy's will, and chase her meteor ray?  
 'Ah! why forgot thy own Hyblaean strain?  
 'Peace rules the breast, where Reason rules the day.'<sup>14</sup>

Some of the best known of the later criticisms of Collins emphasize imagination rather than pathos. He appears magnified almost beyond recognition in Nathan Drake's essay *On the Government of the Imagination; on the Frenzy of Tasso and Collins*, where he is described as "one of our most exquisite poets, and of whom, perhaps, without exaggeration it may be asserted, that he partook of the credulity and enthusiasm of Tasso, the magic wildness of Shakspeare, the sublimity of Milton, and the pathos of Ossian."<sup>15</sup> Sir Egerton Brydges turns the tables on those who reproached Collins for having a strong imagination: "Collins is a proof that he who gives up the reins to his own fancy may act injuriously to his own happiness; but who can deny that he stands the best chance of attaining the mantle of a poet?"<sup>16</sup>

Nowadays readers may find it as hard to understand why Collins's imagination should be called fiery and uncontrolled as why Gray should ever have been considered obscure. They would be inclined to agree with the blunt eighteenth century critic who wrote: "The merit of Collins lies in his tender melancholy; his defects are confusion and incorrectness of style."<sup>17</sup> Recently Mr. Mark Van Doren, classifying writers of odes, put Collins with the

<sup>14</sup> *Monthly Review*, xxx (1764), 122, 123. The sonnets are here attributed to "the Author of *The Visions of Fancy*," that is, to Langhorne. They do not appear in the collected poems of Langhorne as given by Anderson and Chalmers, and I do not find that they have been used by Collins's editors and biographers.

<sup>15</sup> *Literary Hours* (Third edition, London, 1804), 1, 64.

<sup>16</sup> *Censura Literaria* (London, 1815), III, 340-42.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Heron [John Pinkerton], *Letters of Literature* (London, 1785), 131.

- Horatians, not with the Pindars, with those who are "Attic, choice, perhaps didactic, and . . . stimulated by observation of human nature," rather than with those who are "impassioned and superlative, and . . . inspired by the spectacle of human glory."<sup>18</sup>
- Excellent as these distinctions are, it is hard to apply them to Collins. He is as far from being a Horace (witness his un-Horatian treatment of Horatian themes in *The Manners*) as he is from being a Pindar. And yet we cannot doubt that he would rather have been a Pindar than a Horace, that to him delicate conciseness and sententiousness seemed as nothing in comparison with the upward surge of imagination. After all, we must turn back to Doctor Johnson for the key to Collins's temperament and work:

He had employed his mind chiefly upon works of fiction and subjects of fancy, and by indulging some peculiar habits of thought was eminently delighted with those flights of imagination which pass the bounds of nature, and to which the mind is reconciled only by a passive acquiescence in popular traditions. He loved fairies, genii, giants, and monsters; he delighted to rove through the meanders of enchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, to repose by the water-falls of Elysian gardens. This was, however, the character rather of his inclination than his genius; the grandeur of wildness and the novelty of extravagance were always desired by him, but were not always attained.<sup>19</sup>

The last sentence goes far toward canceling what the eighteenth century said about Collins's ungovernable imagination. It may be hard to recognize in the fantastic Gothic poet of Johnson's description the Collins whom we know, but the central truth about him is reached in this criticism, for his inclinations did indeed outreach his genius, and he aspired to a grandeur and extravagance which he achieved not more than once or twice. The way in which he sought his romantic goal is not described by Johnson, whose account refers primarily to his reading rather than to his poetry. What Collins did in his own verse was to take seriously the neoclassical commonplaces about verse and inspiration, and to try to achieve poetic ecstasy within the narrow limits set for him by the current conventional imagery. He earnestly sought "rapture" and "enthusiasm" where many a third-rate writer of Pindarics told him he might find them. It was an enterprise which was

<sup>18</sup> *The Poetry of John Dryden* (New York, 1920), 241.

<sup>19</sup> *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1895), III, 337, 338.

doomed to failure, and indeed no one could be more deeply conscious of his failure than he was himself—no one felt more keenly the impotence of British poetry in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Collins's merits, as well as his failure, may best be emphasized by showing how completely he was hedged about by the conventional ideas of his time. Then, as always, there was not only convention *and* revolt, but a convention *of* revolt, in poetry. If one did not care to polish couplets, there was the ode, where one was supposed to have more freedom, though as a matter of fact this form was almost as completely petrified as the didactic poem or the satire. Still it was felt that the ode left a loophole for a return to simplicity and authentic inspiration.

While the other branches of Poetry have been gradually modelled by the rules of criticism, the Ode hath only been changed in a few external circumstances, and the enthusiasm, obscurity and exuberance which characterized it when first introduced, continue to be ranked among its capital and discriminating excellencies.<sup>20</sup>

The Pindaric type was still felt by conservative critics to be the ode *par excellence*.<sup>21</sup> But there was an alternative to the Pindaric ecstasy.

Of the descriptive and allegorical Ode the Writings of the Ancients afford no Examples: The Choruses of their Drama bear the greatest similarity to it; and particularly those of *Euripides*, in which he is followed by *Seneca*. This Species of Writing is in almost every circumstance different from the *Pindarick* Ode, which has its Foundation in Fact and Reality, that Fact worked up and heightened by a studied Pomp and Grandeur of Expression; it not only admits of, but requires bold Digressions, abrupt and hasty Transitions: while the other is built intirely [sic] upon Fancy, and Ease and Simplicity of Diction are its peculiar Characteristicks.<sup>22</sup>

Joseph Warton, in the Advertisement to his *Odes on Various Subjects*, considers the ode an imaginative poem, "fanciful and descriptive," and contrasts it with the current moralizing verse. In

<sup>20</sup> John Ogilvie, "Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Ancients," prefixed to *Poems on Several Subjects* (London, 1762), xxiv.

<sup>21</sup> John Brown, *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (London, 1763), 197.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Shepherd, *Odes Descriptive and Allegorical* (London, 1761), iii.

his work the ode often becomes a mere excursus, a "train" or pictorial catalogue; characteristic are the *Ode to Fancy, Against Despair, To Evening, and To Solitude*.<sup>23</sup> Collins's *Ode to Evening* is the closest thing in his work to the purely descriptive Warton ode, though its coherence, perspective, and lyric unity make it far superior to any other poem of this type. The imagery of the ode was usually bound together, however, by an abstract idea, and this of course brought the theoretically free writer of odes back into the toils of eighteenth century convention. Collins, though he tries to work both in the "descriptive and allegorical" and the Pindaric traditions, leans heavily on such abstractions, even when he could gain unity by sheer imaginative power.

The ideas about which the mid-century odes of Collins and his contemporaries centred were remarkable neither for depth nor novelty of doctrine. Most threadbare of all was the theme of the "power of music," deservedly satirized in Bonnell Thornton's "much admir'd Burlesque Ode, Written in Banter of the Odes on St. Caecilia's Day, and descriptive of several exquisite and old-fashioned Instruments, viz. the Salt-box, the Jew's Harp, the Marrow-Bones and Cleavers, and Hurdy-Gurdy."<sup>24</sup> After many a degenerate and perfunctory imitator of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* and *St. Cecilia's Day*, and Pope's ode on the same occasion, came Collins's *Passions: An Ode for Music*. To most writers of St. Cecilia verse this theme was simply a peg on which to hang versified commonplaces, such as may be found conveniently gathered in Christopher Smart's *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*—the music of the spheres; the shepherd's notes and Saint Cecilia;

<sup>23</sup> Cf. "A Dissertation on the Modern Ode," reprinted from *Lloyd's Magazine* in the *Scots Magazine*, xxv (1763), 265-68. An elaborate attack on the odes written by "the gentlemen-professors of modern-ancient poetry." "Whether the poet addresses himself to Wisdom or Folly, Mirth or Melancholy, he breaks out in a fine enthusiasm, with an 'Oh,' or, 'Hail,' or some such pathetic expression, which naturally leads him to a description, in at least fourteen lines, of the person and dwelling of no matter whom; which, with some observations upon her equipage and attendance, no matter what, make two stanzas, struck out from one word as it were; and all these beauties, according to the laws of the exactest critics, arise very naturally from the subject."

<sup>24</sup> Imitated in "An Irregular Balladistical Ode, Composed to be Set to Music." Noted *Monthly Review*, xxxix (1768), 401.

Waller in the role of Orpheus playing his lyre in a solitary grove at Penshurst, with Philomel answering the lay, while the waters of the Medway "weep away" to the sea; the story of Arion; the power of music over the tender and the martial emotions; the sacred music of Purcell; echoes of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. But the idea of music was so far from being taken seriously that it usually existed side by side with the equally conventional idea of pictorial verse. Poetry painted and poetry sang. As Daniel Webb acutely remarked:

Objects in repose, or the beauties of still-life, fall not within the province of musical imitation; nor can music take a part in the coloring of language. Our modern lyric poesy is a school for painters, not for musicians. The form of invocation, the distinctions of the strophe, the antistrophe, and chorus, are mere pretensions. To what purpose do we solicit the genius of music, while we abandon, without reserve, the plectrum for the pencil, and cast aside the lyre, as a child doth its rattle, in the moment that we proclaim it to be the object of our preference?<sup>25</sup>

In the *Passions* Collins follows the tableaux and the allegorical framework of *Alexander's Feast*, and tries to present the reality of music in a pictorial way.<sup>26</sup> So far, splendid as the poem is, it must lie exposed to the general attack on the principle *ut pictura poesis*, for the allegorical figures are mechanical rather than dramatic in their action, and are so far bound by eighteenth century convention. But after Exercise, Sport, Joy, and the rest have passed from the scene, Collins shows that music is to him the symbol of an inaccessible ideal. Dryden ends *Alexander's Feast* with a commonplace on the progress of music; after Timotheus came Cecilia, and the invention of the organ:

The sweet enthusiast, from her sacred store,  
Enlarged the former narrow bounds,  
And added length to solemn sounds,  
With Nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown before.

<sup>25</sup> *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London, 1769), 133, 134.

<sup>26</sup> John Ogilvie (*op. cit.*, lxiv), working out a theory of personification for the ode, says: "Thus Anger, Revenge, Despair, Hope, etc., can be distinguished from each other almost as easily when they are copied by the pencil, as when we feel their influence on our own minds, or make others observe it on our actions." Ogilvie no doubt has Collins's *Passions* in mind here. In Collins the allegorical figures appear in the following order: Fear, Anger, Despair, Hope, Revenge.

But Collins's conclusion directly contradicts these perfunctory lines of Dryden's. For Collins Greek music represents the lost inspiration of poetry, and Saint Cecilia is inferior to Timotheus. Addressing Music, he cries:

Arise as in that elder time,  
Warm, energetic, chaste, sublime!  
Thy wonders, in that godlike age,  
Fill thy recording sister's page—  
'Tis said, and I believe the tale,  
Thy humblest reed could more prevail,  
Had more of strength, diviner rage,  
Than all which charms this laggard age,  
Ev'n all at once together found,  
Caecilia's mingled world of sound.  
O bid our vain endeavours cease,  
Revive the just designs of Greece,  
Return in all thy simple state,  
Confirm the tales her sons relate!

Although Collins uses the idea of the lost glories of Greek poetry and music in a romantic way, it must be remembered that the conception itself was a commonplace of his time. Addison remarked as a matter of course that the ancients excelled the moderns in the arts, and Warton agreed with him.<sup>27</sup> It was no new thing to represent the lyric muse with "Grecian form and Grecian robe."<sup>28</sup> Joseph Warton implores Fancy to inspire some rural bard with lays that stir the heart, and finally to

bid Britannia rival Greece!<sup>29</sup>

Mark Akenside, with what Hartley Coleridge called his "classical Quixotism," said that his purpose in the *Pleasures of the Imagination* was to "tune to Attic themes the British lyre,"<sup>30</sup> and in his ode *On Lyric Poetry* sought inspiration for the modern English lyric from the Greek. Moreover, this praise of Greece was closely connected with the praise of freedom, just as in Collins's *Simplicity and Liberty*. Akenside's best ode, *To the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Huntington* (1748), professes to glorify Pindar not as a mere poet but as the champion of freedom and civic virtue.

<sup>27</sup> *Adventurer*, Nos. 127, 133.

<sup>28</sup> "An Ode on Lyric Poetry." *London Magazine*, xix (1750), 228.

<sup>29</sup> "Ode To Fancy."

<sup>30</sup> Bk. I, l. 604.

Warton's *Ode occasioned by reading Mr. West's Translation of Pindar* is identical in thought. The meretricious ornaments of modern Latin culture were often contrasted with Greek simplicity.

Too long have the beauties of the British muse, like those of our ladies, been concealed, or spoiled, by foreign modes and false ornaments. . . . Let us endeavour to recover her from the tyrannical sway of fashion and prejudice, and restore her to her native rights. Let us leave to the sallow French their rouge and white paint, but let the British red and white appear in it's genuine lustre, as laid on by nature's own pencil. . . . Then shall she move forth confessed the genuine sister of the Grecian muse, and not the less beautiful for being the younger.<sup>83</sup>

And in exactly similar vein John Armstrong:

The *British* poetry is universally allowed, by the best judges of both, to be much superior to the *Italian*; and why should you wonder to find the music of the one country brought into competition with that of the other? The music of these islands seems to agree in character with that of the ancients; which, from the accounts we have of it, excelled in simplicity and passion. How simple the music must have been that delighted *Greece*, in the days of *Alceaeus, Sappho, Pindar, and Anacreon*, seems to appear from the very make of their capital instrument the Lyre.<sup>84</sup>

But the Greek ideal is almost never projected into the romantic and unattainable distance. Akenside writes *On the Absence of the Poetic Inclination*, but he gets his power back by the easy expedient of conjuring with the name of Milton. Panegyrists of Greece were likely to end by praising Britain, as in an *Ode to the Genius of Antient Greece* which says nevertheless:

To *Greece* no more shall *Britain* bow.<sup>85</sup>

Moreover these early romanticists, who, in the words of a later reviewer speaking of Thomas Warton, "possessed a classic taste with a Gothic Muse,"<sup>86</sup> were confused by their double allegiance. Thomas Warton, in his *Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds' Painted Window, at New-College, Oxford*, tells how Reynolds has "broke the Gothic chain" and lured him back from his mediæval studies to Greek art, but ends by saying that it must be the artist's work

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *British Education* (London, 1756), 365-66.

<sup>84</sup> *Miscellanies* (London, 1770), II, 154-55.

<sup>85</sup> *Poems, chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall* (Bath, 1792), I, 14. Original date of this poem 1760.

<sup>86</sup> *Critical Review, N. S.*, X (1794), 20.

With arts unknown before, to reconcile  
The willing graces to the Gothic pile.

William Mason, too, would "mingle Attic art with Shakespear's fire."<sup>85</sup> And even Collins, in the conventional ending of the *Ode to Liberty*, conceives of a hybrid shrine for the goddess:

Ev'n now, before his favour'd eyes,  
In Gothic pride, it seems to rise!  
Yet Graecia's graceful orders join,  
Majestic thro' the mix'd design.

Yet at his best he rises above this eclecticism, which at most could only give the old poetry variegated ornaments and a new subject-matter. His singleness of purpose could not rest content with such a superficial compromise. We may conjecture that in his lost *Ode on the Music of the Grecian Theatre* he elaborated the theme of Greece as the symbol of vanished inspiration, and showed still more clearly how his Hellenism differed from that of his contemporaries.

The denial of eighteenth century complacency discovered in the conclusion of the *Passions* comes out most clearly in Collins's frequent and peculiar use of the progress formula of his time. A recent writer has pointed out how four of his odes conform to the usual pattern of the progress piece. "Collins's 'Ode to Liberty' is, in outline and in the first half only, almost the same as Thomson's 'Liberty,' a progress from Greece through Rome, Florence, Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, to Britain."<sup>86</sup> Collins uses the theme of the progress of poetry "twice in truncated form, once in full—in the odes to 'Fear' and 'Simplicity' and in the 'Epistle to Hanmer.'"<sup>87</sup> But the typical progress piece of the eighteenth century was written in the spirit of the *Aufklärung*, best expressed in Wagner's words to Faust, which have been recognized as containing a whole philosophy of history:

Es ist ein grosz Ergetzen  
Sich in den Geist der Zeiten zu versetzen,

<sup>85</sup> "To the Reverend Mr. Hurd."

<sup>86</sup> R. H. Griffith, "The Progress Pieces of the Eighteenth Century," *Texas Review*, v (1920), 218 ff., especially 221.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 224. "Collins's 'Ode to Simplicity' is an embryo 'Progress of Poesy,' and it is hardly conceivable that Gray did not thence derive a hint upon which he, without doubt, immensely improved."—Duncan C. Tovey, in Preface to *Letters of Thomas Gray* (London, 1909), i, xxiv.

Zu schauen wie vor uns ein weiser Mann gedacht,  
Und wie wir's dann zuletzt so herrlich weit gebracht.<sup>\*\*</sup>

Dryden drew the same conclusion in a resonant passage that has more than mere flattery in it:

The wit of Greece, the gravity of Rome,  
Appear exalted in the British loom:  
The Muses' empire is restored again,  
In Charles his reign, and by Roscommon's pen.<sup>\*\*</sup>

The principle of climax, if nothing else, demanded that the progress piece favor the moderns, and show that now at last "the force of nature could no farther go." Even Gray's *Progress of Poesy*, the greatest in this kind, ends with a note of exultation. Joseph Warton's lines *To a Gentleman upon his Travels to Italy* belong to the progress type, and end thus complacently:

Nor she, mild queen, will cease to smile  
On her Britannia's much lov'd isle,  
Where there her best, her favorite Three were born,  
While Theron warbles Grecian strains,  
Or polished Dodington remains,  
The drooping train of arts to cherish and adorn.

But Collins does not reach such conclusions. The conventional *Epistle Addressed to Sir Thomas Hanmer* does indeed praise Shakespeare as "the perfect boast of time." Yet at the same time Collins denies the dogma of progress in the drama.

Each rising art by just gradation moves,  
Toil builds on toil, and age on age improves:  
The Muse alone unequal dealt her rage,  
And grac'd with noblest pomp her earliest stage.

And after Shakespeare, he tells us, the "progress" of English dramatic poetry is an anticlimax:

Yet ah! so bright her morning's op'ning ray,  
In vain our Britain hop'd an equal day!  
No second growth the western isle could bear,  
At once exhausted with too rich a year.

In the *Ode to Fear* the progress form is abandoned in the anti-strophe for an imitation of *Il Penseroso*, and Collins brings his

<sup>\*</sup> *Faust*, ll. 570-73.

<sup>\*\*</sup> *Epistle to the Earl of Roscommon*.

poem to an end with the idea of arrested inspiration which is never far away in his work:

O thou whose spirit most possest  
 The sacred seat of Shakespear's breast,  
 By all that from thy prophet broke,  
 In thy divine emotions spoke,  
 Hither again thy fury deal!  
 Teach me but once like him to feel,  
 His cypress wreath my meed decree,  
 And I, O Fear, will dwell with thee!

The *Ode to Simplicity* concludes its short historic survey with a description of the low state of Italian poetry and music:

No more, in hall or bow'r,  
 The passions own thy pow'r;  
 Love, only love, her forceless numbers mean:  
 For thou hast left her shrine;  
 Nor olive more, nor vine,  
 Shall gain thy feet to bless the servile scene.

Similarly, while Thomson ends his *Liberty* with a survey of British civilization and a glowing prophecy of future glories, Collins, in the Second Epode of his *Liberty*, lets his imagination dwell on the shrine of Liberty that once stood in the primeval forests of Britain.

Thy shrine in some religious wood,  
 O soul-enforcing goddess, stood!  
 . . . .  
 Tho' now with hopeless toil we trace  
 Time's backward rolls to find its place;  
 Whether the fiery-tressed Dane  
 Or Roman's self o'erturn'd the fane,  
 Or in what heaven-left age it fell,  
 'T were hard for modern song to tell.

In this instance, though the placing of the ideal in an inaccessible past is characteristic of Collins, the conclusion is weakened by conventional optimism of the worst kind; and the piece closes with the return of Liberty and an attendant group of abstractions to Britain's shore. But in spite of this instance all these progress pieces of Collins's show more or less clearly that his mind reverted inevitably to the idea that true poetry was remote from things present and modern. To this extent they illustrate precisely Schiller's definition of *sentimentalische Dichtung*.

- 4 The real subject of Collins's odes, then, is the concept of poetry; Simplicity, Fear, Pity, and the rest are only ancillary to an idea of inspiration which is conceived and intensely desired, but never fully realized. Accordingly, the *Ode on the Poetical Character* must be called his most characteristic poem, for it is the apotheosis of the idea of inspiration. The magic girdle of poetic power was woven on the day of creation, when God placed Fancy on his sapphire throne,—

The whiles, the vaulted shrine around,  
 Seraphic wires were heard to sound,  
 Now sublimest triumph swelling,  
 Now on love and mercy dwelling;  
 And she, from out the veiling cloud,  
 Breath'd her magic notes aloud:  
 And thou, thou rich-hair'd Youth of Morn,  
 And all thy subject life, was born!

The identity of poetry and music is the central thing in the creation. But even here Collins does not feel that he possesses the essence of poetry. Some romanticists of later generations have felt him to be among the highest poets because of his intensity and ardor. Swinburne once wrote: "I hold Collins as *facile principem* in the most quintessential property of a poet proper."<sup>40</sup> The youthful Coleridge avowed his preference for the abstract sublimity of Collins: "Now Collins's 'Ode on the Poetical Character,'—that part of it, I should say, beginning with 'The band (as faery legends say) Was wove on that creating day,'—has inspired and whirled *me* along with greater agitations of enthusiasm than any the most *impassioned* scene in Schiller or Shakespeare, using 'impassioned' in its confined sense, for writing in which the human passions of pity, fear, anger, revenge, jealousy, or love are brought into view with their workings. Yet I consider the latter poetry as more valuable, because it gives *more general* pleasure, and I judge of all things by their utility."<sup>41</sup> But Collins himself feels that the primal rapture of poetry is beyond the reach of any modern:

Where is the bard whose soul can now  
 Its high presuming hopes avow?

<sup>40</sup> *Letters*, ed. Gosse and Wise (New York, 1919), II, 42.

<sup>41</sup> *Letters*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London, 1895), I, 196-97.

Where he who thinks, with rapture blind,  
This hallow'd work for him design'd?

It is by denying the presence of poetry, by despairing of his calling, that Collins often becomes a romantic poet. He does not consistently recover the true poetry which he felt was lost; he does not consistently seek to put something in place of Pindarics that will not carry the imagination, and allegorical abstractions that cannot be intensely realized. He is incorrigibly intellectual and abstract, but at the same time so ardent and sincere that he knows his abstractions are not sufficient unto themselves. When he writes of "Greece" or "music" he is not thinking so much of Greek life and literature, or of the actual art of music, as of simple, ecstatic poetry in itself. His imagination never provides his poetry with a rich content, but we have seen that it is possible to detect romantic intent in his work even when the style and the ostensible theme are pseudo-classic. His abstractness often kept him in line with eighteenth century formalism, but his ardor and sincerity bore it in upon him that his own verse was "a thing wherein we feel there is some hidden want."

*The Rice Institute.*

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## ADDISON AND THE *MUSES MERCURY*

BY ROGER PHILIP McCUTCHEON

The *Muses Mercury*, an almost forgotten periodical of 1707, printed in its June number an essay "Of the Old English Poets and Poetry," in which Sidney's famous reference to Chevy Chase is quoted. Such a reference, coming as it does some four years before Addison's celebrated papers on Chevy Chase in the *Spectator*, has of course been observed by recent investigators.<sup>1</sup> However, the essay in which the reference occurs has received no particular attention, and no direct evidence has been offered which would establish Addison's knowledge of it, or even of the periodical. Yet the essay displays a considerable interest in ballads, and in some details anticipates Addison's own comments on popular literature. It is the purpose of this article to show that Addison must have known the *Muses Mercury*, even before this essay appeared in it, and that in 1707 he was on friendly terms with its editor.

The *Muses Mercury* was a monthly literary periodical, which began with the number for January, 1707, and seems to have con-

<sup>1</sup> Edmund K. Broadus, in "Addison's Influence on the Development of Interest in Folk-Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Philology*, VIII, 123-134, July, 1910, refers to this essay in a footnote, *loc. cit.*, p. 124, and suggests, "As Steele was a contributor to the *Muses Mercury*, it is possible that he may have been responsible for this essay, and that he may have suggested the subject of Chevy Chase to Addison as suitable for a *Spectator* paper—but this is mere conjecture."

Sigurd Hustvedt, in his monograph, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century*, p. 61 (New York, 1916), devotes a paragraph to this essay, commenting on the literary quality of the judgment it expresses.

The essay was known to Thomas Warton. In the *Muses Mercury* the essay introduces a version of "The Nut Brown Maid." About this poem Warton wrote, "I have never seen it in manuscript. I believe it was never reprinted from Arnolde's Chronicle, where it first appeared in 1521, till so late as the year 1707. It was that year revived in a collection called the *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*, and prefaced with a little essay on our antient poets and poetry, in which it is said to have been 300 years old." *History of English Poetry*, III, 139, London, 1781. Warton made no attempt to suggest that the essay had any possible influence on Addison.

cluded with number 1 of volume 2, January, 1708.<sup>2</sup> It printed recent and contemporary verse by such men as Garth, Dryden, Roscommon, Dennis, and Tate. During the time of its appearance, it had no close competitor. In all probability, the editor of the *Muses Mercury* was John Oldmixon.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction to the first issue indicates the purpose of the undertaking:—"we have no Exception to any Subject whatever, in Verse or Prose, which is of a proper length and goodness, and which the Author is willing to communicate to the Publick. . . . In a word, ev'ry Thing that has any relation to the Studies of *Humanity*, will be always acceptable to us. . . . We shall Print Nothing that has been printed before, if we can by any means know it in time; . . . We shall vary our Method according to the Occasion; In some *Mercuries* there will be more Prose, in some more Verse, as we are furnish'd with the One or the Other, by such Gentlemen as shall assist us in our *Undertaking*." The title-page of the first issue promised, in addition to "Poems, Prologues, Songs, Sonnets, Translations, and other Curious Pieces, Never before Printed," "An Account of the Stage, of the New Opera's and Plays that have been Acted, or are to be Acted this Season; And of the New Books relating to *Poetry, Criticism, &c.* lately Publish'd." The editor realized that "in the Opinion of the Many, Things of this Nature have little or no Use," but considered also that "there are a Vast Number of People who think otherwise, and who believe that nothing is more Profitable to Mankind, than that which delights them." To how large a public the *Muses Mercury* appealed, it is difficult to estimate.

<sup>2</sup> See *British Museum Catalogue of Periodicals*. The Library of Congress copy has twelve numbers only, those for 1707.

<sup>3</sup> The epistle dedicatory is signed "J. O." The usual authorities give Oldmixon as the editor. See Oldmixon's Life in the *D. N. B.*, xiv, 1009-1013. Oldmixon was acquainted with Peter Motteux, the founder of the *Gentleman's Journal*. The debt of the *Muses Mercury* to the *Gentleman's Journal* is obvious, and is expressed in the introduction to the first number. "The *Gentleman's Journal* was so well receiv'd formerly, that we hope the *Muses Mercury*, which is very near a kin to it, will find as many Friends to Support it." Oldmixon evidently knew Motteux by 1697, when his "*Thyrsis, a Pastoral*," formed the first act of Motteux' *Novelty, or Every Act a Play*. Verses by Motteux appeared frequently in the *Muses Mercury*.

In point of fact, the *Muses Mercury* was primarily a magazine of contemporary verse. The "Essay on the Old English Poets and Poetry," which occupies some six pages in the June issue, is the only prose article of more than two pages in extent. In subject matter also, this essay is markedly different from the other prose in the *Mercury*; this latter was gossip about the new plays, or comment on some bit of verse. The essay was prominently announced on the title-page of the June issue, and was printed on the first six pages. It was given every chance to catch the readers' attention.

This essay attempts to show that the poets have been the great refiners of language. It opens with a survey of the growth of the modern languages, especially praising Dante and Petrarch for their work in refining the Italian tongue, and Malherbe, "who is look'd upon to be the Reformer of the French Tongue." The English, it is explained, was a more difficult language to improve, till Chaucer's time "no more than a confus'd mixture of Saxon and the Norman Jargon." A quotation from "Robert de Longland," "in Blank Verse; as his Satyr on the Laziness of the Monks," proves to be from "Piers the Plowman," the famous passage "But I (can) Rimes of Robin Hod and Randal of Chester."<sup>4</sup> The extract is praised for "the character of the jolly Friar, which is not ill drawn." Then follows a statement which has passed unnoticed: "By this we may also perceive that there were two famous Ballads at that time, one on *Robin Hood*, who rob'd in *Richard the First's Reign*, and another on one of the *Ralphy's*, Earls of *Chester*, each of which must be as old as that on *Robin Hood*. . ." Then Chaucer is much praised "for reducing our English Tongue to a perfect Conformity." Along with Chaucer, the writer commends Gower and Lydgate, for having made certain improvements in the language. After a digression on the present lack of good fellowship among poets as compared with the friendliness of older days, the essayist introduces his material about Chevy Chase:

To return to our Subject; Much about the Time of *Lidgate*, was the old Poem of *Chevy Chase* writ. The Author of it is not known; but it was in great Esteem in the three last Centuries, even by Men of the best Sense.

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<sup>4</sup> Passus v, 392-425, in Skeat's edition for the Clarendon Press. The quoted lines in the *Muses Mercury* vary in minor instances from the text as given by Skeat.

Sir Philip Sidney, who understood Poetry as well as many of our Critics, who would not deign to look on that Poem, says of it, *I never read the old Song of Piercy and Douglas, that I found not my Heart mov'd more than with a Trumpet, &c. which being so evil apparell'd, in the Dust and Cobweb of that uncivil Age; what wou'd it work, trim'd in the gorgious Eloquence of Pindar.* The Poem that follows this Essay, was probably written about the same time that *Chevy Chase* was; and if the Martial Spirit in the latter had such an Effect on Sir Philip Sidney's Heroick Mind, this will have the same on the Minds of those that are to be touch'd by the Truth and Simplicity of Nature; for she cannot be better painted, if we will excuse the *antique Colouring*; and yet the Expression, as old as 'tis, has the Advantage of Sir Philip's belov'd *Song*. We guess at its Antiquity by Circumstances only, for we know nothing of the Author's Time, Name, nor Quality, but, by his Gallantry we take him to be a Person that was well bred, according to his Day. We may be ask'd, perhaps, how we came by this Rarity: We can give a very good Account of it, and therefore are not afraid of such a Question. It is known to most People conversant with Books, and Bookish Men, that the late *Samuel Pepys*, Esq; who was so long Secretary to the Admiralty, made a Collection of all the Ballads that he could procure, from *Chevy Chase* to *T-m D-y's*. At the Head of this Collection was this Poem of the *Nut-Brown Maid*; not that it is a *Ballad*; but an Allegorical *Poem*, with more Design in it than many of our late *Odes*."

The rest of the essay surveys, in very cursory fashion, the progress of poetry up to Dryden's time, with the usual praise of Mr. Waller.

In brief, in 1707, an English writer,<sup>5</sup> in commending the older poets and poetry of his nation, mentions three specific ballads, makes some distinction between a ballad and a poem like The Nutbrowne Maid, takes a thrust at "many of our Critics, who would not deign to look on [Chevy Chase]," and praises the appeal

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Broadus has conjectured that Steele might have written this essay. (*Supra*, p. 17, n. 1.) There seems to be no definite evidence concerning the authorship. Possibly John Oldmixon, the editor of the *Muses Mercury*, is responsible for it. His *Amores Britannici*, published in 1703, shows his interest in the older English poetry, as the poems deal with such subjects as Rosamond, Henry II, Matilda and John, Owen Tudor, and Jane Shore. The epistle dedicatory states: "I took the hint of the following letters from Mr. Drayton, whose Language is now obsolete, his Verses rude and unharmonious, his Thoughts often poor and vulgar, affected and unnatural." In later issues of the *Muses Mercury* occur several contributions, all in verse, signed "J. O." (e. g. August, Sept., Nov., Dec.).

of the Nut Brown Maid to minds "that are to be touch'd by the Truth and Simplicity of Nature." That the essay containing these items is found in a literary periodical of fairly popular appeal, needs iteration. Here would seem, in both content and spirit, a fairly clear anticipation of Addison's ballad criticism. There remains to establish Addison's knowledge of this periodical.

'News of the operas and plays' occurred in every issue. These notes contain some interesting comments, which I believe have escaped attention, about Addison's *Rosamund*. In the initial number, for January, 1707, there is this advance notice:

The Opera of *Rosamund*, written by the Author of the *Campaign*, is set by Mr. Clayton, and Practising at the Theatre in Drury-Lane; and the Beauty and Harmony of that Poem, which we have had the honour to see, are very happily imitated by the Composer, in the Opinion of the best Judges, who have heard what he has done.

The February issue, evidently coming out a trifle late, gives this comment on the performance of *Rosamund*:

The Opera of *Rosamund* was perform'd on Tuesday the Fourth of March: and the Town has by its Applause justified the Character we presum'd to give it from our own Judgment. The Harmony of the Numbers, and the Beauty of the Sentiments are universally admired. It has been disputed, whether the Musick is as good as that of *Arsinoe*; but, without entering into Comparisons, it must be confess'd, that the *Airs* of *Rosamund* are fine, the *Passions* well touch'd; and there being such a vast difference between the Merit of the Poems, the Dispute, 'tis probable, when decided, will be determin'd in Favor of *Rosamund*.

A prologue to *Rosamund*, "by W. W. Esq.", was printed in the March issue, with this prefatory note:

The following Prologue was spoken by Mr. Powell, who at that time had the Misfortune to lie under my Lord Chamberlain's Displeasure for other things. And my Lord not having then declar'd that Mr. Powell might return to the Stage, the House was suspended; which gave rise to a Report, that it was for some Offence taken at the Prologue: Whereas nothing cou'd be better receiv'd than this was by the Audience. Indeed, the Character of the worthy Author is such, that none who are acquainted with it can believe he cou'd offend, when he endeavor'd to please. And to shew that this Report was groundless, he no sooner spoke to my Lord Chamberlain in behalf of the House, but the Suspension was taken off. There have been some very delicate Persons, who are mighty scrupulous of Flattery, when it does not concern themselves, that objected against this Prologue at the speaking of it, as if the Complement was too gross.

The here's no Person nam'd, and him whom we imagin it was design'd for is too great to have any thing too gross said of him: His Actions being so glorious, that whoever attempts to praise them, will find he wants Words rather than abounds. For whatever is said here of the God of War, is immediately apply'd by the Audience to the Duke of *Marrowburgh*: And whatever is said of the Graces, is apply'd to the Ladies of that Family, of whose Beauty there can be as little said too much, as of my Lord's Glory.

In the same issue, ten pages later, an "Epilogue to Rosamond" is printed. This, too, has an explanatory note:

This Epilogue was intended to be spoken after the Performance of *Rosamond*; and there is nothing so ill-natur'd in it, as to have hinder'd it on that account.

"The Nymph who oft has been expos'd to View,  
 'And dy'd each Year at Fair of Bartholmew,  
 In these our milder Scenes preserv'd alive,  
 Does the keen Dagger and the Bowl survive.  
 An English Queen insulting o'er the Slain,  
 Had look'd incredible in *Anna's Reign*;  
 But she's preserv'd in vain, a Foe appears,  
 Whom worse than *Elenor* the Fair one fears.  
 The Bowl escap'd, she still with trembling Heart  
 Reflects on the *Italian* pois'ning Art:  
 Her Safety an Imposter undermines,  
 Who with the Strength of that whole Nation shines.  
 But sure this *Aesop*-Bird in vain presumes,  
 On borrow'd Notes, and Party-colour'd Plumes;  
 For if beneath the Mottly Dress you look,  
 You'll find the gawdy Fowl an Errant Rook."

These references to *Rosamond* would in themselves make probable some intimacy between Addison and the editor of the *Muses Mercury*. Certainly it is not hard to imagine Addison reading over these accounts of his play, and in the praise of the editor finding some little comfort from the ill success of his opera.

But there is much more conclusive evidence yet to present. An extract from de la Motte's *Treatise of the Ode* was printed in the February number. The editor found certain heretical ideas in this, and after apologizing for expressing himself critically, writes:

To make amends for these Reflections, we shall present the Reader with an Ode of *Horace*, Translated by a Gentleman, whose name wou'd have

been an Honour to our Mercury,\* and his Example will direct us more than Mr. *de la Motte's* Precepts.

The argument of the ode is given, and then the poem itself. The ode professes to be an imitation of Horace, Ode iii, Lib. iii. The 'Gentleman whose name would have been an honour to our Mercury' is Addison himself.

In a revised form, this ode was printed in Dryden's Sixth Miscellany, 1709 (pp. 262-270). It is this later version of the ode which appears in Tickell's edition of Addison in 1721, and in all subsequent editions. There is no indication that the version in the *Muses Mercury* was printed without Addison's consent, although it was printed without his signature. The inclusion of this ode in the *Muses Mercury* would, therefore, seem to establish Addison's knowledge of the periodical, and his friendship with its editor. The probability is that he read with some interest that "Essay of the old English Poets and Poetry" in the June issue, and after four years, in the *Chevy Chase* papers in the *Spectator*, profited by his reading.

The version of the ode which appeared in the *Muses Mercury* has not, I believe, been reprinted, or even mentioned, up to this time. As it shows considerable variations from the 1709 version, it is here reprinted *verbatim*. In order to suggest the extent to which Addison revised it for publication in the *Sixth Miscellany*, a few stanzas from the later version are also given.

\*The name of the author was evidently withheld by request. A note in the first issue reads, "Any Person that is pleas'd to send us a Poem, or any Thing else for our Mercury, is desir'd to Forbid us Printing his Name to it, if he is not willing to have us make use of it; Otherwise we shall take it for granted that he will not be displeas'd if we do it."

**"THE ARGUMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ODE."**

*Augustus Caesar having a Design to rebuild Troy, and make it the Metropolis of the Empire, had closeted several of the Nobility upon the Project, and probably might have mention'd it in Conversation to Horace, who is suppos'd to have writ this Ode, to dissuade him from such a Resolution.*

Hor. Ode iii. Lib. iii.

Justum & Tenacem propositi virum, &c.

**1.**

The Man resolv'd, and steady to his Trust,  
Fixt on his End, and obstinately just,  
Do's the rude Rabble's Insolence despise,  
Their Boyst'rous Clamours and Tumultuous Cries;  
The Tyrant's Fury he beguiles,  
And the stern Brow, and the harsh Voice defies,  
And with superiour Greatness smiles.

**2.**

Not the rough Whirlwind that deforms  
*Adria's* wide Gulph, and vexes it with Storms,  
The stubborn Virtue of his Soul can move:  
Not the right Hand of angry *Jove*,  
That flings the Thunder from the Skie,  
And gives it Rage to roar, and Strength to flie.

The 1709 version reads:

HORACE,

Ode iii. Book iii.

*Augustus had a Design to Rebuild Troy, and make it the Metropolis of the Roman Empire; having Closetted several Senators on the Project, Horace is suppos'd to have Written the following Ode on this Occasion.*

The Man resolv'd and steady to his Trust,  
Inflexible to Ill, and obstinately Just,  
May the rude Rabbles Insolence despise,  
Their senseless Clamours and tumultuous Cries;  
The Tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,  
And the stern Brow, and the harsh Voice defies,  
And with Superior Greatness smiles.

Not the rough Whirlwind, that deforms  
*Adria's* black Gulf, and vexes it with Storms,  
The stubborn Virtue of his Soul can move;  
Not the Red Arm of Angry *Jove*,  
That flings the Thunder from the Sky,  
And gives it Rage to roar, and Strength to fly.

## 3.

Should the whole Frame of Nature round him break,  
In Ruine and Confusion hurl'd,  
He, unconcern'd, would hear the mighty Crack,  
And stand secure amidst a falling World.

## 4.

Such were the Godlike Arts that led  
Bright *Pollux* to the Blest Abodes;  
Such did for great *Alcides* plead,  
And gain'd a place among the Gods.

## 5.

Where, mixt with Heroes, young *Augustus* lies,  
And to his Lips the Nectar-bowl applies:  
His ruddy Lips the Beauteous Tincture show,  
And with the Purple Stain divinely glow.

## 6.

By Arts like these did Young *Lyaeus* rise,  
His Tygers drew him to the Skies;  
Wild from the Desart, and unbroke,  
In vain reluctant to the Rein,  
They rav'd, they foam'd, and toss'd in vain;  
He wrought 'em to the Lash, and bent 'em to the Yoke.

---

Shou'd the whole Frame of Nature round him break,  
In Ruin and Confusion hurl'd,  
He, Unconcern'd, wou'd hear the mighty Crack,  
And stand secure amidat a falling World.

Such were the Godlike Arts that led  
Bright *Pollux* to the blest Abodes;  
Such did for great *Alcides* plead,  
And gain'd a Place among the Gods.  
Where now *Augustus*, mix'd with Heroes, lies;  
And to his Lips the Nectar Bowl applies;  
His ruddy Lips the Purple Tincture show,  
And with immortal Stains divinely glow.

(By Arts like these did young *Lyaeus* rise:  
His Tigers drew him to the Skies,  
Wild from the Desart and unbroke:  
In vain they foam'd, in vain they star'd,  
In vain their Eyes with Fury glar'd;  
He tam'd 'em to the Lash, and bent 'em to the Yoke.

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<sup>1</sup>This was quoted in *Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry*, Swift and Pope, *Miscellanies*, 1733, iv, 65.

## 7.

Such was the Path that *Rome's* Great Founder trod,  
 When in a Whirlwind snatch'd on high  
 He shook off dull Mortality,  
 And from a King became a God:  
 Great *Juno* then Her awful Silence broke,  
 And thus th' assembled Deities bespoke:

## 8.

*Troy*, says the Goddess, perjur'd *Troy* has felt  
 The dire Effects of Her proud Tyrant's Guilt,  
 The Mighty Pile with all its bright Abodes,  
 Rais'd by the Hands of Hireling Gods,  
 Now spreads its Ruines all around,  
 And lies inglorious on the Ground:  
 An Umpire partial and unjust,  
 And a lewd Woman's impious Lust,  
 Lay heavy on her Head, and sunk her to the Dust.

## 9.

Since false *Laomedon's* Tyrannick Sway,  
 Who durst defraud th' Immortals of their Pay;  
 Her Guardian Gods renounc'd their Patronage,  
 Nor wou'd th' invading Foe repell;  
 To my Resentments and *Minerva's* Rage  
 The guilty King and the whole People fell.

## 10.

And now the long protracted Wars are o'er,  
 The soft Adult'rer shines no more;  
 No more shall *Hector's* Force the *Trojan* Sheild,  
 That drove whole Armies back, and singly clear'd the Feild.

## 11.

My Vengeance sated, I at length resign  
 To *Mars* his Offspring of the *Trojan* Line,  
 Advanc'd to Godhead let him rise,  
 And take his Station in the Skies,  
 There entertain his ravish'd Sight  
 With Scenes of Glory, Fields of Light;  
 Quaff with the Gods immortal Wine,  
 And see the Nations prostrate at his Shrine.

## 12.

The few Remains of *Troy's* afflicted Host  
 Unenvy'd Seats in distant Realms may find,  
 And flourish on a foreign Coast,  
 But far be *Rome* from *Troy* disjoin'd:  
 Remov'd by Seas from the disastrous Shore,  
 May endless Billows rise between, and Storms unnumber'd roar.

## 13.

Still let the curst detested place,  
Where *Priam* lies, and *Priam's* faithless Race,  
Be cover'd o're with Weeds, and hid in Grass.  
There let the wanton Flock securely stray,  
(And while the lonely Shepherd sings)  
Amidst the mighty Ruins play,  
And frisk upon the tombs of Kings.

## 14.

There may the shyest of the Savage Kind,  
Sad solitary Haunts, and silent Desarts find;  
In gloomy Vaults, and Nooks of Palaces,  
May th' unmolested Lioness  
Her Brinded Whelps securely lay,  
Or couch'd in dreadful Slumbers wast the Day.

## 15.

While *Troy* in Heaps of Ruin lies,  
*Rome* and the Roman *Capitol* shall rise  
Th' Illustrious Exiles unconfin'd,  
Shall triumph far and near, and rule Mankind.

## 16.

In vain the Sea's intruding Tide,  
*Europe* from *Afric* shall divide,  
And part the sever'd World in two;  
Through *Afric*'s Sands their Triumphs they shall spread,  
And the long train of Victories pursue  
To *Nile*'s yet undiscover'd Head.

## 17.

Riches the sturdy Souldier shall despise,  
And look on Gold with undesiring Eyes,  
Nor the disbowell'd Earth explore,  
In search of the forbidden Ore,  
Those glittering Ills conceal'd within the Mine,  
Shall lie untouch'd, and innocently shine.

## 18.

To the last Bounds that Nature sets,  
The piercing Colds, and sultry Heats,  
The God-like Race shall rouse the World to Arms;  
Now fill the Polar Circle with Alarms,  
Till Storms and Tempests their Pursuits confine;  
Now sweat for Conquest underneath the Line.

## 19.

This only Law the Victor shall restrain,  
On these Conditions shall he reign,

If none his guilty Hand employ,  
To build again a second *Troy*,  
If none the rash Design pursue,  
Nor tempt the Vengeance of the Gods anew.

## 20.

A Curse there cleaves to the devoted Place,  
That shall the new Foundations rase,  
*Greece* shall again in mutual Leagues conspire  
To wast the rising Town with Fire,  
And, at their Head advanc'd, my self will show,  
What *Juno* urg'd to all her Rage can do.

## 21.

Thrice should *Apollo*'s self the City raise,  
And wall the City round with Brass;  
Thrice should my Fav'rite *Greeks* the Work confound,  
And hew the Shining Fabrick to the Ground;  
Thrice should the Captive Dames to *Greece* return,  
And their dead Sons, and slaughter'd Husbands mourn.

## 22.

But hold, My Muse, forbear thy tow'ring Flight,  
Nor bring the Secrets of the Gods to Light:  
In vain would thy presumptuous Verse,  
Th' Immortal Rhetorick rehearse;  
The mighty Strains, in Lyrick Numbers bound,  
Forget their Majesty, and lose their Sound.

*Wake Forest College.*

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## THE WRITING OF MILTON'S *EIKONOKLASTES*

BY WARREN H. LOWENHAUPT

### I

One of the problems in Miltonic scholarship which has never been acceptably treated is that of the circumstances under which the actual writing of *Eikonoklastes* occurred. It has, to be sure, been the subject of much more speculation than is usual with Milton's work. But the question is by no means settled. The author's own account is simple enough. Paraphrased, it says that after he joined the government as Latin Secretary the 'King's Book,' appeared, and 'jussus,<sup>1</sup> Iconi Iconoclasten opposui.' In short, he wrote *Eikonoklastes* because he was told to do so, he states. The question, however, is complicated by the charges arising out of the Pamela Prayer episode. As Dr. Johnson wrote of it, "But,<sup>2</sup> as faction seldom leaves a man honest, however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called 'Icon Basilike,' which the council of state, to whom he was now made Latin Secretary, employed him to censure, by inserting a prayer taken from Sidney's 'Arcadia,' and imputing it to the king. . . ." This specific charge of knavery has led some writers to feel that Milton wrote *Eikonoklastes* because he saw a chance to play a trick on the royal reputation, and the latest scholar, S. B. Liljegren,<sup>3</sup> asserts that Milton was hired as Latin Secretary on the understanding that he would thus attack the 'King's Book.'

Hitherto, however, two essential points have been overlooked. To begin with, Milton's book is not the first, but the fourth, volume in the controversy that the *Eikon Basilike* evoked; secondly, Milton was influenced to some extent in what he wrote by the previous writers in the field. This second consideration has never, to my knowledge, been stressed, and must first be demonstrated before any conclusions are drawn.

<sup>1</sup> *Defensio Secunda* (The Hague, 1654), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson's *Lives of the Poets, Milton* (ed. Firth, Oxford, 1907), p. 20

<sup>3</sup> S. B. Liljegren, *Studies in Milton*, p. 148. I am considering Liljegren's view, which I believe erroneous, in a separate study.

The following volumes bearing on the case appeared at approximately the dates indicated.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. February 9, 1648. <sup>4</sup><br>(Old Style) | Eikon Basilike, etc.   |
| 2. June 2, 1649. <sup>5</sup>                    | The Princely Pelican: Royall Resolves, &c. . . . Satisfactory Reasons to the whole Kingdome that his Sacred Person was the only Author of them.  |
| 3. August 26, 1649. <sup>6</sup>                 | Eikon Alethine. The Pourtrainture of Truth's most Sacred Majesty truly suffering, though not solely. Wherein the false colours are washed off, wherewith the Paintersteiner had bedawbed Truth, the late King, and the Parliament, in his counterfeit Piece, entituled Eikon Basilike: Published to undeceive the World. |
| 4. September 11, 1649. <sup>7</sup>              | Eikon Episte . . . in vindication of Eikon Basilike, in answer to an insolent Book, Intituled Eikon Alethine.  |
| 5. October 6, 1649. <sup>8</sup>                 | Eikonoklastes, <sup>9</sup> in answer to a Book entitled Eikon Basilike, etc.  |

From the dates indicated, and the wording of the title-pages, we observe that eight months elapsed between the appearance of *Eikon Basilike* and the publication of Milton's book; it is also evident that the authenticity of the former had been so much discussed

<sup>4</sup> Thomason Tracts, I, 722.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 768.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 747.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 771.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 765.

<sup>9</sup> The dates cited are, as near as we shall ever know, the actual days of appearance of these works. Mr. Almack (*Bibliography of the King's Book*, p. 31) remarked, "Learned writers have lately taken to recording Thomason's date on a Title as a sure indication of the day of publication, whereas it can only be concluded that, as he bought the book then, it had been issued as early as that date." However, with this caution that the dates given may not represent the first days of the books' lives, the presumption is very strong that they represent the approximate day of issue.

that, within four months of its first edition, a royalist felt it necessary, in the *Princeley Pelican*, to defend the royal authorship. We see, too, that the Parliamentary party had already had a champion who published a book (*Eikon Alethine*) attacking the *Eikon Basilike* as a forgery, nearly two months before Milton's tract came out. We notice, lastly, that Milton did not finally publish *Eikonoklastes* until the first governmental reply had been violently assailed by another royalist pamphlet, *Eikon Episte*, and that then only did Milton's book come out, accepting the claim of Caroline authorship, and attacking it in the main as the king's own work.

The statements just made may be deduced from the dates and title-pages of the early volumes in the controversy. But Milton's connection with these previous books may be more positively demonstrated. In the first place, the parallels between *Eikonoklastes* and *Eikon Alethine*<sup>10</sup> are such as to prove that Milton borrowed certain definite references, arguments, and intellectual twists from the first parliamentary champion. The evidence for this will be arranged in parallel columns.

<sup>10</sup> *Eikon Alethine* was a pamphlet of one hundred and seventeen pages, issued with all the usual introductory commendatory verses, an address to the 'Councell of State,' an open letter to the 'Seduced People of England,' a justificatory preface, and twenty-eight short chapters answering *Eikon Basilike* section by section. This book was written from the point of view of a sceptic regarding the claims of royal authorship made for the 'King's Book.' The writer consistently calls the author 'Doctor' and insists that he has betrayed King Charles's memory by his forgery. Thus, in his introductory poem 'to the Doctor,' he writes:

What made thee take  
His Name on thee, thou didst an Idoll make?  
What did thy belly wonted offrings want,  
And as thy Credit, so thy Coyne grow scant?  
And therefore hoping by thy Soveraignes fame,  
To make thy Copper currant, stamp't his Name.  
Impious Aegyptian, in thy hungry mood,  
To kill thy Apis, make thy God thy food.

The form of argument in *Eikon Alethine* is to take up various statements in *Eikon Basilike* and answer them one by one. The same method was later followed by Milton. While the manner was a characteristic form of controversy in this period, Milton's natural tendency to use it may have been confirmed by its use in this earlier volume.

## GROUP I

## Parallels of Allusion and Argument Occurring under Similar Circumstances, and in the Same Chapters, of Each Work.

[Note: For convenience later in referring to specific parallels, I have numbered each pair consecutively at the left of each citation. The numbers above the center of the citation show the chapter and page reference in *Eikon Alethine* and in *Eikonoklastes*, ed. 1650. The chapters are noted to show how many parallels occur during the discussion of the same points made by the *Eikon Basilike*. Quotations from *Eikon Alethine* are always in the left-hand column; from *Eikonoklastes*, in the right-hand.]

*Eikon Alethine*

Preface, p. 1.

1. I here . . . protest before the great God . . . that no intent to trample on the dead, or dishonour his dust, farr be such inhumanity, but a desire to vindicate the living cause . . . of God and my Countrey, moved me to this undertaking.

*Eikonoklastes*

Preface, p. 1.

1. To descent on the misfortunes of a person fall'n from so high a dignity, who hath also payd his final debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of itself a thing commendable, nor the intention of this discours. . . . I shall make no scruple to take up . . . this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalf of Libertie, and the Commonwealth.

## Chap. 1, p. 5.

2. *As one who always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for his Crowne, and best pleasing to his people.*

By this is discovered the impudence of this Forger, who hath dared to present the late King openly, averring and professing what all understanding men must contradict, or give their consciences the lye, and how villanously he hath dishonoured him.

First, making him act contrary to his knowledge, even to the very endangering his Crowne, and displeasing his people: for the breaking up so suddenly his so seldom called Parliaments, fully proves the assertion.

## Chap. 1, p. 5.

2. But to prove his inclination to Parliaments, he affirms heer *To have always thought the right way of them, most safe for his Crown, and best pleasing to his People.* What hee thought we know not; but that hee ever took the contrary way wee saw; and from his own actions we felt long agoe what he thought of Parliaments or of pleasing his People: a surer evidence then what we hear now too late in words.

## Chap. 2, p. 12.

3. But to see the folly of this Forger. For what consequente can arise from ones being sorry for a malefactor, to prove such a one could not but mourn bitterly for the blood of innocents? and his villany too against the late King, by presenting him owner of a conscience, which will stumble at a straw, and leap over blockes, *will strain at a Gnat, and yet swallow Camels.* . . .

## Chap. 2, p. 21.

3. To the Scribes and Pharises, woe was denouned by our Saviour, for straining at a Gnatt and swallowing a Camel; though a Gnatt were to be strained at: But to a conscience with whom one good deed is so hard to pass down, as to endanger almost a choaking, and bad deeds without number though as bigg and bulkie as the ruin of three Kingdoms, goe down currently without straining, certainly a farr greater woe appertaines.

## Chap. 2, p. 14.

4. But let all read the Articles that Earle was condemned upon, and them judge whether it was not treason in the highest degree? For had this alone been proved, that he advised the late King to enslave *England* by an *Irish Army*, was not this voice the language of tyranny, the very *Apn*, the *Tactus Physicus* of most absolute treason?

## Chap. 2, p. 17.

4. He had counseld the King to call over that Irish Army of Papists, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Testimony then present at the Consultation.

## Chap. 3, p. 16.

5. . . . if not, to attempt something more high and horrid, as the Queenes anger at his fruitlesse returne, seemed to imply, which could not have arisen to such a blustering height from a lesse cause, then the frustrating some high expectations and hopes built upon this bad designe.

## Chap. 3, p. 25.

5. If hee had *resolv'd to bear, that repulse with patience*, which his Queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide against it, with such an armed and unusual force?

## Chap. 3, p. 17.

6. Then how could he have missed . . . such writings, having sealed up their Chambers, Studies, and Trunks.

## Chap. 3, p. 26.

6. But yet he mist, though thir Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were seal'd up and search'd; yet not found guilty.

## Chap. 3, p. 17.

7. . . . a great number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others . . .

## Chap. 3, p. 25.

7. . . . what was this to that violation and dishonour put upon

to the number of three hundred, who . . . threw the doore open, . . . often loudly enquiring when the signe would be given, which signifies they expected more then they attained, and intended worse then they did attempt.

the whole House, whose very dore forcibly kept op'n and all the passages neer it he besett with Swords and Pistols cockt and menac'd in the hands of about three hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for the word of onset to beginn a slaughter.

## Chap. 4, p. 23.

8. And see with reverence the justice of God, who brought the late Kings blood, if it were innocent, to be shed; in the very same place, where the first innocent had his blood spilt in this quarrel, between Tyranny and just Liberty.

## Chap. 4, p. 38.

8. Neither is it slightly to be pass'd over, that in the very place where blood was first drawn in this cause, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own blood shed by the Executioner.

## Chap. 4, p. 25.

9. . . . and the late King rejoices for being so well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, the mongrel Parliament there in his Letter to the Queen.

## Chap. 4, p. 40-41.

9. . . . and yet by him nickname'd, and casheer'd for a *Mungrill Parlament* that vext his Queen with *thir base and mutinous motions*, as his Cabinet letter tells us?

## Chap. 4, p. 25.

10. . . . we may all see that the late King could not brooke a Parliament, no not a peice of one anywhere.

## Chap. 4, p. 41.

10. Whereby the World may see plainly, that no shifting of place, no sifting of members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from tumults, could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulness, and tyrannical Designes to brook the lest shape or similitude, the lest counterfet of a Parliament.

## Chap. 5, p. 28.

11. Neither that *it was an act unparalleled by any of the late Kings Predecessors*, when as some of the former Kings had passed Acts for a Parliament once a yeare.

## Chap. 5, p. 42.

11. The first Bill granted much less then two former Statutes yet in force by *Edward the third*; that a Parliament should be call'd every yeare.

## Chap. 6, p. 31.

12. And in his fourth Chapter affirmed the late King went away to redeem his person from violence.

## Chap. 6, p. 50.

12. . . he affirmes that *The danger, wherein his Wife, his Children, and his own Person were by those Tumults, was the maine cause that drove him from White Hall.*

## Chap. 6, p. 34.

13. The Coronation Oath bound Kings to grant, fulfill, defend, all rightfull Lawes and Customs.

## Chap. 6, p. 61.

13. . . his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable assent to what Laws the Parliament agree upon.

## Chap. 6, p. 38.

14. Let the world judge then if this Forger deserve not to be lashed with Bryers, and scourged with Thornes, who hath adorned the late King with such a Crown . . . of lead, whose embased flexibleness he forces to bend and comply to the false, and oft contrary dictates of his Pen.

## Chap. 6, p. 61.

14. . . for Thornes and Snares, saith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward; but to weare them as our Saviour wore them is not giv'n to them that suffer by thir own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due who cannot first wear a *Crown of Lead*; not onely for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counsel him, which heer he termes in scorne *An imbased flexibleness to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parliament.

## Chap. 7, p. 42.

15. Thirdly, for her loyalty as a subject, it appears in entertaining a *Nuncio* from the Pope . . .

## Chap. 7, p. 64-65.

15. In his Prayer he prayes that *The disloyaltie of his Protestant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion*; and never prays that . . . his permitting agents at *Rome*, the Popes Nuntio here . . . may not be found in the sight of God farr greater hindrances to her conversion.

## Chap. 9, p. 48.

16. Indeed the murdering of so many of the most warlick and ex-

## Chap. 9, p. 78.

16. For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the

pert English Gentry at *Cales* and *Re* . . . might make our peace admired, and envied.

English to a needless and dishonorable voyage against the *Spaniard* at *Cales*? . . . which brought forth that unblest expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*. . .

## Chap. 9, p. 49.

17. . . . and lent his ships to destroy the Navy of the poore Protestants in *Rochel*, whom he promised to aid.<sup>11</sup>

## Chap. 9, p. 78.

17. . . . which lent our shipping to a treacherous and Anti-christian Warr against the poore Protestants of Rochell our suppliants.

## Chap. 10, p. 55.

18. For the late Kings *unpreparednesse to assert his rights and honour*, how great it was I cannot tel, but am sure his preparations for a War were great enough, as may appeare by Letters from *Amsterdam*, declaring how the Crown jewels were pawned for to buy Morter-peices, Cannon, Grana-does, Powder, Carabines, Pistols, Saddles, Bullets, etc. whilst execra-tions, vowes, and protestations were here penned, . . .

## Chap. 10, p. 93.

18. Were Praiers and Teares at so high a rate in *Holland* that noth-ing could purchase them but the Crown Jewels? Yet they in *Hol-lan*d (such word was sent us) sold them for Gunns, Carabins, Morter-peeces, Canons, and other deadly Instruments of Warr. . .

## Chap. 14, p. 66.

19. For his Argument of *Pharaohs Divinity, and Josephs Piety*, (the first of which I never heard of, but in our Doctors ro-yalty; nor that the second extended to countenance idolatry), it hardly proves him either pious or a Divine.

## Chap. 14, p. 135.

19. . . . we leave him to make good, by Pharaoh's Divinity, if he please, for to *Josephs Pietie* it will be a task unsutable.

## Chap. 15, p. 67.

20. His triall abroad in Spain, evidenced the late Kings constancy in the Protestant religion, to some purpose; see his Letter else to the

## Chap. 15, p. 138.

20. He thanks God for his con-stancy to the Protestant Religion both abroad and at home. Abroad, his Letter to the Pope, at home, his

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also ". . . and his lending ships to destroy the *Rochel Fleet*." (*Eikon Alethine*, ch. 6, p. 37.)

Pope, then which from the beginning to the end nothing could more favour of Popery.

Chap. 21, p. 90.

21. . . . not sparing to wound his Mothers honour under a feigned pretense to exasperate the *Dane* against the Parliament.

Chap. 21, p. 92.

22. For the Doctor's farre fetcht argument of *Noahs Sons* practices, it is little to the purpose; for we are so farre from esteeming Kings to be the Fathers of Parliaments, that we affirm them to be theirs, and the peoples creatures.

Chap. 25, p. 100.

23. This Chapter requires no great paines to discover the forgery, it being so apparent by the late Kings actions, that he never was guilty of this pretended penitency, and the specious resolves.

For had he, the Parliament putting him so often into a *capacity to gloriifie God, in doing good both to the Church and State*, by their propositions, God sure would have permitted him to have done it, who deferred his judgements against *Ahab*'s House, for an outward formall humbling himselfe, in rending his cloathes, and putting Sackcloath upon his flesh, and fasting, and lying in Sackcloath, and going softly.

Chap. 26, p. 100.

24. But the same hand of Providence mercifully composed these di-

Innovations in the Church will speak his constancy in Religion what it was, . . .

Chap. 21, p. 176.

21. Was it not more dishonourable in himself to faine suspicions and jealousies, which we first found among those Letters, touching the chastitie of his Mother, therby to gaine assistance from the King of Denmark. . . .

Chap. 21, p. 177.

22. Which fact he would parallel with *Chams* revealing of his Fathers nakedness: When he at that time could be no way esteem'd the *Father of his Countrey*, but the destroyer; . . .

Chap. 25, p. 187.

23. But to prove how short this is of true repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented in words not borrowd, but thir own, and yet by the doom of Scripture it self are judg'd reprobrates. . . . And when Ahab heard the words of Eliah, he rent his cloaths and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.

Chap. 26, p. 193.

24. He censures, and in censuring seems to hope it will be an ill Omen

visions, and turned the intended mischiefs on their own heads, so that those builders of *Babel* could not make us from division fall to confusion, but were the hewers of wood, and bringers of water in the carrying on the building of *Jerusalem*.

that they who build *Jerusalem* divide thir tongues and hands. But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were divisions both of tongues and hands at the building of *Jerusalem*, the Story would have certif'd him: and yet the work prosper'd; . . .

## GROUP II

Parallels of Allusion, not Occurring under Identical Circumstances.

## Introd. Poem.

25. Impious Aegyptian, in thy hungry mood,  
To kill thy *Apis*, make thy God thy food.

## Chap. 1, p. 12.

25. And since there be a crew of lurking raylers, who in thir Libels, and thir fitts of rayling up and down, as I hear from others, take it so currishly that I should dare to tell abroad the secrets of thir *Aegyptian Apis*. . . .

[This is only in the 2nd Edition of *Eikonoklastes*.]

## Letter to Seduced People.

26. The Presbyter and Independent in this cause are like Hypocrates twins, they must live and die together.

## Chap. 21, p. 176.

26. He would work the people to a perswasion, that if he be miserable they cannot be happy. What should hinder them? Were they all born Twins of *Hippocrates* with him and his fortune, one birth, one burial?

## Introd. Letter.

27. Bee not cheated out of your innocency by this subtill Serpent with an Apple of Sodom, which at the touch of truth will fall to ashes.

## Chap. 24, p. 185.

27. Thus these pious flourishes and colours examin'd thoroughly, are like the Apples of Asphaltis, appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turne into Cinders.

## Pref., 2.

28. I never read of any that canonized themselves, but those that knew nobody else would do it for them. Thus *Caligula* indeed made himself a God while alive, because he knew the Senate would hardly decree him divine honors after his death.

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## Chap. 2, p. 10.

29. *Nero* could not seal a male-factors death without teares, and sighing out an *Oh that he could not write . . .*

## Chap. 6, p. 30.

30. For what could the grand Sultan more tyrannically have spoken, . . .

## Chap. 18, p. 82.

31. Behold then, and judge . . . whether it is probable the late Kings main interest was Episcopacy, and so this likely to be his work? wherein it is apparent, that the Authours consisted by his iterated clamours and cryngs out, *Great is the Diana of the Prelaticall Beasts of Ephesus, and the Government come down from Pope Gregory.*

## Chap. 10, p. 56.

32. . . . he might have been an *Oedipus*, and easily have resolved his own Sphinxship, . . .

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## Chap. 11, p. 110.

28. What other notions but these, or such like, could swell up *Caligula* to think himself a God.

## Chap. 9, p. 80.

29. The Tyrant *Nero* though not yet deserving that name, sett his hand so unwillingly to the execution of a condemned Person, as to wish *He had not known letters*

## Chap. 27, p. 205.

30. . . . and so farr Turkish Vassals enjoy as much liberty under *Mahomet* and the Grand Signior . . .

## Chap. 27, p. 201.

31. First, he hath the same fix'd opinion and esteem of his old *Ephesian Goddess*, call'd the *Church of England*, as he had ever, . . .

## Chap. 6, p. 57.

32. . . . like the Riddle of the *Sphinx* not understood, . . .

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## GROUP III

## Examples of Similar Treatment of Arguments.

## Chap. 6, p. 37.

33. He could not but remember the dissolving the Parliament, for questioning the D. of *Buckingham* for poysoning his Father.

## Chap. 1, p. 2.

33. The first he broke off at his comming to the Crown; for no other cause then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* against them who had accus'd him, besides other hainous crimes, of no less then poysoning the deceased King his Father.

## Chap. 9, p. 79.

33a. After the suspected Poysoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but smother'd up, and him protected and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parliament to be the Author of the fact; . . .

## Chap. 6, p. 45.

34. For who ever found *Livie* collecting that *Manlius* throwne headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock* for treason against the State, was justly punished by the Gods for his defending the *Capitoll*, . . .

## Chap. 26, p. 195.

34. *Manlius* defended the Capitol and the Romans from thir enemies the *Gauls*: *Manlius* for sedition afterward was by the Roman throws headlong from the Capitol, therfore *Manlius* was punisht by Divine Justice for defending the Capitol: because in that place punishd for sedition, and by those whom he defended. This is his Logie upon Divine Justice; . . .

## Chap. 9, p. 46.

35. . . . for the late King himself hath solemnly . . . confessed the Parliament defensive in the warre . . . this was written before the Concession at the Isle of Wight.

## Chap. 10, p. 91-92.

35. Thus . . . it appeares . . . that the King is truly charg'd to bee the first beginner of these civil Warrs. To which may be added as a close, that in the Isle of Wight he charg'd it upon himself, at the public Treaty, and acquitted the Parliament.

## Chap. 2, p. 13.

(A Common reference to the Book of Sports.)

36. . . . not his impiety in suffering Gods worship to be polluted with mens inventions, nay, in commanding his holy day to be profaned by sports unbeseeming a Christian people at any time.

## Chap. 1, p. 7.

36. And who knows not the superstitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remissness of his Sundays theatre; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Domiocal Jiggs* and *May-poles*, publish'd in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father James.

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Evidence of borrowing must necessarily be cumulative or spectacular to be convincing. Among the parallel passages just cited are examples of each type of evidence. In the first place, the first twenty-four passages occur in the discussion of the same chapters of *Eikon Basilike*; that is to say, when Milton came to twenty-four of Charles's supposed arguments, he answered them in language or reference strikingly similar to expressions occurring under like circumstances in *Eikon Alethine*. A few such cases might be due to chance. So many, on the other hand, show a connection between the books that is certainly not fortuitous. No two people could be expected to react identically twenty-four times in two hundred pages of controversy. I doubt if there is an instance of such an occurrence on record.

The parallels include a wide variety of references. Perhaps a further analysis of some of them may make the case more striking. No. 1 is a common protest of disinterestedness; No. 2 is an identical reaction to certain words used in *Eikon Basilike*; No. 3 shows both men playing argumentatively with a Biblical reference not found in *Eikon Basilike*; No. 4 is an example of the use of the same historical reference under similar stimulus.

Now, one may object to some of the parallels because they involve merely common knowledge. No. 5 may serve as a case in point. It very possibly was common knowledge that the queen called the king a poltroon when he returned empty-handed from Whitehall. But is it likely that both Milton and the anonymous author of *Eikon Alethine* would use this fact in discussing the size of the guard? There is nothing in the *Eikon Basilike* to suggest the point, and Milton's borrowings from the contemporary accounts

of the arrest of the five members are not sufficiently extensive for us to assume that they were before him as he wrote. No. 6 is an instance of verbal similarity, as well as of identity of argument; No. 7, while it might possibly have come from a third source, is the sort of reference that would pop up into the mind because one had recently had it recalled. It is one of the cumulative sort—not highly significant alone, but, taken with others, corroborative. No. 8 is an amazing parallel because, while it is in thought wholly characteristic of Milton's style of argument, it yet is so clearly anticipated. It led me to conjecture for a time that perhaps Milton was so cognizant of the writing of *Eikon Alethine* that he had made suggestions to its composer.<sup>12</sup>

Turning to Nos. 9 and 10 we find both authors using the same source, *The Kings Cabinet Opened* (Letter 10). And out of the whole volume they both use the same trivial reference and draw an almost verbally similar conclusion. Nos. 11 and 13 are likewise instances of each man choosing the same examples from the same source, *Rights of the Kingdom* (p. 30), to reply to the same points in *Eikon Basilike*. No. 12 is noteworthy because it is a parallel on a very minor point. Both men are drawing attention to a petty contradiction in *Eikon Basilike*: they note that, while in the fourth chapter fear of personal danger is given as the cause of leaving Whitehall, in the sixth chapter the cause is cited as shame. The charge of inconsistency is so quibbling that probably Milton would not have hit upon it had he not been thus stimulated. No. 14 is an elaborate stylistic turning of certain conspicuous phrases in *Eikon Basilike* to the king's disadvantage. Both are playing in seventeenth-century fashion. The important thing is that each plays with the same passage.

No. 15 shows both writers referring to the nuntio in the queen's entourage; Nos. 16 and 17 are more significant in that they reveal both men seizing on a chance line in *Eikon Basilike*: "Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of

<sup>12</sup> This view is a perfectly tenable one under my own theory as to the probable circumstances of the writing of *Eikonoklastes* (see below, p. 47). I do not stress this point, however, because it is too much a matter of inference.

Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? . . ." <sup>18</sup> It will be noticed that in reply the same historical events are cited, and other examples are excluded. No. 18 is similarly stimulated by the 'King's Book,' but is noteworthy for the resemblances in actual phrasing. No. 19 is like No. 14 in being a stylistic playing with an unimportant point in the original work. No. 20 might be an accidental use of the same reference, but No. 21, it seems to me, is too out of the way to occur independently to two writers. The king has maintained that the publication of the Naseby letters was dishonorable. Both answers reply, Wasn't your letter about your mother more dishonorable? Surely the laws of chance would have led one Parliamentarian to cite other questionable epistles.

Group II shows some parallel allusions, not used under the same circumstances, but of such an unusual nature that one would not expect to find them in two independently written works on the same topic. Indeed, I suppose they do not appear collectively in any other work of the period. No. 26, for instance, is a very recondite allusion. It is found in the *Euphues* (ed. Croll, p. 194), and Milton might have remembered it, but it is so rare that its appearance in two successive books is almost certain evidence that Milton's memory was refreshed by seeing it in *Eikon Alethine*. No. 28 is also an unusual reference, while No. 29 is a spectacular parallel. The others in this group are rather reminiscent parallels than direct verbal ones. I submit them as generally corroborative.

Group III has some interesting parallel arguments. No. 34, unstimulated by *Eikon Basilike*, is a most curious reduction of the royal case to a paradoxical absurdity, and could hardly have been original with both writers. The other cases in this group are parallels of historical reference, and, while each individually might have occurred independently, taken *en masse* they are good supporting evidence of a connection between the two authors.

I do not wish to labor the point, but I do desire to anticipate the first hasty objections of the reader, and to convince him that Milton knew *Eikon Alethine* before or while he was composing *Eikonoklastes*. This, I believe, the evidence makes indubitable, and the establishment of the fact of this knowledge is the first

<sup>18</sup> *Eikon Basilike* (chap. 7), p. 36.

step toward reaching a reasonably accurate understanding of the conditions surrounding the writing of the 'Image-Breaker.'

## II

It will be remembered that there was a reply to *Eikon Alethine* which was in existence within sixteen days after the first recorded day of the former's appearance. It was "in Vindication of *Eikon Basilike*" and "In Answer to an insolent Book, Intituled *Eikon Alethine*." While assaulting all the positions of the latter book, *Eikon Episte* stresses the one obvious question: "You say there is a forger of the *Kings Book*, I ask you where is he? where is his Forge? where is his Anvile? if you cannot tell me, you are all three" (p. 4). From this it is clear that the royal defender is in earnest, and that he has hit the weak point. If the book be a forgery, something else besides internal evidence must be produced. This is *Eikon Episte*'s argument; it was the best one that could be made.

*Eikon Episte* has many passages of considerable power. The following is a good specimen of the controversial method:

The Confutor quarrels at the Book for saying, that these Tumults like an Earthquake shook the foundations of all. If the Church afterwards fell: the Throne brake: the House of Lords came down: if it shook whole families out of their houses: the Major of London out of his place: Aldermen into the Tower: the Common-councillmen out of their wits: the money out of their purses: and the Chaines off their posts: and if all you were asleep, and did not perceive it: will you not believe when you see all this, that there was an Earthquake that shook all? what is there left unshaken? are your baggs whole? is your cash heapt? are your privileged intire? is your freedome safe? have you any property? is anything your owne? is not the publique faith it self come down? is it not brought from a noble to nine pence? and was not these *things call'd Tumults ominous?* (p. 13).<sup>14</sup>

In the fifth chapter (p. 17), *Eikon Episte* utters a challenge which Milton appears to be answering directly in his preface<sup>15</sup> when he agrees to try the king's book in this open and monumental court of his erecting. Says the king's advocate:

<sup>14</sup> So strong was this argument that *Eikonoklastes* does not press the question of the ominousness of tumults.

<sup>15</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, Pref. (iv).

Hadst thou but done with his Book, as the Regicides did with his Body, brought it to the bar of Reason, and there arrign'd it of high non-sence, as *Charls Stewart King of England* his Book; though thou hadst as little to say to it, as they to him, and wert as much afraid of his reasons as they of his, yet thou hadst *done* bravely. But to sneak behind a Doctor, and through his sides to wound a King (already Dead) through the heart of his good name: I neither can speak what I imagine, nor imagine what I should speak; but leave the world to be thy judge, and thine owne conscience thine accuser.

*Eikon Episte* continues on through the full twenty-eight chapters to take *Eikon Alethine* to task, sentence by sentence.

Of the making of such controversy there could easily be no end. Obviously enough, a man cannot write one hundred pages on a disputatious subject without overstepping a completely defensible position. Just as *Eikon Alethine* assaulted each questionable phrase of *Eikon Basilike*, so *Eikon Episte* seizes on each weak place in *Eikon Alethine*.

Now the question arises: did Milton know of, and profit by, the publication of *Eikon Episte*? I believe that he did, but the evidence is not very strong, and the best argument to be advanced is one of time and probability. The book appeared before his own and in answer to a parliamentarily inclined tract on his own subject which he did know. London was small, and *Eikon Episte* would be heard of very quickly. Thomason, as we have seen, secured it at once.<sup>18</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Milton would see the book or have it drawn to his attention. The probability is all the more likely from the fact that he was expected to answer the *Eikon Basilike*.

With this confessedly mere probability in mind, an examination of *Eikonoklastes* and *Eikon Episte* reveals some confirming evidence. In the first place, Milton departs most from the reasonings of *Eikon Alethine* in those chapters against which *Eikon Episte* made out the best case. Thus, in chapter 15 the king's confuter made a great ado about Charles's letter to the Pope, when, as the Prince of Wales, he was wooing the Spanish princess. *Eikon Episte* (p. 58) proves that there is much to be said for Charles; Milton in turn only mentions the letter *en passant* and makes little

<sup>18</sup>I say 'at once,' because the interval between Aug. 26 and Sept. 11 is so short that *Eikon Episte* could not possibly have gone through the press much sooner.

of it. In the second place, where *Eikon Episte* makes a strong point, Milton is likely, while never mentioning that work, to cover the argument. A good instance of this is found in the discussion of the Roman Catholic quality of the *Book of Common-Prayer*. *Eikon Episte* (p. 63) adduced this evidence:

In *Edوارد* the sixth dayes, it was put to the Vote, whether or no, they should utterly renounce the old Liturgie, because some superstitions were in it, and make a new, or else retaine the old, expunging the errors, that should be found to be in it. They all cried a new, a new one, away with the old one, Archbishop *Cranmer* stood up and told them, it would more declare their innocency, and carry with it a lesse shew of any schismatycall intentions, if they should raze out all its errors, that *Rome* her selfe might see, that we did not forsake her, but her errors, and hereupon their mindes were altered, and the Book continued rectified as now it is, and the only absolute Liturgie in the world.

To this Milton opposes his citation from Holinshed.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, he learned that without proof the authorship of *Eikon Basilike* could not safely be impeached. For he had seen that *Eikon Alethine* frequently fell into circuitous reasonings: it would maintain that the untruths in the king's book must necessarily be forgeries because Charles knew better than to write such things, and it would asperse those things which Charles might well have written, like the meditations on death, because the book was a forgery. So *Eikon Episte* repeatedly caught up the confuter for reasoning in a circle. Milton could not afford to have the justice of his position confused by logical quibbles. That apparently is why, in the absence of proof of a forgery, he accepted the challenge, and confuted the book, at the 'bar of reason,' as the king's own production.

But in any case, whether or not it can be fully demonstrated that Milton profited by *Eikon Episte*, our study of the controversial publications of the summer of 1649 makes it possible to construct with greater certainty the probable course of action which Milton pursued in writing his tract. If we accept as actual dates of publication those days mentioned by Thomason, we could declare that Milton had written little before July 11, 1649, when

<sup>17</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, ed. 1650, p. 143.

Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom* appeared, which he directly cites,<sup>18</sup> or before August 26 when *Eikon Alethine* came out, which I have shown he knew, or perhaps before September 11, when *Eikon Episte* was issued, which he seems to be familiar with. But this might be stressing questionable dates beyond a reasonable interpretation. Indeed, from September 11 to October 6, Thomason's date for *Eikonoklastes*, Milton would have had very little time for writing and publishing so extended a work. There are, to be sure, some evidences of haste in composition, on which Almack, after quoting, comments thus: "The foregoing is not from the mouth of a Hyde Park ranter on a Saturday afternoon, but from the pen of John Milton!"<sup>19</sup> There are, moreover, some printer's errors, but since an omitted negative was not corrected a year later in the second edition, and since the general appearance of the pages was not materially altered either, no undue haste in printing need necessarily be inferred. Milton's own statement<sup>20</sup> that the work was assigned, rather than chosen or affected, "which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other imployments and diversions" must also be reconciled with these new facts. I am purposely presenting the conflicting facts *en masse* in order to show how hard is a solution satisfactory to all conditions of the problem. The following seems to me the most plausible.

I believe that the absence of definite directions to Milton by the Council of State to write *Eikonoklastes* shows that the Council adopted a policy of watchful waiting before the final action should be determined. The Cromwellian party was brainy, and understood the dangers of persecution as well as its advantages. It is not probable that they would desire to take the 'King's Book' to task until it was evident how great its influence would be. Moreover, there may be something in the story that John Selden was first asked to write a reply. The Council would want a more famous champion than Milton was in 1649, if he could be secured. Selden's refusal would tend to make the Council hesitate more than ever. Even the regicides must have feared to attack fallen majesty by other than gossiping insinuation.

<sup>18</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, ed. 1650, p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> Almack, *Bibliography of the King's Book*, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, ed. 1650, Pref. (III).

So it came about that the first open blow in the controversy was a royalist defense, the *Princely Pelican*, which was issued about June 2,<sup>21</sup> and which purported to give "satisfactory reasons to the whole Kingdome, that his sacred person was the only author" of the "divine meditations" (title page). In chapter 8, p. 25, the author writes:

Some there be, (and those of the principall'st Favourites of our Grandees) who usually spread reports, that his *Majesty* was no such *Author* of this *Worke*. Onely He might be acquainted with the zealous affection of some *pious Chaplaine*: who took upon him that task, merely to dignifie the labour, and bring it into request, by sending it abroad under His Princes Name.

To delude the world too, They say that one Doctor *Harris* was the Composer of it. Others assigne it to Doctor *Hammond*.

The author then proceeds to disprove these two possibilities.

The *Princely Pelican* was a direct attack on the aspersions which the party in power had been disseminating since the previous February. It was written as an authoritative assurance to those royalists whose faith in the *Royal Image* might have been undermined by the insinuating gossip. It thereupon became necessary for the Council either to attack the book openly as a royal composition or to make a direct assault on it as a forgery, trying as best they could to substantiate the charge. *Eikon Alethine* was, in my opinion, the revolutionary party's attempt to establish the accusation of forgery. In his *Life of Milton* (London, 1810), p. 335, Symmons says,

In an able work . . . with the title of *Eikon Alethine* . . . the charge of spuriousness is brought and urged with great power against the Icon, which is ascribed by this anonymous writer, who exhibits much of Milton's spirit, to a Doctor of the Church of England.

The important point is the suggestion of a Miltonic influence in the *Eikon Alethine*. Indeed when I first noted the parallels between the 'Image of Truth' and the 'Image Breaker' I believed the former might be by Milton. I now think, after some study of the style, that it is by other hands, but it is certainly possible that Milton knew of its writing and that he touched up or contributed phrases and passages. For example, while the intro-

<sup>21</sup> Thomason, I, 747.

ductory letter to the 'Councell of State' contains no matter that is found later in Milton's book, it uses the Bible, profane literary references to Archimago and Don Quixote, and to classical stories in a manner very suggestive of Milton, a manner that could only have been employed by a writer of similar erudition. The following excerpt from chapter 16 of the *Eikon Alethine* is an example of the kind of story Milton might easily have contributed. It possesses that curious sardonic, half-angry, half-impatient humor which is the nearest Milton ever comes to "laughter holding both his sides." Writing of the inconvenience of set ecclesiastical forms, the author continued:

Then this set-form occasioned much idlenessse, and caused many to bury their Talents in the Liturgies sheets, never improving that strength God had given them, in wresting for this blessing, in importuning him for a Spirit of prayer.

Hence so many of our great Doctors could not so much as perform private family-duties, without the Common-prayer Book: and if any extraordinary occasion happened in publick, which was not provided for by that, the Divine (forsooth) was altogether unprovided, yea, unable to doe this duty.

Thus when one, who had like to have been offered up a Sacrifice to Death on a Bulls horns, desired the due oblation of a gratefull heart might be rendred to God for his mercy manifested in delivering him, the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, for one of them he was, of the place, was forced to make use of the thanksgiving used for women after child-bearing.

And so this *Ogge*, this fat Bull of *Basan*, roaring out, O Almighty God, which has delivered this man, thy servant, from the great pain and peril of *Bull-goaring*, moved the Congregations spleen, not their hearts, insomuch that they who should have joynd in returning thankes for the mans deliverance from a Beasts violence, with him, were generally moved to laugh at him, and his brutish ignorance.

I do not insist on the point that Milton touched up the *Eikon Alethine*. The supposition is merely one possible explanation of the facts that he was so familiar with the book as to use many odd expressions contained therein, and that the publication of his own was so late. The more important point to be deduced is that the appearance of this volume made the writing of his own attack, accepting the royal authorship, of very questionable expediency. I believe that the government was feeling its way during the summer of 1649, and was trying one plan after another in attacking the *King's Book*. If *Eikon Alethine* accomplished its purpose, no further notice need be taken of the "divine meditations." I

believe that Milton was accumulating material in his mind or in his notes through the summer of 1649, hardly knowing whether he would need to use it or not, and hoping that the *Eikon Alethine* would definitely free him from the unenviable task. The immediate appearance of *Eikon Episte*, however, made it evident that the royalists would not accept the impugning of the kingly authorship; it made the *Eikonoklastes* imperative; it forced Milton to finish what he had begun "so late" and worked on so "leisurely." The actual writing<sup>22</sup> of *Eikonoklastes* was probably done in the first three weeks of September, 1649.

This view of the writing of *Eikonoklastes* shows it as a kind of 'trial-balloon.' It gains credibility from the fact that Milton admits his reluctance to write the book. It shows Milton's work as the third attempt of the Council of State to dissipate by propaganda the effect of *Eikon Basilike*. When the *Princely Pelican* showed that gossip and insinuation had failed, when *Eikon Episte* showed that the charge of forgery made by *Eikon Alethine* had failed, then the decision must have been reached that it was time to turn on the thunder of Milton's pamphleteering genius.

In view of Milton's indebtedness, which I believe I have demonstrated, to *Eikon Alethine*, some discussion is appropriate as to the effect of these borrowings on our estimate of *Eikonoklastes*. The first point is that of the manner of presentation. Milton was accustomed to the seventeenth-century custom of answering a book chapter by chapter. He used the method later against Salmasius. But, since he was so intimately acquainted with *Eikon Alethine*, I think it fair to say that in this instance he followed a specific rather than a general model, and that to this extent the form of his work is borrowed.

Secondly, we may consider the parallel arguments in *Eikon Alethine* and *Eikonoklastes*. It is certainly true that a man of forty, and a statesman of Milton's type, does not have his doctrines determined by an anonymous pamphlet. In a very real sense, one may conclude that the arguments of *Eikon Alethine*, in so far as

<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence for Masson's statement in his *Life*, IV, 145, that "though it was not published till Oct. 6, 1649, it must have been in preparation, and much of it written, before Cromwell's departure for Ireland on the 10th of July." Internal evidence is all to the contrary, as we have seen.

they coincide with Milton's, merely show that more than one man in England held Miltonic opinions. But, on the other hand, it can also fairly be asserted that, when Milton has cast his thought in the words and illustrations of his predecessor, he has to that extent become a debtor, and to the anonymous writer rather than to Milton is due whatever merit these borrowings possess. But we must bear in mind that Milton's book is expanded to double the size of *Eikon Alethine*, and shows the influence of reading in many volumes besides that of *The Image of Truth*. Milton is still greater than his predecessor in the same field.

Finally, this study of *Eikon Alethine* has also revealed various definite allusions common to that work and Milton's. In such cases Milton's debt is very pronounced. Had he not recently read of the 'twins of Hippocrates,' of Caligula deifying himself, of Henrietta Maria's words on the king's return from Whitehall, of the elaborate remarks on the nature of the 'mungrel parliament' at Oxford, the chances are that these references would not have been in *Eikonoklastes*. In these we have new knowledge of Milton's sources and of his methods of composition.

When all has been said about borrowings, the fact remains that *Eikonoklastes* is still the most important reply to the 'King's Book,' because it is the authoritative expression of the government's views. *Eikon Alethine* and *Eikon Episte* may have had some readers, but the most interested of these would have been Dr. Gauden, who doubtless looked on at this violent discussion of his forgery with much secret trepidation.

But *Eikonoklastes* must have attracted much more attention because it was a semi-official document. That it was suppressed in 1660 sufficiently indicates its importance in royalist eyes; that *Eikon Alethine* had passed, the silence concerning it is sufficient evidence.

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## THE COMMONWEALTH DRAMA: MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

BY HYDER E. ROLLINS

The following notes are intended to supplement my article, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," which was published in *Studies in Philology* (xviii, 267-333), in July, 1921. That article is referred to below merely as the *History*. Of these notes some are new, others well known already; but it seems desirable to collect these pertinent references that for one reason or another were not mentioned in the *History*. A number of them are of trifling importance, but several—especially those that relate to John Shanks, Robert Cox, the Turk, and the Inns of Court—have considerable value. Several additional instances of plays performed in London theatres during the Commonwealth period are given, and a bit more light is thrown on theatrical matters in the provinces, especially at Oxford. In the main, the notes are self-explanatory, and so comments on the passages quoted have been reduced to the minimum.

### I. THE LONDON THEATRES

1.—1642, October 24. The *Perfect Diurnal* (cf. *History*, p. 273) of this date tells of "one Shanks, a player," who with two other officers in the Parliament's Army (Captain Wilson and Lieutenant Whitney) ran away from his command at the beginning of an engagement, and who, as a result, was examined before the House of Commons and committed to the Gatehouse for punishment according to martial law. One of these officers, it was proved, had openly declared that he would take the Parliament's pay but would not fight against the King.

Commenting on this passage, J. P. Collier, in his *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, pp. 278-279, showed that this Shanks was not John Shanks (or Shank), the actor celebrated for his jigs, who acted in Shakespeare's plays, because the latter was buried at St. Giles, Cripplegate, on January 27, 1636. Among the documents relating to a dispute between the share-holders of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres in 1635 (which are printed in J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines of the Life of*

*Shakespeare*, 7th ed., 1 (1887), 314) a good deal of personal information about Shanks, the jig-dancer, is given. He calls himself "an old man in this quality," points out that he has served successively in the companies of the Earl of Pembroke, Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, and yet has, so he declares, "in this long time made noe provision for himselfe in his age, nor for his wife, children and grandchild, for his and their better lively-hood." (These facts are noticed also in the sketch of Shanks in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

I suggest that the disloyal officer mentioned in the *Perfect Diurnal* was a son of the jig-dancer. He was evidently the person described as "John Shaunks, actor, of the Fortune playhouse," who appeared before the Court of High Commission on February 8, 1640, and was sworn. On February 13 that Court instructed Sir Nathaniel Brent to ascertain the amount of Shanks's income from the playhouse and otherwise and out of this income to allot alimony to the actor's wife (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1640*, pp. 393, 396).

2. ca. 1643. "To Mr. E. B.", Thomas Forde's *Faenestra in Pectore. Or, Familiar Letters*, 1660, p. 56.

The Souldiers have routed the Players. They have beaten them out of their Cock-pit, baited them at the Bull, and overthrown their Fortune. For these exploits, the Alderman (the Anagram of whose name makes *A Stink*) moved in the House, that the Souldiers might have the Players cloaths given them. H. M. stood up, and told the Speaker, that he liked the Gentleman's motion very well, but that he feared they would fall out for the Fools Coat. But you know who has Acted that part, and may very well merit that, among the rest of his gifts.

Thomas Atkins ('A Stink') was Alderman during the years 1638-1644 (A. B. Beaven's *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 1913, p. 64), and he must have made this motion—if he made it at all—before the expiration of the year 1643. He was Lord Mayor in 1644-1645. The date of 1643 is all the more probable if H. M. is an abbreviation for Henry Mildmay. The latter gentleman attended two plays that were interrupted by soldiers in 1643, and in the *History*, p. 277, another instance of a raid on a theatre in that year is pointed out.

3. 1644. John Cleveland's *The Character of a London-Diurnal* (*Works, 1687*, p. 85).

Actors must have Properties; and since the Stages were voted down, the only Play-house is at Westminster.

An early statement of an old jest.

4. 1645. George Wither's *Vox Pacifica: A Voice Tending To The Pacification of God's wrath*, p. 121. [Among the enemies of Parliament is a Major-General, "the Prince Of broken fortunes."]

His ragged Regiments

(Beside those lousie, and those tatter'd fellowes  
 Late pressed for him, out of Beggars Rents,  
 And freed from the prisons, and the gallowes)  
 Were patch'd up, out of *Bankrupts, cast-Commanders,*  
*Cashier'd Bandettees, Fellowes of the pot,*  
*Debauched Players, Tapsters, Gamesters, Panders,*  
 With such, as in a drunken fit were got  
 To beare them companie. And, these are they  
 Who first made *plunder seem a lawfull prey.*

5. 1645. *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary* (*Phoenix Britannicus*, I, 1732, 479). [Speaking of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle:]

And for Newcastle, he's but a *counterfeit Marquiss*; at the best but a *Play-wright*; one of *Apollo's Whirligigs*; one who, when he should be fighting, would be *fornicating with the Nine Muses*.

6. 1646. Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena*, Part III, pp. 187, 191.

A great Sectary pleaded in the hearing of persons of worth (from whom I immediately had it) for a Toleration of Stage-playes, and that the Players might be set up againe.

[The sectaries] will plead for going to Playes, and thousands of them are carelesse in all holy duties.

In Pt. I, p. 35 Edwards speaks of an Anabaptist's church, conducted in Coleman Street by an ex-soap-boiler named Lam (or Lamb), and declares that "in their Church meetings, and Exercises there, is such a confusion and noise, as if it were a Play." Edwards was a member of the Assembly of Divines, so that his attitude towards the stage is of considerable significance.

7. 1646. *A Pearle In A Dovnghill. Or Lieu. Col. John Lilbvrne in New-gate*, p. 3. [Printed in June. Addressing the House of Lords the anonymous author asks:]

Which of ye before this Parliament, minded any thing so much as your pleasures? *Playes, Masques, Feastings, Huntings, Gamings, Dauncings, with the appurtenances.*

This passage is quoted in *Gangraena*, Pt. III, p. 198, with some slight inaccuracies.

8. 1646. Samuel Sheppard's *The Famers Fam'd Or An Answer, To two Seditious Pamphlets*, p. 15. [Replying to No. 7, above:]

The Lords in generall, I meane those now assembled in Parliament, were ere this Parliament was thought on, men renowned through the world, men singularly vertuous, men fearing God and eschewing evill: and what though they beheld Masques, do not all wise men know, that a Morall Masque is profitable to see? and though to the unlearned, who may refraine the sight of them, they seem Riddles, and Nulls, yet to the knowing, who are able to explaine the sense and meaning, and to crack the shell, they finde a sweet and pleasant kernell.

Whether the Lords were pleased with such a defense, since they themselves had helped to abolish plays, is another story. Probably Sheppard didn't care whether they were pleased or displeased. Later on (cf. *History*, p. 294), he openly attacked Parliament for its suppression of the stage.

9. 1647. George Wither's *Amygdala Britannica. Almonds for Parrets*, pp. 9-10.

When, you have had hard work to do,  
And, added five, to forty two;  
You shall perceive a good Play spoil'd,  
And, by unworthy Actors, foil'd;  
The Scaenes transpos'd, the Acts confus'd;  
The Poet shamefully abus'd:  
The first intention of the Plot,  
By those confusions, quite forgot:  
Yea, them, to Tragick-Acts design'd,  
Who enter'd with a Comick-mind.

Your much abus'd Spectator [shall go] mad;  
And, in their furiousnesse go near  
The Players rags, from them to tear;  
Or, pul the Stage, and Play-house down;  
Unlease a med'cine, yet, unknown,  
Be soon appli'd: Or, on the Stage,  
(To stop the peoples rising rage)

Some quick-devise, and pleasing-straine,  
Be brought, to charm them down againe.

Wither was ostensibly prophesying in these passages, but evidently he had heard of actual raids on the theatres. He did succeed, it appears, in predicting the ordinance of February, 1648.

10. 1647. *Crete Wonders foretold By Her crete Prophet of Wales, which shall certainly happen this present year 1647*, sig. A 2 (Ashbee's Occasional Fac-simile Reprints).

There shall also crete inflammations of Lightning tis happen year about the fortune in Colding-Lane, if the players can get leave to act the tragedies of Doctour *Faustus* in which Tempest shall be seen shag-haired Tivills, runne roaring with squibs in teir mouthes, while drummes make thunder in the tiring-house, and the twelve pennie hireling make artificiall lights in her heavens.

11. 1649. *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. The Black Books*, II (1898), 385. [At a council held at Lincoln's Inn on November 28, attended by fifteen benchers, this order was passed:]

Upon the reading of an Order from the Parliament for suppressing of Revellinge and Dancinge in the Inns of Courte and Chancery, It was ordered that there should be no more Revills, Dancing, nor Musique in the common Hall of this House, untill further Order taken; and that the Order of Parliament be sett upon the skreene tomorrow att dinner time, that the gent. may have notice of it.

For the Order of Parliament here referred to see the *Journals of the House of Commons*, VI, 327 (November 28, 1649).

12. 1649. *The Tragedie of King Charles I., basely butchered . . . in which is included the Several Combinations and machinations that brought that incomparable Prince to the Block, the overtures hapning at the famous Seige of Colchester, The Tragicall fals of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, the Just Reward of the Leveller Rainsborough, Hamilton and Bailies Trecheries, in delivering the late Scottish Army into the hands of Cromwell and the designe the Rebels have to destroy the Royal Posterity.*  
Printed in the year 1649.

This is one of the most remarkable plays of the period, denouncing in the most bitter terms Cromwell and other Puritan leaders

for the murder of Charles I. It purports to have been acted, but if so the performances were, of course, given surreptitiously. In "The Prologue to the Gentry" occur these lines:

Though Johnson, Shakespeare, Goffe, and Davenant,  
Brave Sucklin, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shurley want  
The Life of Action, and their learned lines  
Are loathed, by the Monsters of the times;  
Yet your refined Soules, can penetrate  
Their depth of merit.

13. ca. 1650. *Mercurius Menippus (A Fourth Collection of Scarce . . . Tracts, 1751, II, 62).*

We perceive at last, why Plays, went down; to-wit, that Murders might be acted in earnest. Stages must submit to Scaffolds, and personated Tragedies to real Ones.

14. ca. 1650. Sir Aston Cokayne's *Choice Poems*, 1669, p. 188.

*To My Wife.*

My *Mall*, how we desire both to go down,  
And still how business stayes us in the town!  
Since Plays are silenc'd by the Presbyter,  
And Wine is grown so very naught and dear;  
*London* seems frowning like a Step-dame now.

There are, of course, many other references to the drama and the stage in Cokayne's work, notably to Beaumont and Fletcher.

15. 1652. *The Diary of John Worthington*, Chetham Society ed., I, 49.

July 9. A tragedy was acted at Holme.

I doubt seriously whether this entry actually refers to a play,—the editor does not comment on the passage,—and it is included here merely on sufferance.

16. 1652. [Sir John Birkenhead's] *Bibliotheca Parliamenti, &c. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines* [added to] *Two Centuries of Pauls Church-yard*, p. 47.

*Sejanus*: An old Tragedy to be newly acted by the company at the Cock-pit.

This is one of the "Books to be sold in Little Britain" in Birkenhead's satirical list.

17. 1653-1655. *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, 12th Series, App., VII, pp. 21-22.

Among the expenses of Sir Daniel Fleming, of Skirwith, at London during the period from January to September, 1653, were 2s. 6d. for seven playbooks and "for the seeing of a play, 2d." In the period extending from February, 1654, to March, 1655, he "Spent in going to a play, 1s. 4d." and "spent with Sir W. F. [Davenant?] and Sir G. F. [George Fletcher] at the Playhouse 15s." The playhouse in question was probably the Red Bull. On May 29, 1655, he spent "In going to see the Turke at Durham House, 7s." This seven shillings may have covered several performances at which the Turk danced. On the Turk see the *History*, pp. 313-315, and notes 18, 51, below.

18. 1654. *A Jolt on Michaelmas Day 1654* [a satirical ballad on Cromwell in] *Rump*, I (1662), 365.

But when my Lord sticks  
Up his Bills to shew tricks,  
Hee'l undo th'other dauncing Turk.

The Turk is mentioned also in Davenant's *The Play-House To Be Let*, I, i, and in Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, 1672 (*Complete Works*, ed. Grosart, III, 86). Cf. also note 17. For a much earlier rope-dancing Turk who was in London in 1589 see Thomas Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 262.

19. 1654. Edmund Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot*, pp. 272-273. [The plays of Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Cartwright, "and the rest" are now not plays but works, which are widely read, and]

which are survivors of the stage; that having faldn, not into Court-Reformers, but more severe correctors, who knowing not how to amend or repaire, have pluckt all downe, and left themselves the only spectacle of their times.

20. 1654. Thomas Jordan's *Cupid his Coronation, as it was presented, with good approbation, at the Spittle dyverse tymes, by Masters and yong Ladys that were theyre scholers, in the yeare 1654* (MS. Rawlinson B 165, Bodleian).

This title comes from W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 1867, p. 309. I have not seen the masque, the title of which reminds one of

Shirley's *Cupid and Death* (1653). Jordan's *Cupid* must have been performed openly and lawfully. [Cf. note 29, below.]

21. 1655. *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, II, 409.

On November 19 the Council of the Inn entertained a petition that the revels suppressed six years before (cf. note 11) be revived.

22. 1655. Robert Withington's *English Pageantry*, II, 43 f.

There were no Lord Mayor's shows from 1640 to 1654, but in 1655 the Lord Mayor's pageant was revived. Such pageants were continued regularly from 1655 through the period of the Restoration.

23. 1655. *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, ed. Margaret M. Verney, III (1894), 241.

In July Sir Ralph Verney wrote to his son, Edmund, advising him not to return to England because of the "strange life our youth now lead for want of a Court and Playes to entertaine them." Cf. the *History*, p. 321.

24. 1655. *A True Register of all the . . . Burialles in the Parische of St. James, Clerkenwell*, ed. Robert Hovenden, IV (1891), 306 (Harleian Society).

Dec. 12. Robert Coxe, a Player.

This register also notes the burial of "Katherine daughter of Robert Coxe" on September 30, 1647 (*ibid.*, p. 301). In the *History*, p. 311, it is pointed out that in 1653 Cox had five living children. The date of Cox's death is a new and important fact, and it explains why his *Diana and Actaeon* was given to the press. The first edition of that work, "Printed by T. Newcomb for the use of the author," is undated, but probably appeared in 1655 before Cox died. (The catalogue of *The Huth Library*, 1880, I, 362, dates it 1655; the *Handlist* of Mr. W. A. White's library gives the date 1645, but this is no doubt a misprint.) The second edition, to which one new droll was added, appeared after Cox's death—probably on September 1, 1656. Such, in any case, is the date George Thomason added to the copy he bought. It is important to note, then,—though the fact seems to have escaped comment,—

that *Actaeon and Diana* was printed for Cox's benefit just as Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wild-Goose Chase* was printed in 1652 for the benefit of the two actors, Joseph Taylor and John Lowin. Nothing could show more clearly the esteem and pity Cox's contemporaries felt for him.

"Robert Cox, son of Thomas, citizen and draper, born April, 1604" was admitted to the Merchant Taylor's School (C. J. Robinson's *Register*, I, 96) in 1618. I suggest (though proof is hardly possible) that this entry refers to our droll-actor. The date agrees perfectly with the known facts of Cox's life. A glance through the beautifully printed but meagerly indexed *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London* (5 vols., Oxford Press, 1914-1922), compiled by A. H. Johnson, has failed to reveal the name of Thomas Cox.

25. 1656. Thomas Carte's *A Collection of Original Letters*, II (1739), 83. [A correspondent informed the Marquess of Ormonde on February 28:]

Besides the massacre on the poor beavers [?bears], by that Knight-errant Sir Tho. Pride, there went to the pot also 60 cocks of the game; all this being done for preventing any great meeting of the people.

Cf. the *Diary of Henry Townshend*, ed. J. W. W. Bund, I (1920), 31-32:

Feb. [1656]. Col. Pride, now Sir Thomas Pride, by reason of some difference between him and the Keeper Godfrey of the Bears in the Bear Garden in Southwark, as a justice of peace there caused all the Bears to be fast tied up by the noses and then valiantly brought some files of musketeers, drew up and gave fire and killed six or more bears in the place (only leaving one white innocent cub), and also all courts [?cocks] of the game. It is said all the mastiffs are for to be shipt for Jamaica.

On this matter (*History*, p. 318) see also *The last Speech and dying Words of Thomas (Lord, alias Colonel) Pride; being touched in Conscience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the Bear-garden, when he was High-Sheriff of Surrey. Taken in Short-hand, by T. S. late Clerk to his Lordship's Brew-house*, 1680 (*Harleian Miscellany*, 1809, III, 136). A ballad in Alexander Brome's *Songs and other Poems* (1668, p. 146) and in *A Collection of Loyal Songs*, 1731 (I, 184) comments on Pride's Bear-Garden exploit thus:

The Crime of the *Bears*, was, they were *Cavaliers*,  
 And had formerly fought for the King;  
 And pull'd by the *Burrs*, the Roundheaded *Currs*,  
 That they made their Ears to ring.

Tom Godfrey, the bear-warden, is referred to again in the latter anthology, vol. I, p. 195. To him John Taylor, the Water Poet, dedicated the pamphlet of *Bull, Beare, and Horse* (1638), where the information is given that there were four bulls and nineteen bears in the Garden and that three shows a week were presented. In the Clerkenwell register cited in note 24 (iv, 347) an entry for October 19, 1662, reads: "Thomas Godfrey, who formerly kept the Beare garden ouer the bankside, buried in the Church."

As for cock-fighting (*History*, p. 313) and the attitude of the civil authorities towards it, see the records of an action on March 3, 1656, against six men (for having been present "att an unlawfull assembly and game of Cock-fighting neere Well Close in the parische of Stepney") preserved in J. C. Jeaffreson's *Middlesex County Records*, III, 247 f.

26. ca. 1656. Alexander Brome's *Songs and other Poems*, 1668, p. 234.

So though we've lost the life of playes the *stage*,  
 If we can be *Remembrancers* to th' age,  
 And now and then let glow a *spark* in print,  
 To tell the World there's *fire* still lodg'd i'th flint,  
 We may agen b' enlightened once and warm'd,  
*Men can't be civil till they be inform'd*.  
 Walk wisely on: *Time's* changeable, and what  
 Was once *thrown* down, is now again *reacht at*.  
 And we may see *pleasure* and *honour* crown  
 The *Stage*, when inconsistent *Tubs* kick down.

Brome was such an outspoken critic of the government that he deserves a prominent place in a history of the drama. There are other passages of this nature in his poems.

27. 1657. Laurence Price's *A famous City turned Into Stone*. [George Thomason's date is December 23, 1656.—British Museum, E. 1638 (2).]

The city was "Angrogra in Barbary," and an account of the prodigy came from Sir "Kellum" Digby, who having heard of it from "the Prince of *Barbary*, and the Duke of *Florence*, sent it

into *England* to have it put in Print, that we may take warning by their destruction." Sin, says Price, brought down this heavy judgment; and among other sins Angrogra had "three gallant Theatours, or Play-houses, which were aloud every day in the week, so often as they thought good to use their vaine glorious exercises." This passage has some interest for students of Puritanism and its attacks on the stage. Price himself was, however, a Puritan rather from expediency than from conviction.

28. 1657. Samuel Clarke's *A Mirror or Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners*, p. 542.

A certaine man that had spent much time in reading Play-books, and Romances, he had a friend that coming to his Chamber, took down from off a shelfe a Play-book, who reading a little was taken with it, and desired to borrow it: after a while he comes to borrow another: the owner being sensible of his own hurt, and being grieved to see his friend infected, used this prudent remedy: *You complained (said he) when you came into my Chamber, of cold, I will make you a better fire:* and presently (though his friend sought to hinder him) he takes down a whole shelfefull of such Books, and burns them before him; saying, *This I have done to punish my selfe, and to preserve you.*

If many Puritans felt and acted so sternly, the comparative rarity of plays in their original editions is not to be wondered at!

29. 1657. Thomas Jordan's *Tricks of Youth, or, The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon*.

Dedicating this play (which was acted in August, 1641, for "19. days together") to Richard Cheyney, Esq., Jordan speaks of "those jocund dayes, when ingenious Spirits were not daunted to behold the Physiognomy of their Minds and Manners in the Mirrour of a Dramatick-Poem," of "this tempestuous season," and adds that "Prudence hath well instructed me to shrowd it under the undoubted safety of your Protection." The second edition, 1663, has a prologue that refers to raids on the theatres:

*We have been so perplexed with Gun and Drum,  
Look to your Hats and Clokes, the Red-coats come.*

Jordan's *Fancy's Festivals: a Masque, As it hath been privately presented by many civil persons of quality* was printed in 1657. This and his 1654 masque (No. 20) seem to indicate that he found

little difficulty in securing permission to produce his dramatic work more or less openly. The important part he played in keeping theatrical performances alive has not yet, perhaps, been fully appreciated. Naturally enough, when the ban on plays was lifted, he turned to the production of the interludes that are discussed in Mr. Robert Withington's *English Pageantry* (II, 57).

30. 1657. *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, ed. F. A. Inderwick, II (1898), 328.

To the music for 5 November, 1657, and their yearly fee, and acting  
'The Countryman,' 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

A play called *The Countryman* was registered at Stationers' Hall on September 9, 1653, but is apparently unknown. Its performance at this time shows, no doubt, the effect that Davenant's theatrical ventures were having. A Master of the Revels had resumed his office at the Inner Temple in 1653, and the revels were held in 1654 (*ibid.*, pp. 317, 325).

30a. 1657-1660. *Master Worsley's Book*, ed. A. R. Ingpen, 1910, pp. 44-45. [Ingpen makes this comment on the Middle Temple:]

During the Commonwealth there was much of the old hilarity in the Temple. In the "Extracts from Accounts" are to be found such items as these:

"27th Feby 1653-4. Dancers and others, gratuity for instructing the gentlemen 'and for occasions of the House of that nature'.....£20.

12th Feby 1655-6. Hilary Term, Revels, Candles, six Torches, Marshal's staff.....£19. 6. 9.

Similar entries appear each year in the Accounts for 1657-1660, and also for stage plays.

31. 1657. *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, III (1894), 319. [In December the Hon. Mrs. Margaret Sherard wrote to Sir Ralph Verney:]

I hir by the by that Moll hath a great mind to see a play; if they be as they have bin this many eyers [years] tugen to peisuses at them, I shall not like them, soe I have refred hir to you. If you think as she may goe with safty, I am well content, soe shee goes with thos persones as tis fit for hir.

Apparently plays were becoming fashionable. When 'Moll'

wrote, she may have had Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* in mind. In any case, Davenant's dramatic productions had set the fashion.

32. 1658. The ballad on Davenant's *Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (*History*, p. 325) is reprinted in *Notes and Queries*, 4th S., ix, 49, by E. F. Rimbault from a MS. version. There is also a printed copy of the ballad in *A Select Collection of Poems, with Notes*, 1780, p. 203.

33. 1659. *A Collection of Loyal Songs*, 1731, II, 274.

7.

The Stages to their Freedom  
Shall be restored soon after,  
And Poets like Lictors,  
Shall Scourge our Afflictors,  
And make our old Suff'rings our Laughter.

8.

W[illiam] P[rynn]e shall be the Master  
O' th' Revells (for's Contrition), . . .

34. 1659. *Nicholas Papers*, ed. G. F. Warner, p. 85 (Camden Society, 1920).

A correspondent of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, under the date of March 31, speaks of "the consideracion of Sir Wm. Davenant and his opera (which goes vp agen next weeke)." This passage is extremely important in connection with the investigation ordered on December 23, 1658 (*History*, p. 329). Perhaps the investigation of Davenant's opera was more searching than is generally believed.<sup>1</sup>

35. 1660. Thomas Fuller's *Mixt Contemplations On These Times*, 1660, pp. 9-10.

*In plaine English, Hypocrite* is neither *more* nor *less* then a *Stage-player*.

We all know that *Stage-players* som years since were put down by publick Authority, and though *something* may be said *for* them, *more* may be brought *against* them, who are rather in an *Employment* then a *Vocation*.

<sup>1</sup> A fact of interest about Davenant himself is given in W. Denton's *Records of St. Giles' Cripplegate* (1883), p. 158, from the register of christenings for 1664: "Thomas, son of William Davenett, Knight, and of Dame Mary, born 14th, christened 31st January."

But let me safely utter my too just fears, I suspect the fire was quenched in the *chimney*, and in an other respect scattered about the *house*. Never more st[r]ange Stage-Players then now, who weare the vizards of Piety and holinesse, that under that covert they may more securely commit sacrilege, oppression, and what not?

36. 1660. *A Dying Fathers Last Legacy To An Onely Child: Or, Mr. Hugh Peter's Advice To His Daughter*, p. 35.

The Maid was possest, because the Devil found her in his own house, *viz.* a Play-house.

37. 1660. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Fifth Report, App., p. 174.

On August 12 one William Smith wrote that "last Thursday" Charles II "had the divertissement of dancing of the ropes before him in the great hall at Whitehall. Notwithstanding Mr. Calamy has lately, as I hear, petitioned His Majesty against his two royal brothers for going to plays." This is rather an interesting survival of a type of entertainment that had become popular because plays themselves were not permitted. On the rope-dancers see note 50, below.

38. 1660. Walter Blott's *A Chronicle of Blemundsbury* (1892), p. 351.

Received from Mr. Roades, off the Cock-pit playe-house, for playing att the rate of 2d. a day for every day the' play'd, till the 28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1660, £4. 6s. 0d.

Another source for the statement made in the *History*, p. 332.

39. 1660. Sir William Davenant's *The Prologue To his Majesty at the first Play presented at the Cock-pit in White Hall*, November 19 (reprinted in J. P. Collier's *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*, vol. II). [Reviewing the actions of the Puritans against the stage, Davenant says:]

They broke the Mirror of the Times, the Stage.  
 The Stage against them still maintain'd the war,  
 When they debauch'd the Pulpit and the Bar.  
 Though to be Hypocrites be our praise alone,  
 'Tis our peculiar boast that we were none.  
 What e're they taught, we practis'd what was true,  
 And something we had learn'd of honor too.  
 When by your danger and our duty prest,

We acted in the field, and not in jest;  
 Then for the Cause our Tyring-house they sack't,  
 And silenc't us that they alone might act.  
 And (to our shame) most dext'rously they do it,  
 Out-act the Players, and out-ly the Poet.

40. 1661. *Mirabilis Annus, Or The year of Prodigies and Wonders*, p. 75 (mispaged 77).

At Ilmister in Somersetshire, a woman who very much hated a godly able Minister that was newly turned out of his Living, there as she was bringing home some fire which she had fetched from a Neighbours [sic] house, wished that it were burning in the said Ministers belly; the same day as it reported there was acted in the Town a Play in derision (as some do affirm) of that which they call the Rump Parliament;) This woman made great hast to dispatch her business that she might be at leisure to attend the Divertizement of so good an exercise as that Play was, and it seems in her hast did leave her fire (kindled, by that which a little before she wished in the Ministers belly) very carelessly, insomuch that her own house with about twenty six houses more, upon or near the market-place were before night burnt down to the ground.

This book, with its sequel (1662), is bare-faced Puritan propaganda, evidently written to frighten people into leaving non-conformist ministers in their pulpits. The play referred to above was John Tatham's *Rump*, which was first acted about May, 1660.

## II. THE PROVINCES

41. 1642. William Kelly's *Notices Illustrative of the Drama* [in the Borough of Leicester], 1865, p. 266.

Itm given to a Companie of Plaiers by Mr Maiors appointment . . . . xs

No further payments were recorded during the period from 1642 to 1660.

42. 1646. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Third Report, App., p. 295.

The old comedy of *Band, Ruff, and Cuff* (reprinted by Halliwell-Phillipps, 1849; Hindley's *Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, vol. II) was presumably acted at Oxford, for in a MS. copy owned by Matthew Wilson, Esq., there is a prologue and epilogue to it dated at Oxford on February 24 (perhaps 1646/7).

43. 1648. *Narcissus*, ed. Margaret L. Lee, 1893, p. xv.

*Stoicus Vapulans* was acted at St. John's College, Oxford; Jasper Mayne's *Amorous War* at some unspecified place in Oxford; and Richard Lovelace's *The Scholar* at Gloucester Hall, Oxford.

44. 1649. *Reading Records*, ed. J. M. Guilding, iv (1896), 329.

On July 4 the Mayor and Corporation of Reading drove out the rope-dancers who had been giving performances in their city: "The dauncers of the rope were this daie forbidden to stay any longer in Towne."

45. 1650-1660. *Reprint of the Barnstaple Records*, ed. Thomas Wainwright, ii (1900), 161.

Bull-baitings were occasionally arranged for the entertainment of the people at Barnstaple.

46. 1651-1654. *Narcissus*, ed. Margaret L. Lee, p. xv.

At Oxford William Cartwright's *The Lady Errant* was acted in 1651; Arthur Wilson's *The Inconstant Lady* at Trinity College in 1653; and Robert Mead's *The Combat of Love and Friendship* at Corpus Christi College in 1654.

47. 1656. R. J. Charleton's *A History of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, n. d., pp. 198-199.

The Newcastle magistrates were especially zealous in chastising the poor players as rogues and vagabonds. Stage plays in those days were performed by stealth in the outskirts, and even there the actors were not always safe from the vigilance of the town's officers, for we have many instances in the town records of their having been seized and whipped. The victims on one occasion, we read, were sundry stage-struck heroes of Jesmond and Ewes Burn village.

Unfortunately Charleton gives none of the "many instances." His last sentence refers to the actors, seven in number, who were whipped for performing a comedy on December 28, 1655 (*History*, p. 305), and whose downfall is gleefully chronicled by the *Public Intelligencer* of January 14-21, 1656. A further notice of the whipping of these seven amateur actors appears in *The Weekly Flying Post* of January 10, 1656, whence it was reprinted in J. H. Hinde's *Archaeologia Aeliana*, iv, 235, and in *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii, 113.

48. 1657. Andrew Clark's *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, I, 213, 220.

At Oxford Wood paid 6d. "to see the dauncing upon the ropes" on February 19. On July 6 he went to a play at the Blew Anchor, a tavern. The rope-dancing was probably done by the Turk (cf. note 51, below).

49. 1657. *Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset*, III (1912), 324.

Certain mummers were charged with drunkenness, card-playing, fiddling, and assault on December 26.

50. 1658. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-60*, p. 423.

Jacobus Brower, whose company of rope-dancers was reputed "the rarest in these parts [England] for that activity," performed before Prince Charles at Antwerp and Breda, according to a petition to be allowed to go abroad again which he made in April, 1660. Perhaps his company gave performances in London (cf. note 37, above) and in the provinces as well.

51. 1658. Andrew Clark's *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, I, 255.

At Oxford Wood spent on July 17 "to see the play att the Cross Inn, 6d." ; on July 12 "for seeing the Turke dance, 6d." ; and on July 14 "to see the Turk, 6d." On the Turk see notes 17 and 48, above.

52. 1659. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 279, 299, 405.

At Oxford on July 8 Wood paid fourpence to "see a play at the Roe-buck." Under the date of December Wood writes of the Presbyterians and Independents of Oxford: "They would not suffer any common players to come into the Universitie, nor scholars to act in privat, but what they did by stelth; yet at Act times they would permit dancing the rope, drolles, or monstrous sights to be seen." Among these drolls were undoubtedly (as Francis Kirkman tells in his preface to *The Wits*, 1672) some in which Robert Cox "starred." "To spite the Presbyterians," Wood tells us, plays

were given publicly at Oxford from July 3 to July 13, 1661. (On these 1661 plays see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-62*, p. 32.)

53. 1660. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 321 f., 336.

On July 9 Wood went to see a rope-dancing entertainment at Oxford. He may have attended the performance, in July, of Abraham Cowley's *Guardian* which H. Jessey attacked in *The Lords Loud Call To England* and which is summarized in the *History*, p. 333. In any case Wood knew all about the performance. (It should be noted that the play mentioned in the *History*, p. 270, n. 9, as having been performed at Oxford in March, 1642, was Cowley's *Guardian*.) Cowley's play, Wood tells us, was acted on July 19, 1660, "by" (=at?) Newman's dancing school near St. Michael's Church. Jessey's pamphlet is false from beginning to end, as Wood unmistakably proves. For example it was printed in August, and yet asserts that John Glendall, who acted the leading rôle, was dead. Wood declares that Glendall died on October 8 from causes entirely unconnected with the stage-performance. Glendall, he says, was a Cheshire minister's son, "a great mimick, and acted well in severall playes which the scholars before acted by stealth, either in the stone house behind and southward from Pembroke coll., or in Kettle hall, or at Halywell mill, or in the refectory at Gloucester hall." Various answers to Jessey's pamphlet were published, among them John Gadbury's *A Brief Examination of that Nest of Sedition, And Phanatick Forgeries, Published by Mr. H. Jessey: Wherein his Arguments . . . brought against Stage-Plays, and drinking of Healths, [are] answered; and the good use of both, with Authority and Reason, warranted*.

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## THE DAYES OF THE MONE

BY WILLARD FARNHAM

Astrology was an occult science with a powerful attraction for the medieval mind. But the mistake is sometimes made of thinking that astrology was simply astrology whether touched by a pompous sage, by an adventurous-minded man of letters like Chaucer or Gower, or by the plainest of plain men. The homely rhyme on *The Dayes of the Mone* printed in the following pages from British Museum Ms. Harleian 2320 is a part of the folk astrology in the middle ages. Fortunately this means that it yields more folk-lore than scientific astrology. Those important classes of events mentioned as most dominated by the moon's influence are an eminently practical assortment for the plain man: blood-letting, buying and selling, setting of houses, journeying, fleeing from enemies, dreaming, finding of lost possessions, and of course being born, the event for which we should like most of all to know the outcome and which has most attracted the application of astrology. The reasons advanced for the character of fortune attached to the days are most interesting bits of pseudo-Biblical lore.

The devious methods of the learned astrologers, never agreeing among themselves and often basing conclusions on a very real knowledge of astronomy, were not for the common man, who must have been little different from his proletarian descendant of today. Cusps, houses, and faces, bodies in conjunctions, and bodies semi-sextile, quintile, square, or trine, together with the rest of astrological jargon were of course dark mysteries to him. It is not surprising that for his practical use he required a popularization of the science in rhyme, which to the folk always means increased possibilities of remembering and quoting. He would also require a simplification. The following scheme for the moon's influence uncomplicated by that of other bodies seems to be a sort of rule-of-thumb astrological procedure. Even to professional astrologers the moon was ruling queen of the stars that hovered over man's destiny.<sup>1</sup> To the unlettered men of all ages she has seemed so

<sup>1</sup> J. S. P. Tatlock, *Astrology and Magic in Chaucer's Franklin's Tale*, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, p. 342, especially note 1.

obviously the ruler of the night sky that there have always been believers in doing things according to the state of the moon. Today when the intricate medieval astrology is believed in only by a scattering few, the ordinary man may still be found planting his crops, looking for a change in the weather, getting rid of warts, or doing any one of a number of everyday things according to a change in the moon's face.

Moreover, the same curious scheme of lucky and unlucky days in the lunar month which we find in this medieval rhyme survives in modern superstition. Birthdays of Biblical characters are still given as the reasons for good or evil chance.<sup>2</sup>

Chaucer was greatly interested in the most learned confines of astronomy and astrology and was perfectly capable of handling himself with credit there. But as the glass of his age he now and then gives us a glimpse of that limited popular astrology which referred worldly affairs largely to the influence of the moon. When Pandarus went to call upon Criseyde to do Troilus' errand, he evidently consulted some sort of almanac containing information, possibly rhymed like that in the present manuscript, concerning the fortune connected with the days of the moon,

And caste and knew in good plyt was the mone  
To doon viage, and took his wey ful sone  
Un-to his neces payleys ther by-syde.<sup>3</sup>

As will be seen the author of *The Dayes of the Mone* is usually particular to tell what chance awaits a voyager on a day in question. *Caste* here might imply a regular astrological computation, but this is unlikely in view of Pandarus' character and the usual meaning of the word. It probably means nothing more than *considered*. Also when Nicholas strove to convince the simple-natured carpenter that a flood was coming, he did not try to make the poor man's jaw drop with wonder at his command of heavy scientific words and profound astrological learning. As a clerk of nimble wit with astrology for a hobby, Nicholas could have done this. But with greater astuteness he simply said:

I have y-founde in myn astrologye,  
As I have loked in the mone bright

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<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia of Superstitions, Folklore, etc.*, ed. Cora Linn Daniels and C. M. Stevans, Milwaukee, 1903, III, pp. 1673 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Troilus*, II, ll. 74-76.

That now, a Monday next, at quarter-night,  
 Shall falle a reyn and that so wilde and wood,  
 That half so greet was never Noës flood.<sup>4</sup>

The carpenter had "crouched" the apparently crazed Nicholas "from elves and fro wightes," was familiar with the story of Noah's family troubles while launching the ark, and was in every way a right representative of the folk. The moon as a governor of floods and other dire things he understood. He would not have been apt to own any book, but he showed evidence of knowing folk rhymes and he might have known one about the lucky days of the moon. In any event he would have been perfectly familiar with the moon's use in prognostication. More astrology than this he might have scorned as madness, just as he had hitherto scorned Nicholas' studies. Nicholas would have defeated his purpose had he explained less simply.

The astrology which Chaucer employs with zest in the *Franklin's Tale* is quite different from the popular sort, though even here the well-read magician is careful as to the position of the moon, making its influence a first consideration.<sup>5</sup> In the *Man of Lawe's Tale* when Constance goes upon her unfortunate journey, Chaucer refers in the more mathematical astrological fashion to the weak position of the moon, which should have warned a knowing person that all was not right for a journey:

O feble mone, unhappy been thy pas!  
 Thou knittest thee ther thou art not receyved,  
 Ther thou were weel, fro thennes artow weyved.<sup>6</sup>

Gower in his poetical dissertation on astrology in the *Confessio Amantis*, which is more technical than popular, says that persons born under the moon are restless travellers.<sup>7</sup> The connection of the moon with journeying seems to have been strongly established in folk belief.

British Museum Harleian 2320 is a stubby little octavo on parchment. It is a typical gathering of household information, including a Latin calendar, imperfect, beginning in May, an astrological tract concerning the characters of people born under the

<sup>4</sup> *Miller's Tale*, ll. 328-332.

<sup>5</sup> See Tatlock's article in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* already referred to.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 208-210.

<sup>7</sup> Bk. vii, ll. 746 ff.

different signs in the zodiac, the rhymed guide for the days of the moon, directions for the making of many sorts of laces, and some small recipes and prognostications. Its language would date it at latest as of the very early fifteenth century, though it may easily have been written in the fourteenth century. *The Dayes of the Mone* begins without title on folio 31 and breaks off abruptly, lacking a small part of the conclusion, on folio 51 b. Punctuation and headings for the days have been added in the editing. A series of rhymes very similar to *The Dayes of the Mone* is extant in Harleian Ms. 1735, whose author is John Crophill, a medical practitioner of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Both manuscripts have been used by J. O. Halliwell in the compilation of his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*.

The thirty days which are given to the moon's waxing and waning obviously correspond not to the sidereal month of approximately twenty-eight days but to the ordinary or synodical month, which astronomers compute as 29.53059 days. It is the time from the actual appearance of one new moon to the next, used by almanac makers in marking the moon's cycle.

#### THE DAYES OF THE MONE

He þat wol herkyn of wit  
þat ys witnest in holy wryt,  
Lystenyth to me a stonde.  
Of a stori I schal yow telle,  
What tyme ys good to buy *and*  
to sylle,  
In bok as hyt ys yfownde.

Hyt was a gode astramyen  
That on þe mone kowþe seen,  
And also on the boke,  
Alle thynges lasse and more,  
And þerfor þys same lore  
Out of þe boke he toke.

And þerfor boþe heye and lowe  
Lystenyth a litel þrowe  
What I schal ȝow seyen;  
And ge schulle hyre many þynges  
Of wysdom and fayre kunynges,  
That ben soþe and sertayn.

Gode tyme of blode latynge  
I schal ȝow schewen *wythoutte*  
lesyng  
And many oder þynges also.  
Of surgery I schal ȝow lere,  
What dreymys ben in al manere,  
And oder þynges mo.

I schal ȝow saye be good reson  
What tyme hyt ys good seson  
Al þynges for to don;  
Hows to sette oper se to passe,  
As clerkys sayen þorow Godys  
grace,  
Be sygnes of þe mone.

For alle þynges under þe sonne  
Sythen þe worde<sup>\*</sup> was begunne  
By þe mone they gon,  
Lond and water, best and man,  
And al þat euer God began,  
þus seyen þes clerkes euerychon.

\* Ms. sic.

I schal ȝow sayen also beforne  
 What tyme a child ys born  
 What of hym schal befall,  
 Perfor lysteneth to me now  
 And godely I schal schewyn ȝow  
 þes forsayden þynges alle.

## Day 1.

The furste day of þe mone  
 God wist wel what was to done.  
 Dat day Adam he made.  
 Ho so doþ owt þat day begynne,  
 Per of getys he ioye and wynne,  
 And tythynges þer of ful glade.  
 Dat day ys good so sothe to telle  
 For to byen and to sylle  
 And the se for to passe.  
 All þat ys don þat ylke day,  
 Hut schal haue good spedē þu fay,  
 Good hap, and eke fayre grace.

Ho so taketh þat day sekenesse,  
 Oþer any greuaunce more or lesse,  
 He schal wel hyt ascape,  
 But ho so fleyþ away þat day,  
 He schal be fownden wythoute  
 delay  
 And ybroȝte aȝen in rape.

He þat on þat day ys born,  
 Long lyf ys leyd hym be form;  
 God ȝeue hym wel gode spedē.  
 Dat day ys holsum and good  
 A man to letyn hys veynes blod,  
 If hym lyste to blede.

## Day 2.

The secunde day of þe mone  
 All gode þyng ys good to done;  
 Dat day God maked Eue.  
 Of Adam ys rybbe he hyr toke,  
 As hyt ys wryt in þe boke  
 Of holy cherche bý lyue.

Ho so þat day to þe see wyl fare,  
 He schal hyt passe wythoute  
 care;  
 Hym schal dere no þyng.  
 But no þat day wyth woman  
 synnwyth,

A sory worke he begunnyth  
 And hastily entomeryng.

Ho þat day sykenesse doþ take,  
 Unnethe fro hym schal hyt selake,  
 So harde hyt schal hym bynde.  
 Of grete age schal he noȝt be  
 Oute of þys worlde whan he schal  
 tee,  
 In bokys as we fynde.

## Day 3.

þe iii day of þe mone was Caym  
 yborn,  
 þat in helle ys forlorn  
 For he hys broþer scloghe.  
 Beware boþe olde and ȝenge  
 þat je þat day begynne no þyng,  
 As je wil do þour prouw.

He þat fleyþ þat day certeyn,  
 He schal be founde sone agayen  
 Wythoute any fayle,  
 And ho so in sykenesse doþ falle,  
 Hyt schal fordone hys myȝt  
 alle,—  
 No leche may hym a vayle.

þat sekenesse schal holte hym  
 longe  
 Wyth harde peynes and stronge,  
 And do hym muchel quede;  
 And whan he ys wox ryȝt olde,  
 Hys myȝtys hyt schal make colde  
 And brynge hym to þe dethe.

þe chyld þat on þat day ys borne,  
 Harde happys ys leyde hym by  
 forn,  
 For he schal be a schrewe,<sup>\*</sup>  
 Fel and falce and ful of gyle,  
 But he schal leue but a whyle,  
 He leuen but ȝeres fewe.

Ho þat day dremeth aught,  
 Hyt schal be tokyn þyng of noȝt,  
 Noþer yuel neþper gode.  
 The iii day, yf þu wele,  
 By fesyk and by gode skele  
 þow mayst late þe blode.

\* Ms. *schewe*.

## Day 4.

þe iiiii day was ybore Abel.  
 þat day ys gode, I telle þe wel,  
 Workys to begynne.  
 þat chylde for soþe þat ys bore  
 þan,  
 He schal be a ful gode man  
 And longe leue and wynne.  
 þat þu dremest yn þy sclepe,  
 þer of be þu war and ȝepe;  
 Wayte wel, hyt ys noȝt gode.  
 þe iiiii day of þe mone  
 Ryse up by þe morwe sone  
 And boldely late þe blode.

## Day 5.

þe v day ys fel and kene.  
 He þat taketh sekeness or tene,  
 He schal deye þe ȝowr.  
 þat day ys a gret foly  
 Hous oþer lond for to bue,  
 In feld oþer in bowr.  
 Ho so fleyth þat day certayn,  
 He schal noȝt be fownde again,  
 At morwe ne at eue.  
 þat þu dremyst yn þy sclepyng,  
 Hyt may be soþ wyt owte lesyng  
 And ryȝt wel for to leue.

But be war in al maner  
 Du tel þy drem to non holier,  
 For hyt ys noȝt to done.  
 þe v day blede þu mayst.  
 Ho so ys born þat day y plȝt,  
 He schal day ful sone.

## Day 6.

þe vi day Daniel y born was,  
 þat holp Susanne þorow Goddys  
 grace,  
 Out of worldly schame.  
 He þat ys born þat day trewly,  
 He schal be nobel and hardy  
 And a man of wel good fame.

\* Such references as this to the book or those to the author of it, who is never mentioned by name, mean that the versifier is either popularizing an actual treatise or pretending to have authority. There is no special reason to think that he is pretending.

But þat day be þu noȝt ywedde  
 And brynge no woman to þy  
 bedde

In no maner wyse.  
 Ho þat day takeþ sekennys,  
 He recoueryth, I ghese,  
 And hol he schal up a ryse.

þy drem he seyth wyth oute oþ  
 þat hyt ys boþe gode and soþ,  
 But tyme ys non to bledie.  
 Wher so þat day þu makyst þy  
 way,  
 Soden deþ schalt þu noȝt deye,  
 But ful wel schalt þu spedie.

## Day 7.

þe viii day of þe mone  
 Abel fleyde a way sone  
 Fro hys broþer Caym;  
 But þat day Abel was selayn  
 Of hym þat lyth yn helle sertayn  
 In peynys strong and grym.

þat day ys dysmol, y wys,  
 For ho so doth ouȝt amys,  
 He schal be schend þer fore.  
 But, as þe bok makyth mynde,<sup>10</sup>  
 þat day schal þu hyt sone fynde  
 þer þu hast ouȝt y lore.

Ho so taketh sykenes oþer peyne,  
 He myȝt be sauued pour medeceyne  
 Hys peynes to a bate.  
 And where of so þy dremyng be,  
 At þe laste þu schal hyt y se,  
 But hyt schal come wel late.

## Day 8.

þe viii day, ho so wele,  
 Lat hym blod by good skele  
 Whan he seet hys tyme.  
 But ho so wel schal any dede done,  
 Best hyt ys before þe none,  
 By twyxtе underne and pryme.

þe viii day of þe mone  
 Al þyng ys goode to done,  
 I warne þe be forn.  
 For þat day I telle þe  
 þat þe ryche kyng Matusale  
 Of hys moder was born.

Ho þat day in sykenesse doþe  
 falle,  
 He schal a scape hys peynes alle  
 And ouercome hem ful welle.  
 Ho so fleyth þat day certeyn,  
 He schal be founde ful sone a  
 þen,  
 And dremys buth soth euerych  
 del.

þe chyld þat ys born þat day,  
 All hys lyf, soþ to say,  
 He wurthe to an usere.  
 þe viii day of þe mounē  
 To lete blode ys noȝt to done,  
 For sothe hyt wol þe dere.

## Day 9.

þe ix day of þe mone  
 þu schalt haue þy dreme sone,  
 Wthy yune þe iiiii day.  
 But he þat day takyþ sykenesse  
 Hyt schal hym holde longe, I  
 gesse.  
 I ther wel þe soþe say.

Ryȝt on þat day *wyth* oute fable  
 Is goode tyme resonable,  
 What so þu hast to done.  
 But loke þat day þat þu noȝt fle,  
 For yf þu dost, I telle hyt þe,  
 Pow comest a þen wel sone.

Blode latyng I þe for bede,  
 þat þu yn no wyse blede,  
 Neyþþer erly ne late.  
 But þu may do al oþer þyng  
 When so þu walt at þy likyng,  
 In sauynge of þy state.

þe ix day let þe noȝt blode,  
 For yf þu dost, hyt makeþ þe  
 wode  
 In a lytel whyle;  
 þus seyn ful wyse clerkys.

I rede þerfore þu fle suche  
 werkys  
 Or þey wol þe be gyle.

## Day 10.

þe x day of þe mone  
 I schal þe say what ys to done.  
 þat day was Lameth y bore.  
 þat day ne ys gode ne ylle,  
 But kepe þe wel boþe lowde *and*  
 styllē,  
 I warne þe by fore.

What place þat þu be ynne,  
 Loke no workes þe be gynne  
 Upon the x day,  
 But þu fle whyderward,  
 þu schalt scape happys harde  
 Wyth oute any delay.

If þu þat day sekenes take,  
 Hyt schal þe longe werke wrake  
 Be dayes and be nyȝt.  
 þe chylde þat day bore ys,  
 A rycheman schal be he noȝt, y  
 wys,  
 Ne wel pore y plyȝt.

þy dreme yn þe same wyse,  
 I holde hyt on þe mene assyse  
 Be twixt bothe to,—  
 Hyt tokenyth noþer euyl ne  
 good.  
 þe x day let þe noȝt blode,  
 For hyt wol do þe wo.

## Day 11.

þe xi day of þe mone  
 Al þyng ys gode to done  
 þat longyth to no synne.  
 If þu þat day bye oþer sylle,  
 Oþer take wyf, trewly to telle,  
 þer on þu schalt wynne.

But ho fleyþ þat ylke stounde,  
 Aȝen sone he schal be founde,  
 Whyþer þat euer he go.  
 And ho so fallyth in any chaunce  
 Of sykenesse oþer of greuaunce,  
 Wel sone hyt schal hym fro.

Ho so ys bore þat ylke day,  
He schal be strong y now in fay,  
Hardly, lyȝt, and fere.  
What euer þu dreme, hyt schal  
be falce,  
And euyl hyt ys to bleden alse  
þat day in euery maner.

þat day was Noe ys sone Caym  
born,  
þat wytnessyth al þys be forn,  
Dat hyt ys gode and trewe.  
And yf þy dreme schal anȝt ben,  
þe iiiii day þu schalt hyt sen;  
God let þe noȝt to rewe.

## Day 12.

þe xii day of þe mone  
Alle þynge bath good to done  
And profytabel y now.  
þat day Cam, Noes sone,  
Was ordyned in to þys world to  
come  
And born wyt owten wo.

But yf sekenys þat day þe greue,  
Erly a morwe oþer at eue,  
Long hyt schal þe laste.  
To fle þat day yf þu hast þoȝt,  
Of þyn enmyes drede þu noȝt,  
Þoȝ þey sewy þe neuer so fast.

What chylde þat day born be,  
He schal haue wysdom grete  
plente  
And gret cunnynge also.  
What so þu dreme, hyt schal be  
good.  
Boldely þat day lete þe blood,  
For hyt schal do þe good.

## Day 13.

þe xiii day of þe mone,  
If þu haue ouȝt to done,  
þan be gynne no þyng.  
þat day Noe be gan to sette  
Hys vynys wyth oute lette  
þat fel to no lekyng.

þat day yf þu begynne out,  
þer of schalt þu wynne noȝt,

Neyper litel ne mykyl.  
þe chyld þat on þat day ys born,  
Gret schame ys leyd hym be  
forn;

He schal be fals and fekyl.

If þu falle þat day in peyne,  
Oþer on sykenes, for soþ to  
seyne,  
Long hyt schal þe holde.  
And yf þu lese þat day ouȝt,  
A gayn fyndest þu hyt noȝt  
In feld ne in wode.

þat day þy dreme soþ schal ben;  
þe iiiii day þu schalt hyt sen.  
Good hyt sygne fyet.  
þe xiii day, gode hyt ys  
þat day to lete þe blode, y wys,  
For so seyt he þat noȝt lyeth.

## Day 14.

þe xxiiii day of þe mone  
Alle þynges ar good to done,  
So þat no synne be wroȝt,  
For þat day Godys prust Aaron  
Blessyd olde Symeon,  
But loke þow fle noȝt.

If þu þat day wyt oute lye  
Fal in any maladye,  
Sone hyt schal þe fro.  
And yf a chyld be born þat day,  
He schal be a schrewe in fay,  
Fel and fals also.

What so þy dremys þat noȝt ben,  
þe vij day þu schalt hem sen,  
Be þey good oþer ille.  
þat same day boldly  
Late þe blod sykerly  
At þyn own wylle.

## Day 15.

þe xv day of þe mone,  
Haue þu neuer so myche to done,  
Loke þu noȝt be gynne;  
For trewly yf þat þu do,  
Hyt schal no prow turne þe to,  
Neyper wyþ oute ne wyth yune.

þe tour of Babylon þat day  
Be gunne was, for soþ to say;  
A geaunt lete hyt sette.  
Dysmold day hyt ys;  
Ho so begynnith ouȝt, y wys,  
þat day were beter he left.

If sekenes þat day falle  
In ony þat leuyth in halle,  
Hyt schal holde hym ful fast,  
But þow hyt be neuer so gret  
traueil,  
Hyt schal wende wyth oute fayl  
Fro þe at the last.

þe chyld þat day born ys,  
Longe schal he noȝt leue, y wys,  
In bokys as we seen.  
To fle þat day ys noȝt good.  
Iuel hyt ys to late blood.  
þy drem schal fals been.

## Day 16.

þe xvi day of þe mone  
Alle þyng ys good to done,—  
Hous to sette and se to passe,  
Boȝe to bye and to sylle.  
Alle þyng helpyth by Godys grace  
At þyne owyn wylle.

þat ylke day was Nakor yborn;  
þer for þylke þat sory worn  
Wer glad þowr hys byrthe.  
And Jesu Cryst, þat syttith a  
bowe,  
Send vs alle for Nakor ys loue  
þat day god spedē and myrthe.

þe chyld for soþe þat ys born  
banne,  
He schal be a blesseyd man  
And leue in ioye and in pes,  
And ho so þat day takeþ greuans,  
He schal sone þeroft haue  
alegauns;

Leue þys for no lees.

But yf þu dreme þat nyȝt ouȝt,  
Be war, for hyt a vaylyth þe  
noȝt,  
Ne hyt tokeneyth no good.  
Be war also, I þe rede,  
Haue þu neuyr so mychel nede,  
þat þu lete þe no blode.

## Day 17.

þe xvii day of þe mone  
þe erþe openyd ful sone.  
Dan synked cyteys fyue:  
Sodome, Adamas, and Gomor,  
Also Selon and Setherre,  
Man boȝe chyld and wyf.

Ho so þat day begynnith to sylle,  
þurw happy he may spede wel  
And yn good stede stonde.  
þe chyld þat day þat born ys,  
A good man he schal ben, y wys,  
Where euer he be on londe.

But yf þat day sykenesse þe take,  
Hyt schal þe wyrche myche wrake  
And brynge the to deth.  
But what so thy dremys ben,  
Wyth yne x dayes þu schal hem  
seen,  
Be þey good oþer qued.

þe xviii day of þe mone  
Ryse vp and let þe blood sone  
Be þe morwe be tyme,  
And loke þu haue good mete y  
made  
To amede þy chere and þe to  
glade,  
And dryng wel of þe wyne.

## Day 18.

þe xviii day of þe mone  
Bye and do what ys to done  
Sauerly yn euery place;  
For Isaac þat day was born,  
And he ouercam alle þe sorwyas  
þat warn  
Thorw þe myȝt of Godys grace.

þat day ys good, as clerkys  
knowen,  
þe se to passe and corn to sowen,  
And good to byen and to sylle.  
þe chyld þat on þat day ys born,  
Long lyf ys leyd hym be forn,  
And he schal be ful suelle.

If þu falle þat day yn sekenesse,  
Whyþer hyt be more oþer lasse,  
þu schalt hyt sone a scape.

And yf þu lese þat day any  
thyng,  
þu mayst be syker wþt oute  
lesyng  
To fynden hyt on rape.

þy drem þat þu dremyst þat  
euen,  
Ioye hyt ys þu schalt leuen,  
For hyt be tokeneth good.  
þat day ryse vp and make prest  
And buske þe whan tyme ys best  
And boldely lete blood.

## Day 19.

þe xix day of þe mone  
A byde yf þu haue ouȝt to done  
Tyl beter tyme come.  
Ho so waxeth sek þat day,  
Hastely, for sope to say,  
Wyth deþ he schal be nome.

If þu by þypg þat day lese,  
Woper þer for þu most þe chese,  
For þat schalt þu nouȝt wynne.  
þat þu dremyst yn þy sclepyng,  
þu schalt hyt seen wþt owte  
lesyng  
þe ix day wþt ynne.

And yf a chyld þat day be born,  
Gret ioye ys layd hym be forn;  
Ful holy schal he be.  
For Elyzabeth was born þat day,  
þat bar Jon Baptist parfay,  
þat holy man so fre.

þat day þu mayst ryse ræþe  
And late þe blode wþt out  
scape  
By twyxte vnder and none.  
And loke þu haue for to ete  
A mossel sinn gode mete  
What þu hast to done.

## Day 20.

þe xx day of þe mone  
Surly do þat ys to done,  
For goode spedē hyt schal haue.  
þat ylke day what euer þu doo,

As good grace schal come þe too  
As þu þe self wolt craue.

For Isaac, for soþ to say,  
A blessed Jacob hys sone þat  
day,  
þorow Godys holy vertu.  
To þat blesсыng queyntely he  
com,  
For þourw treason he hyt be nom  
Hys brother Esau.

þe blesсыng þus Jacob wan.  
Hys fader<sup>11</sup> was a blynd man  
And myþt no þyng seen.  
But Esau he loued so wel  
þat were so he were, for soþ to  
telle,  
Wyth hym he wolde haue y been.

So þat tyme wþt oute lesyng,  
Whan so þe fader þaf hys  
blesсыng,  
Jhesu þaf hym hys.  
But for Esaeu lowyd was  
Beter of þe two yn þat place,  
Wroþ Jacob was, y wys.

Danne þouȝt Jacob yn a whyle  
Hys olde fader for be gyle  
And hys brother also.  
But Esau, as I say ȝow,  
Arm and hond and al was row  
Fro the top to the too.

And by hys handys þat row worn  
Whan he com hys fader be forn,  
Hys fader knew hem wel.  
He þaf al way hys blesсыng,  
But I say ȝow wþt oute lesyng  
Jacob was row no del.

What dede Jacob but forth  
wente,  
A payre of row mytynys he  
hente,  
And on hys hondys ham dede;  
For he þowte þowr þat gynne  
Hys fader hys blesсыng for to  
wyn,  
And to hys fader he ȝede.

<sup>11</sup> Ms. *fade*.

"Fader," he sayde, "Zow kepe  
Jhesu.  
I am zow sone Esaew.  
Zowre blesyng zeuyth to me."  
"Com hyder, sone," þe fader  
sayde,  
And on hys hed hys hond he  
leyde  
To wyte yf hyt were he.  
  
Jacob stod hys fader a gaynys  
And put forþ hys row mytaynys  
Into hys fader hondys,  
And for hys hondys so row weren,  
þat Esaew was hym byforn  
Hys fader began to vnderstande.  
  
Hys handys he lyft wþyth owte  
lettyng  
And þaf Jacob hys blesyng  
Wþyth owten any noyse.  
"Certys, sone," sayde he,  
"That schuldyst Jacob be,  
Me þynkyth be þy voys.  
  
"But þyne handes, be Jhesu,  
Me þynkyþ þu scholdys be  
Esaew,  
My sone so dere and swete.  
þer for yn londe wer þu fare  
God schyld þee fro sorwe and  
care;  
Wþyth ioie mote þu mete."  
  
And for Jacob þorw treson  
Stal þus hys fader benson  
Fro Esaew hys broder,  
What chyld on þat day bore be,  
Al hys lyf a þef wul he be  
And neuer more no noþer.  
  
þy dremys of þe xx nyȝth,  
þey schulle turne to ioye a plyȝt  
þe xiii day wþyth ynn.  
þat day þu myst bleden <sup>12</sup> also,  
And else what þyng þat þu do,  
þer on schalt þu wynne.

## Day 21.

þe xxi day of þe mone  
Be gynne and do what ys to  
done,

<sup>12</sup> Ms. *blenden*.

For tyme hyt ys ful good  
To bye and sille yn euery place,  
Hous to sette or see to passe,  
And also latyng of blood.

He þat ys born þat day trewly,  
He schal be nobyl and hardy,  
I tele þe be forn,  
For þat day was Esaew,  
þat God þaf so gret vertu,  
Of hys moder born.

But ho so fleyth þat ylke stonde,  
A gayn sone he schal be founde,  
For soþe I schal telle the.  
And what þu dremyst at euen,  
þer on þu noȝt schalt be leuen;  
Hyt ys but a vanyte.

## Day 22.

þe xxii day of þe mone  
Be gynne what euer þu hast to  
done  
Wþyth owten any drede.  
For what so þat day þu be  
gynyst,  
So þat þu þerynne noȝt synnyst,  
Ful wel þow schalt spedē.  
That chyld þat day born ys,  
He schal be strong and fers, y  
wys,  
Hardy and lyȝt y now.  
þat þu dremyst þat nyȝt ys good,  
So þat day þu late þe blood,  
And þat ys for þy prow.

## Day 23.

þe xxiii day of þe mone  
Do what so þu hast to done;  
þat day ys good and abele.  
þat day was born Moyses.  
To kepe þe lawe God hym ches;  
He was so trew and stabyle.  
  
Ho þat day be born on,  
Rychesse get he neuer non,  
Ne wel gret pouerte.  
But wher so he goth in londe,  
A strong lyer schal he be  
vnderstonde  
And schal ben apert.

But, as we in bokys seen,  
A good clerk schal he been,  
And a prest by kynde.  
And ho so fleyth þat day also,  
Be he ruȝt war wher he go;  
Men schullyth hym sone fynde.

But ho falleþ seke certayn,  
He schol be hole sone agayne,  
So sayþ a clerk ful good.  
þy dremys schul be fals þat  
nyȝt,  
But þe day sykerly þu myȝt  
A ryse and late blood.

## Day 24.

þe xxiiii day of þe mone  
I schal þe sayne what ys to done.  
þat day was Aaron y born,  
He þat waxyt sek þat day,  
I say þe soþ wyth owte nay,  
Hys lyf schal sone be for lorn.

He þat day fleyth certayn,  
He schal be fownden noȝt a gayn,  
In feld ne in towne.  
What chyld on þat day born be,  
Rychesse he schal haue gret  
plente  
In hys owne bandon.

And alle hys lyf, I say ȝow,  
He schal lyue in ioye y now  
And yn lykyng good.  
But þy drem þat nyȝt schal noȝt  
profete;  
But a rys a morwe wyth delyte,  
And boldly late blood.

## Day 25.

þe xxv day of þe mone  
Jhesu Cryst for paynys sone  
Into Egypce wente.  
For ho so for sweryþ hym þat  
day,  
He schal perische, soþ to say,  
And haue yn helle torment.

þe chyld, y wys, þat ys born  
þanne,  
He schal be a synful manne.

And lyue hys lyf ful ylle.  
And þat day sykenesse þe holde,  
Hyt schal make þe ful colde  
Tyl deth hay don hys wylle.

þy dremys schullen be token  
nouȝt,  
But yf þu þat day lesyst ouȝt,  
Wyþ yune dayes xv  
Haue hyt aȝen schalt þow.  
But hyt ys yuyl, I say ȝow,  
þat day to blede, I wene.

## Day 26.

þe xxvj day of þe mone  
All þynges bath good to done,  
I telle þe ful wel.  
þat day ladde Moyses  
God ys peple wyth oute les  
Porow out Israel.

þe Rede See Moyses gan passe;  
Porow help of God ys grace  
Ful redy way he fonde.  
And kyng Pharao wyþ hys ost  
Sywede hym wyth gret bost  
To done hym schame and schonde.

He wente and sywede hym on þe  
see,  
But þer ymme drenched was he  
And hys mayne euer y chone.  
þat day þu myȝt do what þu wylt,  
For þy werl schal noȝt be spylt  
If þu do synne none.

## Day 27.

þe xxvii day of þe mone,  
Haue þu neuer so myche to done,  
A byde þe secunde morwe,  
For what þyng so þu do,  
Hyt schal no prow turne þe to.  
þy dremys tokenyth sorwe.

But þu haue any nede,  
þat day þu myȝt sykerly blede  
Wyth oute any peryl.  
But ho so ys born oþer syk þat  
day,  
In gret angwys he schal be ay  
And on gret trauayle.

## Day 28.

þe xxviii day of þe mone  
Begynne no þyng to done;  
A byde a beter tyme.  
But þy dremys þat ylke nyȝth  
Schul turne to þe to ioye uplyȝth  
þe x day wyth ynne.

But þat chyld þat ys born þanne,  
He schal be a recheles man  
And ful fel of mode;  
In þe brayn he schal be wylde  
And wod in age but God hym  
schilde.  
þat day lete þe no blood.

Ho þat waxyt sek þat day,  
He schal be wasched wel parfay,  
But long schal he noȝt leue.  
But yf þu haue hows oþer londe  
Put hyt noȝt out of þy honde  
For noȝt men mow þe ȝeue.

## Day 29.

þe xxix day of þe mone  
Alle þyng ys good to done,  
And dremys ben ful goode.  
þat chyld turneþ to ioye and  
blysse,  
For Cryst þe day blesyd, y wys,  
þat for vs dayde on þe rode.

þer for be al maner way  
þat þu dost, for soth to say,  
Turne hyt schal to ioye and  
wynne,  
If þu melly hyt wyth no synne  
Trewly in good fay.<sup>18</sup>

## Day 30.

þe xxx day of þe mone  
Abide yf þu haue ouȝt to done.  
Hast þe for no nede.  
No þyng I rede þu begynne

Tyl þu haue a sayd wyth gynne  
How oþer men þat day spedē.

But what þu dremyst þat nyȝth,  
Wyt ynne x dayes y plyȝth  
Þow schalt hyt soþ fynden.  
If þu þat day sekenesse take,  
Fro deth schal no leche þe saue,  
In boke as hyt ys y wryten.

þe chyldern þat on þat day born  
ben,  
Many aventures þey schul seen  
And many wonder þynges.  
þat day no man lete hym blood,  
For hyt schal do hym no good,  
But wast hys lykyng.

Now haue ȝe y herde a fayr story  
Euery man to rewly hym by,  
Ho so þat best doth,  
For Cryst þat bar crown of þorn  
And alle þe clerkys þat euer wer  
born  
Wyttenyssse hyt for soþe.

þer for, boþe lasse and more,  
ȝe þat vsen any cheffare,  
If ȝe wil þer ynne wynne,  
Takeþ a kalender wel sone  
And loke what tyme hyt ys of þe  
mone,  
So God kepe ȝow fro synne.

Whan ȝe seen wyth ouȝt mysses  
What tyme of þe mone hyt ys,  
Wher he be olde oþer newe,  
Go to þys story agayn  
And doþ ryȝt as hyt wyl ȝow  
seyn,  
Oþer els hyt schal ȝow a rewe.

Be þe mone a day olde,  
Oþer ii or iii or trebelfolde,  
Oþer how old so he be;  
Be hyt þe iii day oþer þe ferþe  
.....

<sup>18</sup> Stanza thus defective in Ms.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'GOLIARDI'.\*

BY JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

One of the minor literary puzzles of the middle ages is the origin of the words *Golias* and *Goliardi*, a question which itself involves another question, namely, which of these two is the anterior form. The three principal theories have been formulated by Professor Manly as follows:

(1) that of Jakob Grimm, who derives *Goliardi* from the Provencal *gualiar*, to deceive, through the form *gualiador*, deceiver; (2) that of Thomas Wright, who also looks upon *Goliardi* as anterior to *Golias*, and derives it from Latin *gula*, supposing the name to have been given to the *clericis rihaldi*, the *scholares vagi*, on account of their gluttony and intemperance; (3) that which regards *familia Goliae* as anterior to *Goliardi* and attempts in some way to account for the connection between the wandering scholars of the middle ages and the Philistine giant slain by David.<sup>1</sup>

From a study of the breviary of the Roman Church Professor Manly inclines towards the third theory, regarding Goliath as "a type and a name singularly fitted to be applied by ecclesiastical authorities to that army of lawless vagabonds which they both feared and despised. Golias is not merely, as Giesebrecht and Straccali suggest, the symbol of titanic and ruthless power; he is, specifically and on the highest authority (pseudo-Augustine) the type of spiritual wickedness, the leader in this present life of the army of evil ones."

The truth is that the origin, meaning and relation of the terms *Golias* and *Goliard* have not yet been precisely ascertained, nor the limits of time and space within which these words arose sufficiently examined.<sup>2</sup> Where did the goliardic literature originate? According to Giesebrecht the goliardic movement originated in the schools of France in the twelfth century, and this seems to be the prevailing opinion, although Professor Allen has shown with

\* For bibliography of the literature on this subject see *Modern Philology*, v, 446 note. I have not seen Vincenzo Crescini, *Apunti sull' etimologia di Goliardo*, Padua, 1921 (8 pages).

<sup>1</sup> Manly, "Familia Goliae," *Modern Philology*, v, 201-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i, 80.

much force that "as early as the tenth century, perhaps, but quite certainly as early as the eleventh, we know that the goliards were composing and singing Latin verses"<sup>3</sup> . . . that "for two centuries before Abelard, St. Bernard and Walter of Châtilion there existed in France and Germany Latin lyrics and ballads pliant in meter, ready in rhyme, sure in diction, emotional in nature."<sup>4</sup>

This brief study is the history of a quest for the origin of the term *Goliardi* (less probably, *Golias*) in the ninth century in France, and an argument for the anteriority of *Goliardi* to *Golias*. Its point of departure is the ecclesiastical statute (No. 13) attributed to archbishop Walter of Sens (887-923), which condemns certain *clericu ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur de familia Goliae*.<sup>5</sup>

If this document be genuine then "the tenth century becomes in a flash a time when Latin popular lyrics, *cantica diabolica amatoria et turpia*, are in full sweep across Europe."<sup>6</sup> But is it genuine? Neither Allen nor Giesebricht nor Du Méril nor Hübatsch nor Straccali nor any other scholar has ever critically examined this document; all either have ignored it or arbitrarily referred it to the thirteenth century. So far as I can discover, no critical study has ever been made of it. While not infrequently mentioned since Du Cange first pointed it out, all allusion to it has been casual and incidental. Apparently it has been ruled out of serious contemplation as a sort of *lusus literarum* too isolated and remote, too accidental to be worthy of notice. The question of its authenticity has not been examined—except by the editors of the *Gallia Christiana* in the eighteenth century—and that superficially, who rejected it on the ground that the institutions mentioned in it, such as priories, regular canons and black nuns, were foreign to the ecclesiasticism of the ninth century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Allen, "Mediaeval Latin lyrics," *Modern Philology*, v, 444.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 462.

<sup>5</sup> Labb , *Concil. ix*, 577; Mansi, *Consil. xviii*, 324; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 132, 717. For information about Walter of Sens, see Favre, *Eudes, roi de France*, 90, 95, 137, 145, 170-71; Eckel, *Charles le Simple*, 8, 118-20, 125.

<sup>6</sup> Allen, "The origins of German Minnesang," *Modern Philology*, III, 428.

<sup>7</sup> *Gallia Christ.* xii, 223: recentiorum vero sunt temporum constitutiones Walterio ascriptae, in quibus prioratus conventuales, canonici regulares, moniales nigrae, vocabula insolita erant saeculo nono.

Unfortunately no information as to the discovery and transmission of this document is available. No data are given by any of the editors either with reference to its repository or whether it be an original or a copy, so that no palaeographical examination of the manuscript is possible. One is compelled to work from the printed text alone. But absence of such information does not necessarily frustrate criticism.

Several questions arise: (1) In form, language, style, composition, does the document correspond to other sources of the same date and place? (2) Do the special facts or conditions mentioned in the document agree with known facts and conditions of the time and place to which the document is attributed? (3) Does the document harmonize with the general historical conditions of the time?

The weightiest argument against the genuineness of the document is the failure of all sources for three hundred years after its alleged date to make any mention of *Golias* or the *Goliardi*, i. e. from about 900 to about 1200. But it is an accepted principle of historical criticism that the argument from silence is rarely decisive or convincing.<sup>8</sup> The gaps in our knowledge of mediæval history are immense. A geographical and chronological determination of the *lacunae* would be an impressive exhibition of our ignorance. The number of topics would be large, and the areas vast, both as to time and space.

Is the internal evidence of the document more conclusive? Are the ecclesiastical institutions mentioned in it anachronistic, as the editors of the *Gallia Christiana* assert, or not? Whoever it was among the editors of those monumental tomes who ruled the statutes attributed to Walter of Sens out of court on the ground that the ‘vocabula insolita erant saeculo nono’ was guilty of gross ignorance or carelessness. For so far from it being true that priories, regular canons and black nuns were unfamiliar in the

\* An illustration will suffice. Few scholars doubt that Wenilo, the archbishop of Sens, who betrayed Charles the Bald in 858, is the historical character who suggested the traitor Ganelon in the *Chanson de Roland*. Yet there is a space of 250 years between these two points without record of this fact, and Wenilo’s name as a synonym for traitor does not appear before the middle of the thirteenth century. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* II, 665 (Rolls Ser.) and Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, II, 192 (Rolls Ser.).

ninth century, there is legislation, both ecclesiastical and secular, regarding all three of them.

The statutes of Walter of Sens cannot be relegated to a later age on the ground that the provisions and institutions are out of harmony with the time. With the single exceptions of the phrase 'de familia Goliae' these statutes in both general tenor and particular application are confirmations of preceding legislation of the church, and each several article is referable to anterior similar articles in various canons of the church councils of the ninth century.

The broad foundation upon which all monastic legislation rested in the ninth century was the great series of canons promulgated by the council of Aachen in 816 and the capitulary of Louis the Pious for the enforcement thereof.\* This important instrument

\*See *Mon. Ger. Hist. Concilia aevi Karolini, tomus, I, pars I*, ed. Werminghoff, 1886, pp. 307-464. Subsequent councils, as that of Paris, 829, Verneuil 844, Meaux, 845 repeat many of these statutes. It is an interesting point, though, that conventional priories owed their origin to secular legislation and not to clerical initiative. Their origin is to be found in a capitulary of Louis the Pious in 817 (*Capitulare Aquiegrensis*, art. 44), providing 'ut abbatibus licet habere cellas in quibus aut monachi sint aut canonici. Et abbas provideat ne minus de monachis ibi habitare permittat quam sex.' 'Black attire is specifically required of nuns by the Council of Forli, art. 11, where it is described as of ancient custom—. . nigram vestem quasi religiosam sicut antiquus mos, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, I, 1, 193, and enjoined by the council of Aachen, *op. cit.* 445, art. 10. Some objection, however, may be alleged against the genuineness of Walter of Sens' statutes on account of the term 'moniales' for nuns instead of the earlier word 'sanctimoniales.' The latter was the original word which was employed and prevailed all through the ninth and tenth centuries, when the shorter form 'moniales' was substituted. But there are examples of the shorter usage as early as the eighth century ("quod hoc seclus ignominiae maximae cum sanctis *monialibus* et saeratis Deo virginibus per monasteria commissum sit. *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, No. 59 (744-747) Jaffé, Bibl. III, 170 (St. Boniface to Aethelbald) and of the longer form still in use in the eleventh century (*Ep. Ivo Carn.* 70; *Conc. Rotomag.* 1072, *can.* 12, Migne 147, 271; Labbé, *Conc. IX*, 1225). If one may think that the document we are considering has been printed from a transcript made considerably later, then the copyist would have been quite likely to use the shorter and more common form 'moniales' instead of 'sanctimoniales.' Monks, of course, were subject to the Rule of St. Benedict. But there was no fixed and uniform regulation for the government of 'secular' canons till 816: Migne 119, 484, note D. The

contains 113 articles for the government of the secular and regular clergy, 32 for the government of canons, and 28 for the government of nunneries and convents.

crucial question is whether 'regular' or 'secular' canons were created by the council of Aachen. The editors of the *Gallia Christiana* contend that only 'secular' canons were created, apparently upon the authority of Clemens Reynerus, a professor at Douai who in a work published in 1628 (*De apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia*, p. 131) so declared: Cf. Migne 105, 975 note. But *Vita Bened. Anian.* c. 54 (Migne 103, 381) reads: His vero monasteriis quae sub canonicorum relicita sunt potestate, constituit, *eis segregatim* unde vivere regulariter, *caetera abbati concessit*. Obviously here both 'secular' and 'regular' canons are distinguished. This is confirmed by an examination of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, which, as I shall show farther on, was the model for the legislation of the council of Aachen. For art. 25 of the *Codex* deals with 'secular' canons and art. 29 as certainly with 'regular' canons: See Migne, 103, 409, 411. Ansegisus, abbot of Fontanelles in the reign of Louis the Pious, left a legacy to St. Genevieve in Paris, which was a house of Augustinian Canons, Migne, 105, 745. The statement of Thegan, *Vita Hludovici*, 29, SS. II, 622, that the emperor "librum per omnes civitates et monasteria canonici ordinis sui imperii misit," unfortunately is not clear as to whether houses of secular or of regular canons are meant, although later the terms *coenobia* or *collegia* were more usual to designate houses of secular canons than the word *monasteria*. The same ambiguity is also attached to the statement of Adhemar de Chabannes, *Chron.* ed. Chavanon, 1897, III, 118: "Omnes canonici Sancti Marcialis in monasticum habitum sponte sese transferunt" (848), for these may have been secular canons; but it was not common for secular canons to go over to complete monasticism until the time of the Cluny reform in the eleventh century—Luchaire, *Manuel des inst. franc.* 101; Pfister, *Robert le Pieux*, 315-16. There was a certain bond of sympathy between monks and regular canons, whereas the opposition of the monks to 'secular' canons was bitter. See a sarcastic mention of them as 'clericorum exercitus' in Hariulf. *Chronique de St. Riquier*, ed. Lot, III, 21, p. 149, and the luminous information in *Vita S. Gerardi Broniensis*, cc. 11, 17, 28. From a not inconsiderable study of the huge mass of documents pertaining to church history in the middle ages I have become convinced that since most of the editors of these monumental collections were monks who inherited the traditional jealousy of Benedictines for secular canons, they have unwarrantably depreciated the influence and activities of secular canons in the middle ages. Much has been written upon the history of regular canons, little upon that of the rival group. Secular canons were too different from both the ordinary clergy and the monks for either class to like them.

Admitting, then, the genuineness of the statutes of Walter of Sens, the next question which arises is with reference to the particular article dealing with the 'monachi ribaldi de familia Goliae.' What evidence have we as to the prevalence of vagrom and ribald monks in the ninth century? Much. Long before this great reforming council of Aachen, the evils of monastic vagabondage and frivolity had called forth restraining legislation of both state and church.

The edict of the council of Châlons (*ca.* 650, can. 19) against 'turpia et obscena cantica' has been made familiar through frequent citation. But Gregory of Tours and conciliar legislation of the seventh century abound with similar references, most of which have eluded mention.<sup>10</sup> Another council of Châlons (813, can. 44) inveighed against evil priests, deacons and monks who hung around taverns, loafed in public offices and frequented fairs.<sup>11</sup> The council of Paris in 829 complained of vagabond clerks who ran away to Italy, a country which was regarded as a sort of Eldorado by those in orders.<sup>12</sup> Rather of Verona violently arraigned this class in the tenth century.<sup>12a</sup> The council of Verneuil (844, can. 4) enjoined

<sup>10</sup> . . . barbaturias (mimi?) intus eo quod celebravit, Greg. Tur, H. F. x, 16; cf. 'mimus regis qui ei per verba jocularia laetitiam erat solitus excitare'—Greg. Tur, De virtutibus S. Martini, iv, 7. Childebert I attempted to suppress village dances on the Sabbath "adveniente die dominico balsatrices per villas ambulare," Praeceptum, M. G. H. LL. i, 2. The Vita S. Radegundis, 36 complains of these revelries around the monasteries: ". . . quadam vice obumbrante jam noctis crepusculo inter coraulas et eitharas dum circa monasterium a saecularibus multo fremitu cantaretur," and the council of Auxerre, can. 40 forbade priests "inter epulas cantare vel saltare"—Labbé, Concilia, vii, 399. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, i, 35 leaps from 500 to 800 without citation or illustration.

<sup>11</sup> . . . in tabernis bibere, cancellarios publicos esse, nundinas insolenter peragrare, *Concilia acvi Karolini*, ed. Werminghoff, ii, 1, 282.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 2, 636, can. 36. Muratori, *Antiq. med. aevi*, ii, Diss. xxiii has an interesting and little-known dissertation on these vagrants. Cf. Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, iii, 80 (Eng. trans.).

<sup>12a</sup> Qui trocho ludunt, aleam vero nequaquam fugiunt; qui tabula quam Scriptura, disco exercentur quam libro; qui melius damnosa canicula quantum rodat (cf. Persius, Sat. iii 49) quam norunt quanta salutaris Veritas jubeat, vetet vel promittat, quidque dixerit; . . . qui histriones quam sacerdotes, temelicos quam clericos, bromios quam philosophos, nebulones quam veraces, impudicos quam verecundos, mimos charius amplectuntur quam monachos; qui Graecas glorias, Babylonicas pompas,

the imprisonment of vagabond monks.<sup>13</sup> The council of Meaux (845) specifically re-enacted the canons of the council of Aachen in 816 dealing with monks, canons, and nuns,<sup>14</sup> and commanded the rounding up of 'acephalous' and vagrant monks (Can. 57). The Council of Pavia (850, can. 23) ordered the bishops to arrest all vagabond monks and clerks found in their dioceses as disturbers of the peace of the church. From canon 25 it is evident that many of these gained a living as fakirs.<sup>15</sup>

The ribald songs of these wanderers are twice made the object of special reproach in the ninth century. Louis the Pious, who hated the folk-songs of the time and is alleged to have destroyed Charlemagne's collection of old, rude songs which celebrated the deeds of the ancient Franks because they were of pagan origin,<sup>16</sup> in two capitularies issued in 823 forbade them,<sup>17</sup> and the council of Paris in 829 repeated and amplified this prohibition.<sup>18</sup>

*exoticos ambiant ornatus; qui scyphis aureis, scutellis argenteis, cuppis auctioris pretii, crateribus imo conchis panderis gravioris et invisa*e* ulli saeculo magnitudinis instant operandis auro; sessilis quibus depingitur obba* (cf. Persius, Sat. v. 118) *cum jugiline oppleta eis adjacens videatur basilica.* Migne, 136, 291. The classicist may be interested in the jumble of Greek and Latin allusions in this quotation. But it is of particular interest to observe the appellation 'bromios' to these ribald monks, for the word is an alternative name of Bacchus in Greek mythology and poetry. "Temelicos" is a corruption of 'thymelici' (Abbon of Fleury in the eleventh century spells it 'cemeleci')—Ep. 15, Migne 139, 455): *proprie sunt ludones qui in orchestra modo versus histriones, modo versus populum, saltitabant, histrionibus interim in scenis abditis.* Migne 105, col. 980. Both *sceneci* and *thymelici* were prohibited as far back as the council of Antioch. Cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Drama*, I, 12, 17, 24; II, 233; Migne, *op. cit.* 981 n.

<sup>13</sup> Baluze, II, 13.

<sup>14</sup> . . secundum constitutionem domni imperatoris Ludovicis, can. 53, Mansi, XIV, 831.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Conc. Châlons, 813, can. 45.

<sup>16</sup> Thegan, *De gestis Lud. Pii*, c. 19; cf. Eginhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Canticum turpe atque luxuriosum circa ecclesias agere omnino contradicimus quod ubique vitandum, Baluze, I, 856; . . obscoenas turpibus canticias, *Ibid.*, I, 962.

<sup>18</sup> Can. 38 . . ad scurrilitates et stultiloquia et histrionum obscoenas jocationes et ceteras vanitates. Cf. Burchard. of Worms, lib. III, c. 87; Ivo Carnot. Pars III, c. 77. Jonas of Orleans, *De institutione laicali* III, c. 9 makes a neat distinction between these vices: Inter stultiloquium et

We have, then, considerable evidence for the widespread activity of vagabond monks in the ninth century, who wandered from tavern to tavern, from fair to fair, trolling ribald songs and picking up a precarious living by questionable methods of gain.<sup>19</sup> Among these vagrants it is worth noticing that Irish monks are twice singled out for special reproach as "deceptores, gyrovagi et cursores,"<sup>20</sup> negligent of discipline and prone to license.<sup>21</sup> The ground for this resentment of the church authorities was partly suspicion of heretical taint,<sup>22</sup> and partly prejudice against bishops of the Irish church and their irregular methods of ordaining clergy.<sup>23</sup> But independently of these special prejudices, considering the notoriously vagrant ways of these Irish monks<sup>24</sup> and their convivial habits,<sup>25</sup> it is not difficult to understand the hostile attitude of the church towards them.

These Irish vagabonds must certainly have possessed a large repertoire of jovial and rollicking songs with which to beguile their revels. Such mocking literature must have been current in many monasteries long before the twelfth century,<sup>26</sup> though

scurrilitatem hoc interest, quod stultiloquium in se nihil sapienter habet, scurrilitas vero de prudente mente descendit, et consulto appetit quadam urbana verbam vel rustica vel faceta quam nos jocularitatem possemus alio verbo appellare, ut risum moveat audientibus. Migne, 106, 259.

<sup>19</sup> Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 132-33, strains the evidence when he claims that many of these vagabonds were outlawed and driven from home by the efforts of the church to establish celibacy among the priesthood, and were really respectable: "Assailed by both the supreme ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, the clergy still were stubborn. Some defended themselves as being legitimately entitled to have a concubine—or rather, we may presume, a wife. . . . Driven from the churches, but supported by the sympathizing people, they performed their ministry among the fields and in the cabins of the peasants, who concealed them from the ecclesiastical authorities."

<sup>20</sup> *Historia Beati Rotberti*, 6, cited by Baluze, II, 743.

<sup>21</sup> *Conc. Cabal.* 813, *can.* 43; cf. Hauck, *Kirchengesch.* II, 230, note 2; Loening, *Gesch. des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, II, 445.

<sup>22</sup> The case of John the Scot, whom Pope Nicholas I summoned to Rome was notorious in the ninth century.

<sup>23</sup> Scotti qui se episcopos dicunt, Baluze II, 743.

<sup>24</sup> . . . de natione Scotorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa, Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, II, 47. Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*, 44 f.

<sup>25</sup> Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*, 106-7.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 437.

"the only reason that we cannot discover many of these themes in vernacular poetry in the centuries precedent to the troubadours is that all this earlier verse is lost, and there is but the indistinct mirage of it in the dull skies of Latin literature."<sup>27</sup> It is tantalizing, but unprofitable to speculate upon the degree of Irish element in Goliardic literature.

So far I have endeavored to show that France as early as the ninth century possessed exactly the conditions and afforded that precise milieu favorable to the development of goliardic literature. But one may be more definite. Archbishop Walter of Sens was aiming at restraint of this actual condition in his own diocese, in Sens itself, where he had to deal with a particularly intractable group of monks rightly dubbed by him 'clericu ribaldi . . . de familia Goliae.' When I first read this statute my immediate impulse was to pick up the trail of this riotous crew, if possible, in the correspondence or administrative papers of Walter's predecessors. My success surpassed expectation.

In Sens at this time—or just outside the walls—was a monastery dedicated to Sancta Columba, an alleged martyr of the reign of Aurelian (270-75),<sup>28</sup> the moral condition of which was already so notorious at the time of the great reforming council in 816 that Benedict of Aniane received special power from the emperor to effect its reformation.<sup>29</sup> The archbishop of Sens at this time was named Jeremias. When he died in 829 he was followed in the see by Aldricus (829-36) the abbot of Ferrières, an abbey soon made famous by his successor Loup.<sup>30</sup> Now in the anonymous *Vita Aldrici c. 21* one may read this interesting paragraph:

Fuerunt autem in praedicto coenobio tres juvenes. Gauberto, qui ejus curam suscepérat, jugi famulatu assistentes, qui obsequii sedulitatem per vitæ lasciviam detrahentes, devotius *gulae* quam Domino famulantibus, monachis dormientibus, *cibi potusque* crapula se ingurgitabant, et in *ridiculis et carminibus obscenis* intempestivae noctis horas producebant. Accidit autem ut somno gravati tandem requiem peterent, ut vinum quo manebant, paulisper digererent.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Allen, *The Mediaeval Latin Lyric, Modern Philology*, vi, 31 n. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Freculph, ep. Lexov., *Chronicon*, tome II, lib. 3, c. 11—Migne 106, 1186. Any persecution under Aurelian is very doubtful. See Homo, *Le règne de l'empereur Aurélien*, Paris 1904, 195 and note 1; 375 and literature there given. Ste. Columba's 'day' is Dec. 31.

<sup>29</sup> Migne, 103, 388, with the commentary of Mabillon and Baluze.

<sup>30</sup> Migne, 105, 797. <sup>31</sup> Migne, 105, 807.

Fortunately there is still more evidence as to the bad eminence of this trio by which we may control this account in a work by Rodulfus Tortarius, *Liber de miraculis S. Benedicti*, c. 14, which, although not contemporaray with archbishop Aldricus, offers independent witness to the *Vita*. It is an account of Gaubertus, the abbot of Sta. Columba at this time, and relates that he was "a timid man, who although he held the office of abbot was never able to mend the morals of his charges, and so resigned."<sup>32</sup> This is further confirmed by a letter of Loup de Ferrières, an intimate friend of Aldricus and his successor, as we have just seen, at Ferrières, who writes to him energetically concerning the 'detestable deviation' of the monks with whom he (Aldricus) has to deal.<sup>33</sup>

It does not appear certain, it is true, from the words *famulatu assistentes*, that these scapegraces were certainly monks: rather they seem to have been servile dependents of the abbot's *familia*, though they may have been in the position of 'lay' brothers of the monastery. But it is significant that in this important paragraph we find mentioned most of the essential elements of later Goliardic life except sodality—gluttony, drunkenness, lewd joking, ribald songs. Yet even the factor of sodality would seem to have been there in loose form. For this record falls in or before the year 836, in the time of archbishop Aldricus, and two generations or more later in the time of archbishop Wenilo we find the same condition, even aggravated.

It would seem, by this evidence, that the nucleus of the Goliardic brotherhood was formed at Sens early in the ninth century, and that certainly by the beginning of the tenth century these ribald rioters were known as 'of the family of Golias.' What now is the origin of the word *goliardi*?

For answer it is necessary to return to the canons of the council of Aachen of the year 816. Three men were instrumental in framing

<sup>32</sup> Vir timoratus, qui etiam abbatis officio functus fuerat, sed sibi subiectorum mores nequaquam emendare valens, renuntians nomini quod incassum tenebat, etc. Migne, 160, 1200.

<sup>33</sup> Ep. 29. Migne, 119, 490. Nam mirandum sed episcopaliter compatiendum vobis est, si multos monachossum experti sitis a sua professione detestabiliter deviare; cum et natura humana prona sit ad malum et hostis noster bono semini superseminare semper gestiat zizania. Ten years later Loup seems to have had much the same kind of riotous group to deal with at Ferrières. See Epp. 51, 52, 54.

this series of statutes: Hayto, bishop of Basel (807-23) the author of a widely known *Capitulare*,<sup>34</sup> Amalarius, a presbyter and chor-episcopus of Metz, author of an immense code called the *Forma institutionis canoniconum et sanctimonialium*<sup>35</sup> and Benedict of Aniane. It is only recently that the great influence of this passionate ascetic has come to be appreciated at its real value. Without him the monastic reform movements of Gerard of Brogne, and that reformation movement so active in Flanders, Lorraine and the Rhineland in the first half of the tenth century cannot be understood. Even the Cluny Reform owed much to his example.<sup>36</sup>

Benedict of Aniane was certainly the dominant figure in the trio around the emperor Louis the Pious, for he was a man of imagination and spiritual force,<sup>37</sup> while the others were mere church administrators and canonists. He was a son of the count of Maguelonne, in the far south of France and was born about 750 and died in 821.<sup>38</sup> Becoming deeply imbued with religion, he abandoned his lands and title and founded a string of monasteries in Provence, Gascony and Gothia. His sanctity and his earnestness won him the support of the feudalism and finally attracted the attention of Charlemagne and later of Louis the Pious.<sup>39</sup> For

<sup>34</sup> Migne 105, 631 f.

<sup>35</sup> Migne, 105, 815-986. On these two see Hauck, *Kirchengesch*, 2d ed. II, 582 note 3; Seebass, *Ztschft. f. KG.* XII, 322 f. Stengel, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII 668.

<sup>36</sup> Nicolai, *Der heilige Benedict von Aniane, Gründer von Aniane und Cornelimünster*, 1865 is antiquated. We badly need a new work on Benedict of Aniane.

<sup>37</sup> *Vita Ben. Anian.*, ch. 50-55, Migne, 103.

<sup>38</sup> His baptismal name was Witiza, but his identity was lost under the Latinized form of it, Euticius. See *Vita Odonis*, where it is said that "Euticius instituted those customs which have hitherto been observed in our monasteries." Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, has shown that Euticius and Benedict of Aniane are identical persons, and this opinion is accepted by Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* and Dom Albers, *Consuetudines monasticae*, 3 vols., Monte Cassino 1900-07, who has proved that the Customs of Cluny borrowed much from Benedict. Dom Albers has summarized the results of his researches in *Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Mönchsgewohnheiten*, Munich 1905, and in the *Révue Bénédictine*, XX, 690.

<sup>39</sup> See *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, Migne, 103, 365 f., especially chapters 27, 28, 40, 50-55, where his reforms are related, and his character developed with unusual sympathy.

these foundations Benedict drew up a “Normam utilem et monasteriorum salubres consuetudines,”<sup>40</sup> which later he expanded into two enormous codes, the *Concordia Regularum* and the *Codex Regularum et canonicarum* or ‘Epitome.’<sup>41</sup>

These three codes of Benedict of Aniane were the instruments which most influenced the legislation of the council of Aachen in 816 governing monks and canons, and the primary source of the emperor Louis the Pious’ great capitulary of 817 which came to be “thought a no less valuable commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict than the *Memoriale* itself.”<sup>42</sup>

Now a scrutiny of the *Concordia Regularum* shows that Benedict, as an austere ascetic, was very severe on the evils of vagabondage, gluttony and revelry in the monasteries.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, col. 365, ch. 27.

<sup>41</sup> Migne, 103, 701-1380. The ‘Ordo monasticus Benedicto attributus’ or ‘*Memoriale Qualiter*’ ascribed to Benedict of Monte Cassino in Migne 66, 937 is now admitted to be from the pen of Benedict of Aniane. Haeften, *Disquis. Ord. Ben.* ed. 1644, p. 1066 conjectured this, and it has since been proved. See Bateson, “Rules for Monks and Canons,” *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, IX, 693-94.

<sup>42</sup> Bateson, *op. cit.* 695. In this valuable article Miss Bateson shows that Benedict of Aniane’s *Regulae* and the emperor’s capitulary are the direct sources of the legislation of Aethelwold and King Edgar the Peaceful in the monastic revival in England in the tenth century. “What Benedict did at Aix la Chapelle Aethelwold did at Winchester,” p. 701.

<sup>43</sup> Cap. III, art. 1; Migne 103, 735: monachi gyrovagi . . . nunquam stabiles et propriis voluptatibus et gulæ illecebris servientes et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis. Cap. III, art. 2; Migne 103-737: Ideoque magis eligunt ambulare et noviter per diversos hospites mutatos, et varias refeciones; ut per occasionem sitientis viae repropinata pocula sumat. Hoc ergo agunt ut gulæ suae magis quotidie peregrinari videantur quam animae. Cap. III, art. 7; Migne 103-751: Et ne ipsa monasteria desolata desertaque remaneant, tolluntur ex familiis sibi pertinentibus subulci de diversisque gregibus *dorseni* atque de possessionibus parvuli qui pro officio supplendo inviti tondentur, et nutrituntur per monasteria atque falso nomine monachi nuncupantur. Qui . . . crescunt typo superbiae turgidi, fastu elationis inflati, cupiditati philargyriaeque fomiti insatiabiliter mersi, voracitati *gastrimargiae* et temulentiae inexplebiliter dediti atque atrocissimae flamma succensi, ut . . . etc. Cap. IX, art. 1; Migne 103, 825: Scurilitates vero, vel verba otiosa, et *risum* moventia aeterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus. Cap. xxxi, art. 9; Migne 103, 989-90: . . . reus est qui . . . in choro riserit fabulisque vacaverit . . . qui lascivus in lingua fuerit . . . qui jocaverit, qui satis riserit.

This terminology is interesting. The word *dorseni* (parasites) is bor-

But what were the sources of Benedict of Aniane? We must take the road towards Spain. It has already been noted that one field of Benedict's labors was Gothia. Now Gothia (Roussillon and Septimania), long after the Franks had expelled the Visigoth from France, had remained a province of the kingdom of Spain, and continued to be very Spanish in institutions and culture even when comprehended within the Empire of Charlemagne in 778. In this region, at Uzès (Ucetica), now in the department of the Gard, St. Ferreolus (*ca.* 558) founded a monastery for which he drew up a *Regula ad monachos*<sup>44</sup> whose 20th, 24th, 25th articles bear a striking resemblance to those of Benedict.<sup>45</sup>

But the evidence of Spanish influence upon Benedict's monastic legislation is most decisive in the case of Isidor of Seville.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, it is with this great Spanish canonist that we come upon the positive origin of the word *goliardi*. Isidor, though not a monk, was deeply interested administratively in the condition of the monasteries in his diocese, and for them compiled a *Regula Monachorum*,<sup>47</sup> the seventh canon of which deals with gluttony (*gula*), the seventeenth with ribaldry and laughter. He forbids eating except once a day and limits the use of wine to three cups at this meal.<sup>48</sup>

Isidor's interest in gluttony, however, was not only moral, it was philosophical and philological. In his *Sententiarum*, Bk. II, cap. 42<sup>49</sup> he devotes a whole chapter to the subject of gluttony, and

rowed from Plautus, in one of whose plays is a parasitic character named Dorsenus. *Gastrimargia* is a loan word from Cassian, IV, 3, and the sentence about *risus* comes from Ambrose, *De Officiis* I, 23, itself a reflection of Cicero.

<sup>44</sup> Migne, 66, 959 f.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, 966, 967, 968.

<sup>46</sup> Except for St. Benedict of Monte Cassino and St. Fructuosus, Benedict of Aniane made larger use of the works of Isidor of Seville than of any other churchman, in the compilation of the *Concordia Regularum*. He has incorporated 105 extracts from the Rule of St. Benedict, 32 from that of St. Fructuosus, 25 from that of Isidor, 25 from Basel, 19 from Cassian, 15 from Pachomius, 14 from St. Ferreolus, etc. It is significant that Gregory the Great is not cited. An abstract of his citations from the Rule of Isidor of Seville follows: 3(2), 4, 5, 6 (2), 7, 8, 14 (2), 15 (2), 17, 18 (2), 19, 20 (3), 22, 23, 24 (2).

<sup>47</sup> *Opera*, VI, p. 538 f.; ed. Lorenzana, Rome, 1803.

<sup>48</sup> Three 'drinks' were evidently a gentleman's portion among the Romans. So Ausonius 'ter bibere,' and compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, 77.

<sup>49</sup> *Opera*, VI, 251 f.

distinguishes four kinds.<sup>50</sup> Elsewhere, in his *Etymologiarum* x, 114—that vast museum of dessicated antiquities—Isidor deals with the origin of the word *glutto* or glutton, which he explains as derived “*a gula, id est gulosus.*” Of immense interest for what we are looking for is the scholium to this sentence, which gives synonyms for the word *glutto*, viz: *ardalio, vorax, manduco.* Now ‘*ardalio,*’ classical *ardelio*, is a rare Latin word which only occurs in Martial, *Epigrams*, II, 7, IV, 79, and in Phaedrus, II, 5, 1 f.<sup>51</sup> It means a busy-body, a meddler, a trifler.

From these two words, *gula + ardelio*, plural, *gula + ardeliones*, the derivation of the word *goliardi* becomes clear. Hence *goliardenses* or *goliardi*, meaning “busy-bodies in or devotees of gluttony,” *gula* being an ablative of specification. In support of this theory it must be remembered that Isidor of Seville and Martial were both Spaniards, and that Isidor was profoundly steeped in Latin lore and literature. Although the word ‘*ardelio*’ is not used by him in the body of any of his writings, and occurs, so far as I can discover, nowhere else in mediæval literature, I have little doubt that it was in common use in France in the ninth century and later, either alone or in combination with the word ‘*gula*,’ the introduction and currency of the term probably being due to Benedict of Aniane and his supporters. The circumstance that the word *goliardi* is not used in formal ecclesiastical Latin until much later, I think, may be explained by the supposition that it was clerical and monastic slang.<sup>52</sup>

I have little doubt that the word *goliardi* was in familiar clerical usage in the ninth century to characterize that class of vagrom and ribald monks who, as we have seen, were a widespread evil in the monasteries, and among whom, at least in Sens, a sense of fellowship (*familia*) or sodality would seem to have early developed. It is not so clear, however, that the name of Goliath was attached to these groups as early as this. The phrase ‘de

<sup>50</sup> *Quatuor sunt genera distinctionum gulæ appetitu, id est quid, quando, quantum et quomodo appetatur.*

<sup>51</sup> See Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s. v.

<sup>52</sup> The reason for the non-appearance of the word ‘*ardelio*’ in the patristic writings like those of Jerome and Gregory the Great is readily perceived when one reflects that Martial was taboo with churchmen because of his obscenity, so that no one but a Spaniard like Isidor would be likely to be familiar with him.

'familia Goliae' in the statute of Walter of Sens *may* be an interpolation inserted by some copyist later when Goliath's name had already become associated with the *goliardi*.

In other words I think it is certain that the word *Goliard* is anterior to the appellative *Goliath*. The similarity of sound, supplemented by the line of reasoning based on the Roman breviary which Professor Manly has outlined, *may* have later suggested the connection between the *goliardi* and the Philistine giant. But it seems to me to be inverting the order of things to believe that *Golias* is anterior to *goliard*, or that *goliard* is derived from *Golias*. Men's minds work from particulars to generals, from concrete things to abstract personifications.

Moreover, I believe that there is an intermediate link between *goliardi* and *Goliath*. "*Golias*" was not originally intended to mean the Philistine giant, but was in the beginning coined from the word *goliard* to personify a sort of mediæval and monkish Bacchus, and adopted as a sort of mock patron saint by the *Goliardi* when the vague solidarity of this class crystallized. Have we not seen that already in the first part of the tenth century Rather of Verona dubbed these ribald monks 'bromioi,' which is an ancient appellation of Bacchus and quite classical? Only after this intermediate evolution had taken place, it seems to me, was the next step taken, and *Golias* affiliated with *Goliath*.

I am loath to conclude this paper, long as it is, without making four final suggestions.

[1] There are certain literary vestiges of *Golias* to be found in late English literature which have hitherto been unperceived. In *Notes and Queries*, ser. VII, vol. 1, p. 154 (1886) a correspondent quotes *The Song of the Broom*, described as "a Sussex musical toast" or drinking song. The last six lines are:

And you shall drink it all up  
While we do say Goliere.  
Goliere! Goliere! Goliere! Goliere!  
While we do say Goliere!  
And you shall drink it all up  
While we do say Goliere!

"I should be glad to know what *Goliere* means, or from what word it is corrupted," he adds. In the issue of March 13 (page 218) two correspondents replied. The first wrote that "the first four

lines (of the *Song of the Broom*) are almost identical with those of a nurse's song—Scotch, I imagine—which I remember well as a small child. . . . Is it too far-fetched a suggestion that *Goliere* may have something to do with Goliao?" It was merely a shrewd conjecture of this correspondent, but I think it hit the mark.

[2] In the seventeenth and eighteenth century fiction and drama the expletive "By Goles" sometimes occurs. This is explained both by Wright and by Murray as "a deformation of God." But is it? Is it not rather derived from Golias?

[3] In old English the word 'cole' may be found, which Murray defines as a deceiver, a cheat, a sharper, but gives no derivation for it. May not it, too, be a reminiscence of Golias?

[4] Finally I am iconoclastic enough to believe that 'Old King Cole' of nursery legend also is a remote descendant of Golias. Certainly there is more affiliation between him with 'his pipe and his bowl' and his 'fiddlers three' as so regarded than to associate him with a mythical king of Roman Britain whose daughter was the empress Helena, mother of Constantine,<sup>53</sup> as does Wright in his edition of *Nursery Rhymes*.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historiae Anglorum*, I, 37; Robert of Gloucester, *Metrical Chron.*, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 130.

<sup>54</sup> iv, 179. Published by the Percy Society, 1842, 4 vols. In the introduction to this work he says: "If we had any credible sources of information, it would be a subject worthy of investigation to ascertain the origin . . . of these national nursery melodies, but . . . their history is wrapped up in great obscurity." I hope that I have lifted a corner of the veil.

## MORPHOLOGICAL NOTES

BY FRANCIS A. WOOD

### I. The Genitive Sing. and Nominative Plur. of *a*-Stems

Inasmuch as these two cases coincided in form, they must have developed the same, aside from analogical changes, in the various Germ. dialects. Thus if OHG. *geba* is the regular gen. sing. form, *blinto, kebo* can not be phonetically regular in the nom. plur. (cf. Brugmann II, 2, 155, 214, 226, 285). Moreover OHG. -*o* would not agree with OE. -*æ*, -*e* (cf. Sievers Ags. Gr. 252).

The variety of forms may be explained as follows: IE. -*ās* became Germ. -*ōz* as represented in Goth. *gibos*, ON. *giafar*, older *rūnor*. In WGerm. the ending became -*ōR* (with open -*ō*), whence OS., OHG. -*a*, OE. (WSax., Kent.) -*a*, (Angl.) -*æ*, -*e*. Or this may come from -*ai* as in Gr. and Lat.

The -*e* in OE. (WS.) in place of the regular -*a* is due to the fem. *i*-stems. In the nom. and acc. plur. original *giefa, giefa* : *bēne, bēne* became *giefe, -a* : *bēne, -a*. The gen. sing. *giefe* is likewise modeled after *bēne*, just as acc. sing. *tide* (for *tid*) is formed after *āre* (cf. Sievers Ags. Gr. 269, Anm. 1, 2). The early dat. of *a*-stems in -*i*, as *rōdi*, may also be derived from the fem. *i*-stems rather than from the *o*-stems as given by Sievers 252, Anm. 1. In general it may be said that the masc. *i*-stems in OE. are modeled after the *o*-stems, while fem. *i*-stems and the *a*-stems tend to fall together.

The -*o* in OHG. *kebo, blinto* is best explained as an analogical ending taken from the pronoun. Compare OHG. *dio* (from \**pjōz*) in the nom. plur. with the nom. sing. fem. *diu* (originally \**siu* : OE. *seo*) from \**sjō*.

### II. The Dative and Locative Singular of *a*-Stems

These two cases fall together in Goth. *gibai*. With this corresponds OE. *giefe*, older -*æ*. In OS. and OHG. we should expect -*e*, -*a*. We actually find -*a*, which may properly be regarded as a real dat.-loc. corresponding to Goth. -*ai*, OE. -*e*. The constant -*a* of OS., OHG. is due to leveling with the -*a* in the nom. (here analogical), acc., and gen. Since the instr. in -*u*, -*o* functioned also

as a dat. or loc., and the dat.-loc. as an instr., the *-u*, *-o* also went into the gen. Hence OHG., OS. gen. *-a* (*-u*, *-o*) ; dat.-loc., instr. *-a*, *-u*, *-o*.

### III. The Dative of *o*-Stems

The dat. in *-ōi* is recognized in ON. *dage*, OE. *dæge*, OS. *dage*, OHG. *tage*, etc., which may also represent the loc. in *-ōi*. But OS. *daga*, OHG. *taga*, which occur instead of *dage*, *tage*, are regarded as doubtful (cf. Dieter Altgerm. Dialekte 538). That the *-a* in *daga*, *taga* may come from Germ. *-ai* is, however, certain. In OS. the dat. ends in *-e*, *-ē*, *-æ*, *-a*. Similarly the *-ai* of the optative appears as *-e*, *-a* : *bere*, *bera*, Goth. *bairai*. In OHG. the opt. *-ai* appears not infrequently as *-a*. There is therefore no reason for assuming that this *-a* is otherwise than a dat.-loc.

### IV. The Instrumental in *-mi*

Whether or not we agree with Osthoff, IF. xx, 163 ff., in the solution of the question: "Gab es einen Instr. Sing. auf *-mi* im Germanischen?" the fact remains that the instr. sing. in *-mi* occurs in the pronoun: OE. *fæm*, ON. *þeim*, pre-Germ. \**toimis*, ChSl. *těmi*. This is not denied. It would not be strange, therefore, if the same case form were met with in the noun. But leaving that with Osthoff, we may at least claim this case form for the adjective. Compare ON. *spökum*, OE. OS. *blindum* from \**spakomi*, \**blindomi*, corresponding exactly with the plural in *-omis*.

The only other plausible explanation at hand would be to equate this ending *-um*, and also OS. *-umu*, *-emu*, OHG. *-emu* with Goth. *-amma*, but not on the assumption that *-mm-* was simplified in the unstressed position. For Germ. \**blindommō* would give WGerm. \**blindummu*, whence OE., OS. *blindum* and, with a later analogical restoration of the instr. ending *-u*, OS. *blindumu*, *-emu* (with analogical *e*), OHG. *blintemu*, just as *blindu*, *blintu* are for phonetic \**blind*, \**blint*.

### V. The Genitive Plural of *u*-Stems

The regular ending in *u*-stems was *-u-ōm* : Gr. *γούρων* from \**γοντων*, Lat. *manuum*. Beside this occurred also *-eu-uōm* : Gr. *πήχεων*, which has its counterpart in Goth. *suniwe*. The only trace of *-uōm* in Germ. is supposed to be ON. *kinna* 'der Backen' (cf.

Dieter Altgerm. Dialekte 546). But it may also be regularly represented by ON. and OE. gen. plur. of *u*-stems: ON. *vanda*, OE. *felda*, etc., with early loss of *w*.

## VI. The *n*-Declension

In the IE. *-on*, *-en*-stems the nom. sing. is *-ōn*, *-ēn* or *-ō* in all genders. But this variety is in Germ. restricted, one dialect choosing one form, another another. Thus *-ēn* appears in the masc. in Goth. *hana* (or this could come also from *-ōn*), ON. *hane*; *-ōn* in the fem. and the neut. in WGerm. and NGerm.: ON. *tunga*, OE. *tunge*, OS. *tunga*, OHG. *zunga*; ON. *hiarta*, OE. *heorte*, OS. *herta*, OHG. *herza*; and *-ō* in the fem. and the neut. in Goth. *tuggo*, *hairto*, and in the masc. in WGerm.: OS., OHG. *hano*, OE. *hana*. Traces of earlier variety in WGerm. are seen in OE. *nama*, OS., OHG. *namo*, which became masc. on account of its form, though originally neut. as in Goth. *namo* (cf. Streitberg Urg. Gram. 258).

In OS. this variety still exists. For the *-a* instead of *-o* in the nom. sing. masc. (in the comparative of the adj. regularly *-a*) may not be due entirely to Ingwaeonian influence, but may represent IE. *-ōn*. And in the declension of self we may regard the nom. sing. fem. *selbo* as an original fem. in *-ō*, corresponding to Goth. *silbo*, rather than as a masc. form used for the fem.

The voc. of *n*-stems can be nothing but a nom. According to Bethge in Dieter, Altgerm. Dialekte 542, Goth. *atta* as voc. goes back to Germ. (urgerm.) \**atton*, with which he compares Gr. ο *Mεμνον*, forgetting that IE. final *-on* would, like *-om*, disappear in Goth.

According to Brugmann Grdr. II, 228 OHG. *hanon*, *-un* is a nom. form. This is improbable. For Germ. \**hanoniz* would give OHG. \**hanan*, whereas the Germ. acc. \**hanonunz* would give the form that actually occurs: *hanon*, *-un*.

## VII. A Nominative Neuter in *-n*.

A nom.-acc. neut. in *-n* is, so far as I know, not recognized in Germanic. One word at least has survived that may be so explained: Goth. *fon* 'fire,' gen. *funins*, for the various explanations of which cf. Feist Et. Wb., 117. For Goth. *fon* may represent a form \**p(u)ōnn*, gen. \**punenes*, with ablaut as in Skt. *cūtā* (*κύων*), gen. *cúnah*, *κύνος*. This clears up what would otherwise appear as

an inexplicable change of a neuter *o*-stem to an *n*-stem. For the form assumed would not give Goth. \**fonu* in spite of *fotu*, since the *-u* in longsyllable *u*-stems came by analogy from the *-u* in shortsyllable words.

### VIII. The Nominative of *r*-Stems

Parallel with the nom. of *n*-stems is the nom. sing. of *r*-stems in *-ēr*, *-ōr*, *-ē*, *-ō*: Lat. *māter*, *dator*, Gr. μήτηρ, δάτωρ, but Skt. *matā-dattā*, Lith. *motė*, *sesū*, etc. In Germ. the *r*-forms occur in Goth. *fadar*, *broþar* and also in WGerm. But in NGerm. there is evidence also for the forms without *-r* in the ON. nom. in *-ir*, which in the Viking time is more common than *-ir*: *fafir*, *sustir*. These may represent a Germ. nom. in *-ē* with a later added nom. case-suffix *-r*. A Germ. nom. in *-ō* may also be the forerunner of OSw. runic *fafu* beside the usual *fafur*. For a different explanation see Noreen, Paul's Grdr. I, 616.

### IX. The Ablative in Germanic

Since the abl. sing. had a long vowel of three morae: *-ād*, *-ōd*, *-ēd*, this resulted in Goth. *-ō*, *-ē*. The abl. force is plainly preserved in compounds of *-prō*, corresponding to Lat. *-trā(d)*, and also in *aftaro* 'from behind' and *sundro* 'apart.' But *ufaro*, *undaro* (Skt. *adharāt* 'from below'), like the corresponding Lat. *suprā*, *infrā*, have a locative meaning. Adverbs of manner and degree are also derivable from the abl., as indicating the source. Here belong the compounds of *-leiko* and the following.

1. *Alakjo* 'altogether,' with a *k*-addition as in Goth. *anaks*, *ibuks*, etc.

2. *Allandjo* 'wholly,' translating Gr. ὁλοτελεῖς, is plainly a compound of *andeis* 'end, τέλος,' perhaps made up by the translator. This would imply that there was an abl. \**andjo*. Or it is quite as probable that this form is a survival of the old gen. plur., corresponding to OHG. *enteo* in the phrase *enteo ni wenteo* 'nook nor corner' (Wess. 5), with which compare MHG. *aller hende* (*hande*) 'allerhand,' *allerleige* 'allerlei,' early NHG. *aller dinge* 'in allen Stücken, gänzlich; allerdings,' *allerseiten* 'allerseits,' etc.

3. *Andaugjo* 'φανερῶς, openly' seems to be formed directly from *andaugi* 'πρόσωπον, presence, appearance,' from which also *andau-*

*giba* ‘plainly.’ Compare OHG. *ougo-* in *ougozorhtōn* ‘manifestare’ and also *awi-* in *awizorah* ‘palam,’ OE. *ēawunga* ‘openly.’

4. *Aufto* ‘*πάντως, ἵστως, τάχα*, surely, perhaps,’ (*ibai*) *ufto* ‘(*μή*)-*tore*’: OHG., OS. *ofto*; Goth. *ufta* ‘often.’

5. *Arwjo* ‘*δωρεάν*, without cause, freely, for naught.’ Compare with different termination OHG. *arawūn* ‘vergebens,’ OE. *earwunga* ‘gratis; without cause.’ These are all late formations, since the *w* in these positions would have disappeared. They are derived from the stem *arwa-* in OE. *earu* ‘quick, ready,’ OS. *aro* ‘bereit, fertig,’ etc. (cf. Fick III, 17).

6. *Glaggwo* ‘*ακριβῶς*, genau’ (also *glaggwaba, -uba*): OE. *glēawe* ‘wisely, well,’ abl. in *-e*, from *glēaw* ‘wise, prudent,’ OHG. *glau*, etc.

7. *Gahāhjo* ‘*καθεξῆς*, in order’ implies a stem *gahāhjo* ‘hanging together,’ or else a suffix *-jo* was abstracted from other adverbs and added to *-hāh* in *faur-hāh* ‘Vorhang.’

8. *Misso* ‘mutually, one another,’ formed from the stem in *missaleiks* ‘different.’

9. *Sinteino* ‘ever, always’ from *sinteins* ‘daily’ expresses time as does also *þridjo* ‘the third time.’ Or this last may be an acc. sing. neut. of the weak declension agreeing with *mēl* ‘time’ understood. Compare OHG. *drittīun stunt* ‘tertio.’

10. *Sniumundo* ‘μετὰ σπουδῆς, with haste,’ from a stem \**sniu-munda-* ‘haste’ (*sniwan* ‘hasten’) with suffix *-munda* as in OHG. *hlīumunt* ‘Leumund,’ Skt. *gromatam* ‘fame,’ Lat. *-mento-* in *momentum*, etc. (cf. Dieter Altgerm. Dialekte, 540). The Goth. comparative *sniumundos* and also the adjective suffixes *-oran-*, *-osta-* prove the productivity of the adverb ending *-ō*. This occurred originally only in *o-, ā-* stems. But in OHG. it spread to all stems, so that the comparative of the adverb in OHG. is always *-ōr*. Similarly in OE., though the adverb usually ends in *-e* from *-ē*, the comparative and superlative have *-or, -ost*.

11. *Þiubjo* ‘λάθρα, ἐν κρυπτῷ, secretly’ may be derived directly from *þiubi* ‘κλοπή, theft.’ For meaning compare Gr. *κλοπὴ* ‘by stealth.’

12. *Þiudisko* ‘*ἐθνικῶς*, after the manner of Gentiles’ and *iudais-wisko* ‘*ἰουδαικῶς*, as the Jews’ (Gal. II, 4) are plainly new formations.

13. *Ühteigo, unühteigo* ‘*εὐκαιρῶς, ἀκαιρῶς*, in season, out of season’: *ühteigs* ‘having leisure, fitting time.’ These words have nothing to do with *ühtwo* ‘dawn,’ from which an adj. with *-eiga*- would give *\*ühtweigs* (compare *waurstweigs* from *wurstw*), but are derived from a stem *ühtja-* in *ühti-ugs* ‘opportune, convenient’: *bi-ühti* ‘custom,’ *biühts* ‘accustomed,’ Skt. *úcyati* ‘ist gewohnt, findet Gefallen an etwas,’ *ucitáh* ‘gewohnt an, angemessen, passend,’ etc.

14. *Unweniggo* ‘unexpectedly, suddenly’: OE. *unwēninga* ‘unexpectedly,’ *wēninga, -unga* ‘by chance, perhaps.’ The adverbial suffix *-ingō, -ungō*: OS. *-ingo, -ungo*, OE. *-inga, -unga* (OHG. *-ingon, -ingūn*) came originally from corresponding nouns but became productive in WGerm. in forming adverbs.

15. *Usdaudo* ‘*σπουδαῖς*, earnestly’ (comparative adj. *usdau-doza*): *usdauds* ‘zealous.’ The prefix *uz-* has here an intensive not a negative force. Compare Skt. *dódhāt-* ‘erschütternd, ungestüm, tobend,’ *dúdhīḥ* ‘wild, ungestüm,’ Gr. *θύσσομαι* ‘shake, tremble,’ NE. *dodder* ‘shake, tremble,’ dial. *duddle* ‘boil, bubble,’ *dudder* ‘tremble; confuse,’ Norw. dial. *dudra* ‘tremble,’ EFris. *duddern, dudden* ‘betäubt sein,’ etc. Here as in other derivatives of the IE. root *dheu-* ‘shake’ is found the double meaning ‘toben: taub, betäuben.’

16. *Ussindo* ‘*μάλιστα*, besonders, especially’ is supposed to be from *sinþs* ‘way.’ It can not be derived immediately therefrom, for it is not an abl. governed by a preposition. If related at all, it is from an adj. stem *\*ussindo-* ‘out of the way, unusual.’ But it is more probable that it is from an adj. *\*ussinda-* ‘separated,’ related to *sundro* ‘abgesondert, besonders, allein,’ OE. *sundor* ‘apart, severally,’ *onsundrum* ‘apart, separately, especially,’ *syn-drige* ‘apart, singly.’ These are from the root *\*sem-* ‘one, alone, single, separate’ (cf. Kluge ZfdWtf. VIII, 312). For meaning compare Lat. *únice* ‘solely, singularly, especially, in an extraordinary degree.’

17. *Sprauto* ‘*ταχέως, ταχύ, ἐν τάχει*, quickly, speedily.’ This is from a Germ. stem *\*sprauta-*, which, as it is related to words meaning ‘spring, sprout,’ was probably a noun rather than an adj. Compare Norw. dial. *spraut, sprauta* ‘Stellhölzchen.’

18. *Witodeigo* ‘*νομίμως, νομός*, lawfully,’ implying an adj. *\*witodeigs* ‘lawful’ from *witoþ* ‘law.’

The ending *-ē* did not become productive in Goth., and the forms that remain do not show the abl. meaning plainly. The following may be given as abl. in origin.

19. *Hidre* 'hither,' *hwadre* 'whither,' *jaindre* 'thither' indicate the place to which. The change in meaning probably came through a locative sense. Compare Lat. *domo* 'from home: at home' and Gr. *ἐκεῖ* 'there: thither.' This was promoted by association with forms originally indicating motion towards, as Goth. *hwad* (*gaggis*) 'whither,' *jaind* 'thither,' OE. *hwider* 'whither,' *hider* 'hither,' etc.

20. *Pande* 'ēws, ḡs, ēnei, ei, ḡri, while, as, since, if, because,' from pre-Germ. \**tantēd* 'tanto, in tantum, by so much, in so far, inasmuch': Lat. *tantus* 'so much, so great,' OE. *pende(n)* 'meanwhile, while,' OHG. *danta* 'weil'; *hwanta* 'warum, weshalb; weil, denn, quia, quod, quoniam,' OS. *hwanda* 'denn, weil, da,' etc.: Lat. *quantus*.

21. *Simle* 'at one time, once,' identical with OE. *sim(b)le*, OHG. *simble* 'always.' OS. *sim(b)la* probably has *-a* for *-o*. Compare the gen. plur. in *-a* for *-o*. Compare other formations: OE. *simbles*, *simblunga*, OS. *sim(b)lun*, *simnun*, OHG. *simbbles*, *simbulum*, etc.

22. *Sware* 'δωρέαν, εἰκῇ, εἰς κερόν, μάτην, without cause, in vain,' primarily 'of itself,' from a stem \**suoro-*, with *-ro-* as in Goth. *unsar*, *izwar*, *igqar*, and in the corresponding genitives. Compare especially Arm. *iur* 'sui, sibi' from \**seuor-* (cf. Brugmann II, 396) and Skt. *sva-tah* 'of itself.'

23. *Swe* 'like, as, so as, so that; about (of numbers)' is probably an abl. rather than instr. Compare OE. *swæ*, *swā* 'as, so, then, therefore, so that,' which may represent Goth. *swe* and *swa*, and the abl. in *-ð* in OS., OHG. *sō*: Gr. ὡ-θε, ḡs, 'so, as,' OLat. *sō-c* 'sic.'

With Goth. *-ð*, *-ē* correspond ON., OE. *-a*, *-e*, OS., OHG. *-o*, *-e*. Compare the nom. in *-ð* in *n*-stems, and the gen. plur. in *-ðm*, which give Goth. *-ð*, OS., OHG. *-o*, OE., ON. *-a*. The *-o* in OS., OHG. adverbs is recognized as an abl. ending corresponding to Goth. *-ð*. That the abl. in *-o* also occurred in the nouns can not be disputed, although it can not be identified since the *-u* which came from the instr. *-ð* interchanged with *-o*. Similarly the *-ē*

coming from the abl. *-ē* would fall together with the *-e* from the dat. or loc. *-ai* in N. and WGerm.

This *-ō* in the abl. sing. and gen. plur., as also in the nom. sing. of *n*-stems, was an open *ō*, differing in tone as well as in quantity from the *-ō* in the instr. sing. of *o*- and *ā*-stems or in the first pers. sing. pres. of verbs. The latter, in OS. and OHG., became in unstressed syllables *-u*, interchanging with *-o*; in monosyllables *-ō*, interchanging with *-uo*, the *-uo* representing the stressed forms. But the former becomes OS., OHG. *-o*, not interchanging with *-u*, corresponding to OE., ON. *-a*.

In ON. the adv. in *-a* (from *ō*) is comparatively rare aside from those in *-lika*, *-liga*, *-la*. But the comparative and superlative in *-ar*, *-ast* indicate an early frequency of this ending.

In OE. *e*-adverbs (from *ē*) predominated, as: *georne*, *bittre*, *nearwe*, etc., and the compounds in *-lice*. But here also the frequency of the comparative and superlative in *-or*, *-ost* prove that the *ō*-adverbs were formerly numerous. The ending *-a* (from *ō*) is regular in adverbs in *-inga*, *-unga* (OS. *-ingo*, *-ungo*) and in the following.

24. *Gēdra* (i. e. *jāra*) ‘of yore, formerly,’ old abl. sing. (not gen. plur.) of *gēar* ‘year,’ OS. OHG. *jār*, Goth. *jēr*, perhaps from an adj. stem *\*jēra-* ‘past, old,’ root *\*jē-* ‘go, pass.’ Compare for meaning Skt. *sāntt* ‘of yore,’ from *sánah* ‘old, former.’

25. *Gēna*, *gīena* ‘again, now, in the immediate future; still, yet’ (\**gaginō*): *gegn-*, *gēan-* ‘gain-’ (as in *gainsay*), *geignum* ‘forward, direct,’ adv. from *gegn* ‘direct,’ *gēninga*, *gegninga* ‘straight forward, direct; entirely; certainly,’ OHG. *gegin*, *gagan* ‘gegen, entgegen,’ OS. *gegnungo* ‘unmittelbar, geradezu, in Wahrheit,’ etc.

26. *Tila*, *tela* ‘well, thoroughly, prosperously,’ from *til* ‘good, serviceable; goodness, kindness,’ *tillice* ‘well,’ Goth. *til* ‘opportunity, occasion,’ OHG. *zil* ‘Ziel.’

27. *Sōna* ‘soon’: OS. *sāno*, *sāna*; *sān* (perhaps an instr.), OHG. *sān*, *sār* ‘immediately.’ The primary meaning of the bases *\*sēno-*, *\*sēro-* was probably ‘stretched out, straight,’ whence ‘straightway, soon.’

28. *Singala* (*singale*, *-es*) ‘continually, always’: *singāl* ‘continuous, lasting, everlasting, daily.’ For *sin-* cf. Nos. 9, 16, 21.

The last part seems to come from a stem \**gaila-*, perhaps from \**ga-aila-* 'series, order.' Compare Norw. dial. *eil* 'längliche Furche, Rinne,' Lett. *ailis* 'Reihe, Fach,' Lith. *eilė* 'series, Reihe, Schicht,' *eilyti* 'in Ordnung, in Reihen stellen,' *eilingas* 'was sich in Reihen befindet, bewegt oder steht,' *eilingi vardai* 'Zahlwörter,' OS. *ilan*, OHG. *ilen* 'tendere, festinare, eilen,' *ila* 'Eile,' IE. root *ei-* 'go.'

29. *Twiwa, tuwa, twi(g)a* 'twice' and *priwa, pri(g)a* 'thrice' are probably also abl. forms. Compare OHG. *zwiro* 'twice,' Goth. *þridjo* 'the third time.'

30. *Eþpa* 'or,' *fela* 'much, very' do not belong here. They have *-a* from *-au* : Goth. *aifþau* 'or,' *filaus* 'much.'

## X. The Gothic Genitive Plural

The Goth. gen. plur. in *-ē* stands by itself, unexplained. One point, however, is clear: the variation *-ē* : *-ō* in the gen. plur. was brought about primarily to differentiate the genders (Brugmann II, 2, 239). But this variation did not come by analogy with the *e* : *o* ablaut in *o*-stems, but from the abl. sing., and for the following reason. The original gen. plur. *-ōm* fell together in Germ. with the abl. *-ōd*, *-ād*. There was therefore at one time in Goth. gen. plur. \**dagō*: abl. sing. \**dagō* : \**dagē* by the side of gen. plur. *gibō* (IE. *ā*-stem) : abl. sing. \**gibō* (but not \**gibē*). Since in form the gen. plur. in *-ō*, coincided completely with abl. sing. in *-ō*, they came to be felt as identical. And inasmuch as only the *ō*-abl. occurred in the *ā*-stems, while both the *ō*- and *ē*-forms occurred in the *o*-stems, the *ō*-form came to be felt as peculiarly belonging to the *ā*- (Goth. *ō*-) stems, hence gen. plur. *gibō*, *sunjo*, *triggwo*, *tuggono*, *manageino* (and by analogy *laiseino*). But since in the *o*-stems there was a choice of *ē*-forms in the abl. sing., the *ē*-form came to be regarded also as a gen. plur. and associated primarily with masc. and neut. forms of *o*-stems, as *dage*, *waurde*, *harje*, *kniwe*; and secondarily with stems in which an *ō*-abl. would not occur, hence *gaste*, *anste*, *suniwe*, *handiwe*, *gumane*, *hairtane*, *fadre*, *nasjande*, *baurge*, etc.

For this differentiation compare Goth. *daga*, *waurda*, *gasta* : *gibai*, *anstai*. In the *o*-stems, and by analogy the masc. *i*-stems, the instr. functions also as a dat. and loc., while the *ā*- and fem. *i*-stems discard the instr., using only the dat. and loc. This came

about because the instr. fell together with the acc. *-ām*, both becoming Goth. *-a*. And since the form *giba* could no longer be used as an instr. because of the confusion with the acc., the function of the instr. was taken over by the dat., loc. *gibai*, with which was associated the loc. of fem. *i*-stems: *anstai*. The dat., loc. of *o*-stems (\**dagai*: OS., OHG. *-e*) therefore disappeared because the ending *-ai* was felt to belong peculiarly to the fem.

## XI. The Gothic Adverbs in *-na*

The Goth. adverbs in *-na* express the notion of the place where or whence, as: *þana-mais* ‘henceforth,’ *aftana* ‘from behind,’ *hindana* ‘from beyond,’ *innana* ‘(from) within,’ *uitana* ‘outside, without,’ etc. Corresponding to the final *-ana* in Gothic ON. has *-an*, as *aptan*, *innan*, *utan*, etc.; OE. has *-an*, *-on*, or *-ane*, *-one*, as *hwanon*, *-e* ‘whence,’ *ufan*, *-e* ‘above, from above,’ etc.; OS. has *-an*, *-ana*, as *foran*, *forana*; and OHG. has regularly *-ana*, as *nidana*, *obana*. The forms in Notker in *-nnān* can be omitted in this discussion as being later analogical formations.

This Germ. ending probably came from pre-Germ. *-nām*, the acc. sing. fem. of the pronoun stem *no-*, corresponding to Lat. *nam* ‘for.’ Compare also such formations as Skt. *vi-nā* ‘ausser, ohne,’ *nū-nām* ‘now,’ Lat. *superne*, *pōne*, etc. (cf. Brugmann Grdr. II, 2, 736). It was attached first to other pronominal stems as in Goth. *þana-*, OHG. *hina*, then to other adverbial forms, and finally to nominal stems as in OHG. *ōstana* ‘from the east,’ *westana* ‘from the west,’ etc.

With a preceding stem-vowel *o* this would give *-onām*, which would fall together with *-on-ōm*, the strong ending of the acc. sing. masc. of adjectives, in Germ. *-onō*, Goth. *-ana*. This adj. ending appears variously in the different dialects. In OS. an adj. consisting of one long syllable or two short syllables, or ending in a long syllable, takes the ending *-an*, as *blindan*, *mikilan*, *himiliskan*, while an adj. having a long syllable or two short followed by a short takes *-na*, as *hēlagna*, *wunodsamna*. Occasionally the full ending *-ana* occurs. This difference is due to accent. In the first case the secondary accent was *-āna*; in the second *-and*. In ON. and OHG. the ending *-an* was generalized; in OE. the ending *-na*, becoming *-ne*.

Now in the main the adverb forms in *-ana* follow the same rule, except that the distribution in the dialects is not the same and the full ending is more common. In some instances an *-n* is added to forms in *-na* after the analogy of those in *-an*, as: OS. *hinan*, OE. *heonan*, -e : OHG. *hina*, OS. *thanā* : Goth. *þana-*, etc.

## XII. The Dual Pronoun of the Second Person Dual

In the dual of the pronoun of the second person occurs a stem not found outside of Germanic. This fact makes it probable that it was formed analogically. To find the model we have not far to look. If we compare the Goth. acc. and gen. plural and dual of the first personal pronoun: *uns(is)*, *unsara*; *ugk(is)*, *ugkara*, with the corresponding forms of the second: *izwis*, *izwara*; *igqis*, *igqara*, we see that the vowel *u* runs through the first person, and the vowel *i* the second. If we now put these forms in Germ. in parallel columns, we shall have the following:

<i>uns-(iz)</i>	:	<i>iz-wiz</i>
<i>uns-era</i>	:	<i>iz-wera</i>
<i>unk-(iz)</i>	:	<i>ink-wiz</i>
<i>unk-era</i>	:	<i>ink-wera</i>

We see from this that the *ink-* of the second person dual was modeled after the *unk-* of the first person, and that the *-wiz*, *-wera* of the second plural was attached to the analogical *ink-* of the dual. That is, the following proportion was made: *uns-iz*, *uns-era* : *unk-iz*, *unk-era* = *iz-wiz*, *iz-wera* : *ink-wiz*, *ink-wera*. ON. *ykkar*, *ykkar*, correspond to the Goth. forms, but OE. *inc(it)*, *incer*, OS. *inc* are ambiguous, since they may come from forms ending in *-iz*, *-era* as in the plural.

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## SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETEERING

BY OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

The problem of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* has never been adequately approached from the side of his earlier sonneteering, as in some of the plays, although some sonnets in the plays must have preceded those of the sonnet cycle. Nor have we any specific studies of the influences affecting his sonnet beginnings, or of certain relations of the *Sonnets* to his early *Poems*. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider these phases of Shakespeare's sonnet writing as perhaps throwing some light upon the whole subject.

First, for example, comes the question of Shakespeare's adopting and invariably using the Surrey, or English form of the sonnet, at least so far as the rime-scheme is concerned, rather than the Wyatt, or Italian form. To begin with, we may rightly infer direct influence on the young Shakespeare of the first user of the English sonnet form. Slender's allusion in *Merry Wives* I, i, 206 is usually interpreted as meaning that Shakespeare was acquainted with *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) or *Tottel's Miscellany* as it is now more commonly called. Not unlikely he possessed one of the eight editions which appeared before 1587 when he had probably begun to write for himself, or at least had met the book when he came up to London in 1585 or 1586. Fuller confirmation of his acquaintance with this *Miscellany* is found in his using part of one of the poems in the gravedigger's song, *Ham.* v, i, 79 ff. Now *Tottel's Miscellany*, as is well known, placed the Earl of Surrey's poems at the beginning of the book, rather than those of Wyatt his predecessor in time, thus placing them first before the reader. Shakespeare would therefore have met Surrey's sonnets first in his reading, so that owing to this and the great

popularity of the book he may have begun his sonnet writing under the direct influence of Surrey's sonnet form.

At least had Shakespeare been influenced by the book *Songes and Sonettes* as he makes Slender to have been, he would have found nine out of fourteen sonnets in the first edition—or ten out of fifteen in some subsequent edition he is more likely to have known—of exactly that form in rime sequence which he was to employ.<sup>1</sup> The five remaining fourteen-line poems by Surrey had little to suggest imitation as a special stanza form. Three of them have twelve *ab* rimes, followed by an *aa* couplet in the first (p. 4 of Arber's reprint), and a *cc* couplet in the others (p. 10). A fourth fourteen line poem (p. 32) had eight *ab* rimes, four *ac* rimes, and a *cc* couplet at the close. The fifth (p. 12) has three quatrains of interior rime and a following couplet, *abba cddc effe gg*.<sup>2</sup> The diversity of these forms left them without special influence upon subsequent writers.

Moreover the English sonnet form as used by Surrey, doubtless by reason of his use, had begun its influence. In the first edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* seven sonnets by authors other than Surrey or Wyatt are of this form, three by Nicholas Grimald (pp. 102, 107, 112 of Arber), and four by "uncertain authors" (pp. 132, 137, 152, 188). On the other hand the influence of Wyatt's sonnet form among the remaining authors of the volume is shown by only two of the strict Italian sort (pp. 178, 197). Two others of three quatrains with interior rime and a following couplet (*abba cddc effe gg*) are almost as near the Surrey form as to the strict Italian scheme. Had Shakespeare therefore been interested in rime technique when he first read *Tottel*, and had he used the first edition, he would have found sixteen sonnets of the Surrey form, while there were at most only twenty-four of that used by Wyatt, only fifteen together at the beginning of Wyatt's poems

<sup>1</sup> Slender is a foolish enough fellow, of course, but there is nothing improbable in Shakespeare's having put his own youthful sentiment regarding the *Songes and Sonettes* into Slender's mouth. Indeed it is not impossible that he had early tried his hand at a sonnet after the Surrey form.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Sidney Lee counts sixteen sonnets of Surrey in *Tottel* (Appendix IX to his *Life of Shakespeare*). He doubtless counted the poem on p. 4 and the first on p. 10 as noted above. Neither of these is a sonnet in the ordinary sense and so has been omitted in my computation.

and only seven others used by that poet. But by the time Shakespeare read *Tottel* the Surrey form of the sonnet had become much the more common among English authors.

*Tottel's Miscellany* was popular enough to pass into its fifth edition in the first year of its second decade, and thus helped materially to keep the Surrey sonnet constantly before Englishmen.<sup>3</sup> By 1568, too, it had attracted a new exemplar in Thomas Howell, who published his *Arbor of Amitie* in that year, his *New Sonets and Pretie Pamphlets* about the same time perhaps,<sup>4</sup> and his best-known volume, *H. His Devises*, in 1581. In the first of these booklets is a Surrey sonnet in lines of six syllables, and one with an extra line riming with the final couplet.<sup>5</sup> There are no sonnets of the fourteen-line sort in his second volume, but in the *Devises* all the sonnets, thirteen in number, are of the Surrey variety. Only one other fourteen-line poem occurs, one of two six-line stanzas and a couplet.

Meanwhile the Surrey sonnet form was the one adopted by the young Spenser, when he translated for the *Theatre of Worldlings* (1569) Marot's *Visions de Petrarque*. The first and third of the *Epigrams*, as the poems are called in Van der Noot's volume, are Surrey sonnets.<sup>6</sup> Why the youthful Spenser did not use this form throughout the *Epigrams and Sonets* of Van der Noot's book we have no means of inferring, but when he revised them, probably in his Cambridge days, he made them all into sonnets of the Surrey type.<sup>7</sup> Spenser continued to use the Survey form of the

<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered that at this time the name sonnet (sonet) did not necessarily mean a fourteen-line poem at all, so that writers of sonnets did not necessarily follow either the Surrey or Italian form, or others of the diverse forms occasionally found in fourteen-line poems. Thus Googe in his *Eglogs, Epitaphs and Sonnettes* (1563), and Turberville in his *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songes and Sonets* (1567) printed no fourteen-line poems of any sort. Their sonnettes (sonets) represent an earlier French influence, not finally to be perpetuated.

<sup>4</sup> This volume, reprinted by Grosart in his *Occasional Issues*, has no date on the title-page of the single copy known, but was entered in the *Stationers' Register* in 1567-8.

<sup>5</sup> See "Answeres" (p. 19), "To his C." (p. 40).

<sup>6</sup> I assume, with Fletcher (*Mod. Lang. Notes* xxii) and others, that these poems were by Spenser, rather than with Koeppel (*Eng. Stud.* xv) that they were by some other writer.

<sup>7</sup> They did not appear again in print until the *Complaints* volume of

sonnet in the *Ruines of Rome* composed about the same time as the revised *Epigrams* and *Sonnets*, except that in the *Envoy* there is a slight variation, the second and third quatrains having a common rime. Perhaps to this period belong the eighth and twentieth sonnets of the *Amoretti*, which are possibly early work later incorporated into the sonnet cycle. Thus Spenser used the Surrey form in at least fifty-five sonnets, probably all composed before 1580, even though only two of them were printed before 1590.

The Surrey sonnet form had also been adopted and freely used by other sonneteers. Gascoigne, who published his *Sundrie Flowers* in 1572 and died five years later, wrote thirty, possibly thirty-two Surrey sonnets, as compared with three of other rime-schemes. I say possibly thirty-two, because two attributed to a Gentlewoman may be of his composition. Of the three sonnets not of Surrey type, one in commendation of *The French Littleton*, was Italian in rime-scheme. George Whetstone in *A Remembrance of George Gascoigne* (1577) introduced a Surrey sonnet as an *Epitaph of the Death of M. G. Gaskoyne*. One, therefore, who read Gascoigne's *Poetical Works* as published in his lifetime, or the *Whole Works* as issued posthumously in 1587, would gain the impression that the Surrey sonnet form was the one already established in English.

Besides, not only did Gascoigne prevailingly use the Surrey form, but in *Certayn Notes of Instruction* appended to his *Posies* of 1575 he had clearly separated the "sonnet" from the "sonet, or little song," and recognized only the Surrey rime-scheme of the former. He says:

I can beste allowe to call those Sonnets which are of fouretene lynes, every line conteyning tenne syllables. The first twelve do ryme in staves of four lines by crosse meetre, and the last two ryming togither do conclude the whole.—P. 39 of Arber's reprint.

Another remark of Gascoigne in the *Instructions* bears upon the sonnet forms of the period. A little beyond in section 14 he says:

There are also certaine Poemes devised of tenne syllables whereof the

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1591, or more exactly perhaps in a quarto with his *Muiopotmos* in 1590. See my article on "Spenser, Lady Carey, and the Complaints Volume" in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n.* xxxii, 306 ff.

first answereth in termination with the fourth, and the second and thirde answereth eche other: these are more used by other nations than by us, neyther can I tell readily what name to give them.

This indicates that the quatrain with interior rime, as *abba* of the Italian octave or *cddc* of the sestet, was not considered a natural or naturalized English form. Only once had Gascoigne himself used that form, that is in his early sonnet prefixed to *The French Littleton*, as already noted.

No one would class Thomas Tusser with particularly important Elizabethans, yet few books were more popular than his homely verses on Husbandry. The *Hundreth Good Points* of 1557 was reprinted five times before it was merged in the enlarged *Five Hundreth Good Points* in 1573. The latter also passed through five editions in thirteen years, that is to 1587, the period we are considering. Now in this husbandman's *vade mecum* were two sonnets, both of the Surrey type, numbers 65 and 66 in the English Dialect Society's reprint of the edition of 1580 (pp. 150-1). It is another slight evidence of the growing popularity of the Surrey form.

Some idea of the vogue of the Surrey sonnet in these years may be gained from its use in commendatory verses prefixed to various books. Thus of those printed with Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* the only sonnet is of the Surrey form, one by Nicholas Bowyer. In 1585, with Greene's *Planetomachia* appeared an octosyllabic sonnet of the Surrey rime-scheme by George Meeres. When a complete edition of Gascoigne's *Works* was published in 1587, ten years after the poet's death, the only sonnets among numerous commendatory verses, those by M. C. and R. S., were of the Surrey type. The only sonnet published with the commendatory verses of the first three books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in 1590 was the Surrey sonnet of Raleigh which begins the series. Other sonnet forms were sometimes used in these years, it is true, but no one type with anything like the frequency of that Surrey had first employed.

Again, when the sonnet occurred in *Miscellanies* following *Tottel*, it was the Surrey type which was more commonly used. There were no sonnets in the *Myrrour for Magistrates* (1559), the *Paradyse of Dayntyne Devises* (1576), or in the *Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1584), but in a *Gorgious Gallery of Gallant*

*Inventions* (1578) two of the three sonnets are of the Surrey form.<sup>8</sup> In William Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs of Sadness and Pietie* (1587) the only true sonnet is of the Surrey type. Here may be mentioned also that Puttenham, or the author of the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), quoted with approval one of Surrey's sonnets of English form among his examples of verse, although it is wrongly attributed to Wyatt.<sup>9</sup> A second illustrative sonnet is the author's own, a translation of one of Petrarch's for its figure of "similitude," or "resemblance," rather than as in any sense a model of sonnet form. It has the exceptional rime-scheme *abba bccd edce ce*.<sup>10</sup>

Like Spenser and Gascoigne the young Sidney first essayed the Surrey structure. The four sonnets in the *Arcadia* (1590), written in the spring or summer of 1580, are Surrey sonnets, thus differing from the form he was later to use in the *Astrophel and Stella*. Moreover, nine other Surrey sonnets among Sidney's *Miscellaneous Poems*<sup>11</sup> seem more likely to have been written at an early age than to have followed his famous sonnet cycle, with its more direct imitation of the Italian form. Even the sonnets of the *Arcadia* were not to be printed until 1590, but they show how naturally another of the great Elizabethan poets took to this English sonnet form.<sup>12</sup> Nor should we forget that Sidney, writing

<sup>8</sup> On p. 87 of the Collier reprint and in the *Pyramus and Thisbe*, p. 135. On p. 73 is the third sonnet with the unusual rime-scheme *abba abba cddc dd*. In the *Paradyse of Dayntyne Devises* are two fourteen-line poems in couplets, a not uncommon form, but not a sonnet, and not so counted here or elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>9</sup> Not hitherto noticed, I believe, but in Arber's reprint p. 231; see *Tottel's Miscellany* p. 11 for the original among those by Surrey.

<sup>10</sup> Arber p. 249; see *Tottel* p. 38 for Wyatt's version. Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) hardly belongs here and surely had no influence. Its sonnet schemes followed no general rule.

<sup>11</sup> *Miscellaneous Works* (Gray) pp. 213 ff.

<sup>12</sup> It is surprising how lack of careful investigation may mislead. Thus, in commenting on Shakespeare's sonnet form, W. H. Hadow (*Shakespeare's Sonnets in the Tudor and Stuart Library*, p. xxi), after quoting the passage from Gascoigne's *Instructions*, adds: "This passage from Gascoigne is the more noteworthy since the pattern which it 'best allows' had not been preferred by any considerable poet except Surrey, and was not preferred afterwards either by Sidney or by Spenser." Why Sidney changed from the Surrey scheme to one nearer that of Wyatt we do not know, but

his *Apologie for Poetrie* about the same time as his *Arcadia*, included the "Earl of Surrey's Lyrics" among the four English works named by him as having "poetical sinews in them."

What might have happened had Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* been published in his lifetime we cannot know. It might, perhaps, have set a new fashion in sonnet structure, owing to Sidney's fame, or more exactly to have revived an Italian form similar to that of Wyatt.<sup>18</sup> There was little chance, however, for John Soothern to succeed in reviving the Wyatt or Italian form by his *Pandora* of 1584, in which he seems to have used that form prevailingly. In spite of its pleasing second title, *the Musique of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana*, Soothern's sonneteering met with little favor. The author of the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) severely criticized his plagiarism from Ronsard and his use of French words unknown in English. Nor has he met with more modern favor, as shown by Sir Sidney Lee's arraignment in *Elizabethan Sonnets* (p. li).

Nor need we consider in our study of sonnet history, although it has often been so connected, the eighteen-line poems of Watson's *Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love* (1582). Excellent as is the poetry of this collection the author nowhere calls them sonnets, although they are loosely so called by G. Bucke who wrote the first commendatory poem. Watson's poems consist of three six-line stanzas of the well-known quatrain and couplet form. The author, too, knew the difference between them and the sonnet

it was probably not from any special dislike of the Surrey form. So Spenser's adoption of a new sonnet form in the course of his life, that with the three quatrains bound together by repetition of the final rime in each case, need not imply any special dislike of the form used by Surrey, and by himself in his early work. He seems to have taken a fancy to the Scotch sonnet form as it had been used by James VI of Scotland in his *Essays of a Prentise* (Edinburgh, 1585).

The publication of the *Arcadia* in 1590 was long believed to be the earliest appearance of Sidney in print, but Miss E. M. Bowen (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, x, 118) found that two of his *Songs*, the sixth and the tenth, had been printed in Wm. Byrd's *Songbooks* of 1588 and 1589.

<sup>18</sup> Sidney's favorite form in the octave was the *abba abba* of Wyatt, but in the sestet he used the quatrain of alternate rime and a following couplet (*cdd ee*), rather than the favorite Wyatt sestet *cde ee*. For a full discussion of Sidney's sonnets see a paper by Russell Whigham and the writer, *Stud. in Phil.*, xviii, 347 (July, 1921).

proper, for he himself composed an Italian sonnet of the usual Wyatt sort to follow the commendatory poems, *A Quatorzain of the Authour unto his booke of Lovepassions*. Watson's *Hekatompathia* poems belong rather with those numerous forms which were freely called sonnets (sonets) in Elizabethan England, as lyrics or little songs, but with no relation to the development of the sonnet as we know it, whether of the Italian or English variety. Only in content have they kinship with the sonnets of the sonnet cycles.

Why the Italian sonnet form did not predominate in these years may be readily surmised. The quatrain of interior rime (*abba*), which made up the Italian octave, was as yet not an independent form in English verse. We have already noted Gascoigne's mention of it as "more used by other nations than by us," and we have no certain knowledge of its independent employment until it appeared in Ben Jonson's *Epigrams*, first printed in the Folio of 1616. Again, the variety of the Italian sestet schemes, frequently so different from anything in English verse, strongly militated against their early acceptance by Englishmen. Indeed the Italian form as used by English writers tended rather to riot than regularity. Even Wyatt used two such formless arrangements as *aabb aaab baab ba* and *abba bbaa addc ee*. Other curious rime-schemes have been cited in this paper, and still others might easily be found. As a result no one of these diverse forms had sufficient influence to establish itself.

Surrey cut the knot of irregularity by the simple device of using three English quatrains with alternate rime and a couplet, a form which all Englishmen could understand and most English poets of the period were to follow, at least in part. Even Sidney in his *Astrophel and Stella* most commonly used a sestet like that of Surrey, a quatrain of alternate rime with a couplet, that is an ordinary English six-line stanza. The arrangement of three quatrains and a couplet was always maintained by Spenser, his later scheme merely linking the quatrains together by repetition of the final rime in each case.

Such was the state of sonnet writing, so far as published sonnets now show, in the England of 1587, that is the time when Shakespeare had become definitely settled in London. Moreover during all these years, as already briefly noted, the influence of *Tottel's*

*Miscellany* continued vigorous. The book had passed through six editions in less than a score of years, and was to reach two more by 1587. It was the only poetic *Miscellany* to be reprinted in its first year of publication, so far as records show. It surpassed every other book of the sort in number of editions, the *Myrrour for Magistrates* by one, the *Paradyse of Dayntyne Devises* by two. On this and other accounts, had Shakespeare tried the art of sonneteering as early as 1587, it is more than likely he would have adopted the Surrey sonnet form, as he was actually to do later in all his published work.

Besides, in 1590 new examples of the Surrey sonnet appeared in several works. In that year Watson published the English edition of his *Meliboeus* with the title *An Eclogue upon the Death of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham*, in which he used nine Surrey sonnets, or the rime sequences of such, although they were not always distinctly separated from other parts of the dialogue.<sup>14</sup> In 1590 also, as already indicated, Spenser's *Muiopotmos* and accompanying sonnets had probably been issued, adding twenty-one of the Surrey form to those of Spenser published in 1569. Again, 1590 is the year of the first publication of Sidney's *Arcadia*, with its profound influence upon English literature in many ways, and the *Arcadia* sonnets, though only four in number, were of the Surrey type. All these would have given added interest and influence to the form of the sonnet which Shakespeare was soon to use.

The history of the sonnet in England during the thirty years following the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany* indicates that Shakespeare, upon taking up this poetic form, would naturally, if not almost inevitably, have adopted that of Surrey, or that which had already merited the name English. There is no reason to believe he knew anything of Italian sonnet literature in the original, or much directly of the sonnet in France. There is no evidence

<sup>14</sup> Two are found in the third speech of Corydon, the first beginning "Are wheeling orbs," the second "Now tell us shepherds." Tityrus begins his third speech with a Surrey sonnet, and closes it with another. Two others may be found in the speech, the first beginning "Now let the Centaure," and the other "But this faire Jupiter." The fourth speech of Corydon closes with a Surrey sonnet joined to the rest of the speech. It begins "Now in the fields." Finally two other Surrey sonnets occur in the last speech of Corydon, beginning "In just complaint."

that he weighed the relative merits of the various other sonnet forms occasionally found in books accessible to him. If he noted the different rime-schemes of Sidney in *Astrophel and Stella*, he felt no reason for following any other practice than that of Sidney in his *Arcadia*. He accepted and used the Surrey form because it was the one most commonly employed by others, and most frequently before him in the better literature at hand.

One minor point is to be emphasized. The name Shakespearean sonnet is often given to this English form which Surrey invented and first employed, with some implication that its adoption by Shakespeare gave it vogue. Nothing is further from the truth. Most of Shakespeare's sonnets were not in print until the sonnet impulse of the Elizabethan age had largely spent its force, so that Shakespeare's use of the Surrey form can not be said to have influenced his contemporaries. It is but just to its inventor, also, that this form should be more commonly designated by his name.

## II.

The event which gave the next and greatest impulse to English sonneteering, and with which I hope to connect Shakespeare's earliest sonnets in a special way, was the publication in 1591 of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, with *Sundry Other Sonnets*. As is well known this first surreptitious print of *Astrophel and Stella* was preceded by a Dedication to Thomas Flower and an Introduction by Nashe, while it was followed by twenty-eight sonnets and seven songs. A second edition also in 1591 showed the popularity of the work, but included the *Astrophel and Stella* cycle only. The importance of this event must not be obscured by the remembrance that the Sidney sonnets had been written some years before, and had circulated to a certain extent in manuscript. They could scarcely have been known to a great number. Nor must it be forgotten that, while Watson's *Hekatompathia* bore the subject unity of a sonnet cycle, it was not written in sonnets at all and seems to have had no effect on sonnet writing. Soothern's *Pandora* of 1584 may also be dismissed as unimportant in every way.

When, however, the Sidney cycle was published and could be read by everybody, sonnet writing took the London world by storm. More than twenty sonnet cycles appeared in print between 1592 and 1602, while Shakespeare's was mainly if not wholly in exist-

ence, though not to be printed for some years. Shakespeare may have tried his hand at sonnet writing before 1591. All we certainly know is that, about the time Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* was being eagerly read in London, Shakespeare's first sonnets, or those first definitely known to be written by him, were actually before the public on the stage. It is reasonable to believe these were composed under the new impulse to sonnet-making furnished by the publication of the Sidney cycle.

These earliest sonnets of Shakespeare, as we may well believe them, are those in his plays *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *All's Well*. Nor should we forget that the single sonnet in *All's Well* was preceded by two which were at least in the mind of the great dramatist, those of Benedick and Beatrice mentioned in the last scene of *Much Ado*. It will be remembered that the first, discovered by Claudio, was

A halting sonnet of his own pure brain  
Fashion'd to Beatrice;

and that the second, discovered by Hero, was

Writ in my cousin's hand, stolen from her pocket,  
Containing her affection unto Benedick.

Whether these were ever written or not, the allusion indicates that sonnet writing was not foreign to Shakespeare's thought. So it was not when he made Mercutio satirize Romeo's sonneteering: "Now is he for the numbers that Petrarch flowed in," etc. (*Rom. and Jul.* II, ii, 40-1).

The relation of the earliest sonnets of Shakespeare to the Sidney cycle seems to be indicated by the form of the first one in *Love's Labour's Lost* (iv, ii, 109 ff.). This quite exceptionally is in iambic hexameters, a form which Sidney used in six sonnets of *Astrophel and Stella*, those numbered 1, 6, 8, 76, 77, 102. The coincidence is the more remarkable, because these are the only alexandrine sonnets I have been able to find up to the publication of Sidney's cycle and the play of Shakespeare. Alexandrines combined with fourteeners (poulter's measure) were common enough, as shown by *Tottel's Miscellany* and Gascoigne's description (*Notes of Instruction* § 14). But, unless I have been misled in a very careful search, Sidney composed the first alexandrine sonnets, and Shakespeare the next under the influence of Sidney,

as I believe. At least the similarity in form and the close association in time of appearance strongly encourage this conclusion.

It is true that some critics have placed *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1590, and thus too early to be influenced by the *Astrophel and Stella* printed in the early part of 1591. But a date as late as 1591 for the play is more common, and more recently Mr. H. B. Charlton has given excellent reasons for placing the composition of the play in 1592 (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* XIII, 257, 387 ff.). At least added support for a date as late as 1591 is given by the alexandrine sonnet I have pointed out, and the probable influence of Sidney's recently published poems. It is conceivable, of course, that Shakespeare may have originated the alexandrine sonnet form, but that seems extremely improbable in the case of a beginner in sonnet writing as he must have been. That Shakespeare had seen *Astrophel and Stella* in manuscript seems even less likely.

It may be urged that if Shakespeare had imitated Sidney he would have followed the more common rime-scheme of that poet, that with the *abba abba* octave. This form Sidney did prevailingly use, that is in 74 of the 108 sonnets of *Astrophel and Stella*. Yet Shakespeare must not only have been better acquainted with the Surrey form, but the first Sidney sonnet is a near approach to that used by Surrey. It consists of three quatrains of alternate rime and a couplet, although the first two quatrains repeat the alternate *ab* rimes as sometimes otherwise by Sidney, for example in the third, fourth, and seventh among the early ones in *Astrophel and Stella*. This slight variation from the Surrey scheme is not sufficient reason for Shakespeare's not following the sonnet form with which he was doubtless better acquainted, and which had already become prevailingly English.

Again it must be remembered that with the first surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella* were printed twenty-eight other sonnets, all but three of which were of the Surrey form. When, too, these and others were reprinted in Daniel's *Delia* (1592), all but two of the fifty sonnets were of the Surrey type. Daniel's *Delia* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* Feb. 4, and it may have appeared early enough in that year to have influenced Shakespeare's sonnet forms in the play. At least the sonnets printed with *Astrophel and Stella* would have lent their influence to his choice of sonnet structure.

The sonnets in *Love's Labour's Lost*, as distinct from the "ode" of Dumain, are usually accounted two in number. These are the alexandrine sonnet of Biron already mentioned, and that of Longueville in iv, iii, 60 ff. I believe, however, that Shakespeare intended the King's poem to the Princess, or Queen as she is called in the Quarto and Folio, to be a Surrey sonnet also (*LLL.* iv, iii, 26 ff.). In modern editions all but three lines of the King's speech are inclosed in quotation marks, as if belonging to the sonnet he is reading. In the Quarto and Folio, on the other hand, there is no separation of the sonnet and the spoken words by the King, indeed no indication in the text that the King is reading except as he later says, "I'll drop the paper." Besides, the Quarto and Folio text has many inaccuracies. The speeches before Biron's sonnet are wrongly assigned, the speech of Holofernes being given to Nathaniel, and the sonnet follows without break as if by the same speaker. Only the sonnet of Longueville is indicated in a special way by being printed in italics. There is reason therefore in considering a new punctuation of the King's speech, if a new interpretation can add anything to the play.

Now the King's speech may be interpreted as made of a Surrey sonnet, a couplet of direct apostrophe to the Queen, the line and a half applicable to the paper and the means of making it accessible to her, and the words to the entering Longueville. Moreover, the first fourteen lines, which I suggest are a true sonnet, are based on the conceit of a lover in tears for unrequited love. The first quatrain compares the Queen's "eye-beams" shining through the King's tears to the sun kissing the "fresh morning dew." The second quatrain compares the Queen's face seen through his tears to the moon seen through the "transparent bosom of the deep." The third quatrain uses the figure of a coach and describes the Queen as riding triumphant in each tear-drop of the King, with a request that she should behold her glory in his grief. The final couplet, beginning "But do not love thyself"—that is love me or I shall continue to weep—completes all reference to the weeping lover. The unity of the conceit is complete in the fourteen lines, thus establishing the thought-unity, as the rime-scheme establishes the formal unity of a Surrey sonnet. Besides, when Biron later twists the King about being in love, it is this conceit of the weeping lover and some of the figurative language the King had used which Biron satirizes in the lines:

Your eyes do make no coaches; in your tears  
 There is no certain Princess that appears—(155-6).<sup>15</sup>

On reading over what he has written the King realizes the ineffectiveness of his sonnet, or anything he can write, and putting it aside—perhaps dropping his hand with the paper—passionately exclaims:

O queen of queens! how far dost thou excel  
 No thought can think, nor tongue of mortal tell!

Then, turning to the practical matter of how his sonnet is to reach the Queen, he tells us in a line and a half how he will drop the paper under the trees that she may see it, and finally speaks a line and a half as Longueville enters. Such interpretation of the speech makes the King, as each of his principal lords, express his love in a sonnet, thus carrying out most effectively the parallel in the case of the more important lovers. That the poetic form is varied in the case of Dumain does not affect the parallelism in the first three examples.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> I would repoint the second and third quatrains as follows:

Nor shines the silver moon one half so bright  
 Through the transparent bosom of the deep,  
 As doth thy face through tears of mine give light,—  
 Thou shin'st in every tear that I do weep.  
 No drop but as a coach doth carry thee,  
 So ridest thou triumphing in my woe;  
 Do but behold the tears that swell in me,  
 And they thy glory through my grief will show.

<sup>16</sup> Sir Sidney Lee (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 88) speaks of the "three well-turned examples" of the sonnet in *Love's Labour's Lost*, but as he regularly considers Watson's *Hekatompathia* poems as sonnets (*Life of Shak.*, p. 87, *Append. IX*, p. 444; *Elizabethan Sonnets*, I, xxxvii) it is probable he does not distinguish a Surrey sonnet I have pointed out from that of sixteen lines as it is usually printed. It is possible Sir Sidney had in mind the Routledge edition of *Shakespeare* (1869), which I found after writing this paper actually prints the King's sonnet as I have suggested. I find no reference to the editor of that edition, and no note upon the sonnet form—there is no recognition of it in the *Variorum*. At least I have perhaps added some arguments in favor of a different reading of the passage than that of most texts.

The Biron and Longueville sonnets were printed in the *Passionate Pilgrim Miscellany* of 1599. That the King's sonnet is not included, if it were perceived to be one of fourteen lines, would be accounted for by its more particular reference to a particular situation. It was not so generally applicable as a love poem.

In two other places in *Love's Labour's Lost* the sequence of Surrey sonnet rime is to be found. Biron's speech beginning "Why all delights" (I, i, 72) is made up of a couplet, a six-line stanza (*ababcc*), and the three quatrains of alternate rime with a concluding couplet of the Surrey sonnet type. So the King's speech opening with the words "Ay, that there is" (I, i, 163) is a Surrey sonnet with one additional line riming with the final couplet. It may be that one of the last three lines is a later addition, and the King's speech a true sonnet in some early version. In any case Shakespeare was here experimenting with what is essentially the Surrey sonnet.

Shakespeare's sonneteering was thus begun, as proved by his published work, in the latter part of 1591 or in 1592, when *Love's Labour's Lost* was first composed. It was continued in *Romeo and Juliet*, in which the Prologue is a Surrey sonnet, as also the Chorus preceding the second act. Just when these two sonnets were written depends upon the difficult question of just when the play was first prepared for the stage. That can not have been earlier than 1591 if the references to the earthquake (I, iii, 23 and 35) are considered at all, while the form in which the play has come down to us is not placed later than 1594-5 on any basis. It is perhaps as likely that the first composition of *Romeo and Juliet* was not later than 1593, and in any case the sonnets must be considered early work of the poet-dramatist. The time of writing the sonnet in *All's Well* (III, iv, 4) somewhat depends upon on whether this play is the *Love's Labour's Won* of Meres (*Palladis Tamia*, 1598), but in any case it is easy to believe that this sonnet was also composed in or before the period of Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets among his private friends."

It has been suggested that Shakespeare may also have written a sonnet which accompanied John Florio's *Second Frutes* in 1591. This is based on his supposed acquaintance with Florio, another protégé of the Earl of Southampton, and on the suggested similarity between the wording of the sonnet and that of one or more of Shakespeare's, as for example no. 98 of his sonnet cycle. Neither reason is sufficient to prove authorship, and the fact that the sonnet in the Florio volume has a rime-scheme totally different from that known to have been used by Shakespeare seems to be sufficient evidence against it. The Florio sonnet is in the favorite form of Sidney, *abba abba cdcd ee*.

If what has been said so far can be relied upon, we must believe that Shakespeare's sonneteering, as that of most sonnet writers after 1590, was begun under the influence of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and the accompanying sonnets of the first edition in 1591. The alexandrine form of the first sonnet in *Love's Labour's Lost* especially points to Shakespeare's following of Sidney's practice in the first and a few others of the *Astrophel and Stella* cycle. On the other hand, Shakespeare's use of the Surrey form can be fully accounted for by the greater vogue of that sonnet type after the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557, and perhaps to its greater use in published works of 1590 and 1591. His acquaintance with *Tottel* is indisputable. His knowledge of the Surrey sonnet and its use by others can hardly be gainsaid.

### III.

Begun as it was in 1591 or 1592, as indicated by the sonnets of the plays, it would not have been strange if Shakespeare had continued his sonneteering by writing in the next few years most if not all of the *Sonnets* which make up the volume of 1609. I propose in this part of my paper to consider anew, and with some new data, the problem of the dating and of their relation to Shakespeare's other works.

As is generally known, the views regarding the date of the *Sonnets* are somewhat various. Sir Sidney Lee places them in 1593, or at least before the autumn of 1594. He bases his opinion on the likelihood of Shakespeare's being early influenced by the new interest in sonnet writing when Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* was published, a likelihood further supported it is believed by this paper. Sir Sidney specifically notes that the closing of the theaters during most of 1593 would have given Shakespeare the necessary leisure for such a venture. He points to the use of a line of sonnet 94 in *Edward III*, a play "probably written before 1595," and the printing in the *Passionate Pilgrim* (1599) of sonnets so late in the series as those numbered 138 and 144. On the other hand, subjective opinion often inclines to a later date. Alden in his *Variorum Edition*, as earlier in his *Introduction (Tudor Shakespeare)*, thinks some of them as late as the time of *Hamlet* (1602-3). He regards the content of some of the *Sonnets* as representing the more serious moods of Shakespeare's greater maturity.

As Neilson and Thorndike put it (*Facts about Shakespeare*, p. 87): "Many of the greatest strike a note of emotion more profound than can be heard before the date of *Hamlet*."

Beeching in his edition of the *Sonnets* makes plea for the later date on the similarities between the *Sonnets* and "the greater number of the parallel passages" "in *Henry IV*, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in *Hamlet*." The order of the plays might suggest the special pleader. *Love's Labour's Lost*, while revised in 1597, to what extent we do not know, can hardly be used as an argument for a late dating of the *Sonnets*, since most of the parallels must also have occurred in the early form of the play. The parallels in *Henry IV* and *Hamlet*, even if much more numerous and significant than those quoted by Beeching, look both ways. Quite as likely Shakespeare may have used a favorite phrase or expression the second time in the plays, after having used it a first time in the *Sonnets*, as that the reverse should have been true. Besides, such parallels may be easily overestimated, as they have been in attempts to prove some other than Shakespeare authorship of the plays.

To put aside subjective criticism entirely, the testimony of Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) still remains the most significant evidence of the considerable impression Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, even in manuscript, had already made. It can scarcely have been based on a few sonnets of the series. Most if not all must have been in existence before Meres could publicly say:

The sweete wittie soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tonged Shakespeare, witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private [that is intimate] friends.

Even the order in which he places the poems may reasonably be thought significant of the impression they had made. They are, intentionally or otherwise, in the order of length as we now know them, *Venus and Adonis* consisting of 1194 lines, *Lucrece* of 1855, and the *Sonnets* of 2162, more than two-thirds the lines in both the other poems. A much smaller number of the *Sonnets* would scarcely have deserved the position Meres gives them.

The coupling of the *Sonnets* with the early *Poems*, as Meres does, was natural because he was dealing with Shakespeare the poet as distinct from the dramatist. It is perhaps not a matter of special intention that his order is essentially a chronological

one. That is, no one believes the *Sonnets* were written much before the *Rape of Lucrece*, printed in 1594. Placing them together, however, as Meres does, suggests the reasonableness of comparing metrical peculiarities which, as being more or less unconscious on the part of the poet, often point to chronological relations. One such test which may be readily applied is the frequency of feminine rime.

The use of feminine rime in meter essentially iambic usually varies with the poet, and often in earlier or later verse, much as the use of feminine endings in blank verse. For example, in the first book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* feminine rimes are almost or quite unknown. Only in i, v, st. 24, 29, 37, might the verbal endings -ved, -led, -sed have syllabic -ed, but even these are not certain. On the other hand, the fourth book of the poem contains many such rimes, showing Spenser's increasing tendency to use the form. Only one of Surrey's sonnets had clear feminine rime, the third in *Tottel's Miscellany*, while Wyatt uses the device frequently. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* has no such rimes, although some are found in the Daniel sonnets accompanying the first edition. The two sonnets of Spenser first printed are free from this metrical peculiarity, and the twenty-one of the revised *Visions of Bellay* and *Visions of Petrarch* have only four examples, but the *Amoretti* shows a much freer use. It is reasonable that Shakespeare should show individuality in this as in other metrical matters.

Now the feminine rimes in Shakespeare's first poem to be printed, *Venus and Adonis* (1593), form sixteen per cent. of the whole, while in *Lucrece* printed in 1594 they make ten and seven-tenths, or practically eleven per cent. The average in the two poems, without regard to the different lengths of each, is thirteen and three-tenths. If we consider the greater length of the *Lucrece*, and reckon the percentage from the total number of lines in both poems, the percentage of feminine endings is but twelve and five-tenths. In the *Sonnets*, on the other hand, the feminine endings form only eight per cent. of the whole. If we grant something to the greater difficulty of the latter as compared with simple narrative verse, and remember that no single test of this sort can be conclusive, the inference would seem to be that, while the *Sonnets* may have been somewhat earlier than the poems, they can not have been much later.

It may be noted also, without placing too much value on the estimate, that the "Dark Lady" sonnets might be supposed to be the earlier in composition. The feminine rimes of the twenty-eight sonnets of this series are only five and five-tenths per cent. of the whole, while those of the masculine friend series show a percentage of eight and seven-tenths. Although the idea that the second series really preceded the first has not been advanced, I believe, something might be made of it from the content of the sonnets themselves. They might be thought of as an experiment on the basis of the more common reference to a woman, the more original idea of a masculine series coming later to Shakespeare. Specifically, sonnet 145 might be thought an early experiment in octosyllabics, as occasionally by others. Beeching quotes approvingly Hallam's "wish that Shakespeare had never written them," and certainly no one would regard them as the richer of the two series. Yet a single rime-test must never be pressed too far, since the feminine rimes of Shakespeare's first poem are more numerous than the second, as the feminine endings of *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen*, and *Richard III* are more numerous than those of *King John*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *Romeo and Juliet*, some of which are at least later.

Comparison of Shakespeare's feminine rimes in the poems with the feminine endings in his blank verse can not be regarded as on exactly the same basis. Yet they have this in common, that each is a pleasing variation of the abrupt close to the ordinary iambic line, or at least believed to have been pleasing to the user. Spenser's increased use of feminine rime in the *Faerie Queene* shows the same tendency as Shakespeare's growing fondness for the feminine ending in his blank verse. We know, too, how important the latter has seemed in settling the vexed question of chronology. It is not improper, therefore, to add to the comparison of feminine rimes in the poems some comparison with the feminine endings in Shakespeare's early blank verse.

The average of the feminine endings in Shakespeare's blank verse, composed as nearly as can be ascertained to the end of 1594, is thirteen and seven-tenths per cent. This is based on the plays believed to be exclusively by Shakespeare, that is *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Richard III*, and *King John*. Except for the first part of *Henry*

*IV*, the percentage of feminine endings in all plays composed wholly in 1595 or after, beginning with *Midsummer Night's Dream*, is much above this average, rising above twenty-seven per cent. in *Merry Wives* and twenty-nine per cent. in *All's Well*.<sup>17</sup> With the average of thirteen and seven-tenths for the feminine endings of the early plays may be compared the average of eleven and three-tenths for the feminine rimes in the *Poems* and *Sonnets*, and eight per cent. for the *Sonnets* alone. Again, therefore, we may infer that the *Sonnets*, as the *Poems*, belong to the period of Shakespeare's early work.

A second metrical test, that of run-on lines, is quite as applicable to rimed as to unrimed verse. It indicates in both that mastery of form by which the poet is enabled to carry his sentence beyond the single line, in other words his freedom in sentence structure. Now the percentage of run-on lines in *Venus and Adonis* is eight and eight-tenths; in *Lucrece* thirteen and eight-tenths, and in the *Sonnets* nineteen and two-tenths per cent. Perhaps the somewhat larger percentage in the *Sonnets* is partly accounted for by the longer stanza, or thought-unit of the sonnet with its fourteen lines, compared with the six-line stanza of the *Poems*. There was therefore a greater opportunity for carrying the thought beyond a single line. We shall probably not be far from the truth in assuming from this test that the *Sonnets* were written about the time of *Lucrece*, or soon after. Like the feminine rimes, the run-on lines point to the possibility of the "Dark Lady" sonnets being somewhat earlier than the longer series. The percentage of such lines in the "Dark Lady" sonnets is seventeen and four-tenths, compared with a percentage of nineteen and four-tenths for the sonnets to the man friend.

The run-on lines in the *Poems* and *Sonnets* may also be compared with those in Shakespeare's blank verse. The average percentage in the plays composed wholly by Shakespeare to the end of 1594, as before cited, is fourteen and eight-tenths, while the average in the *Poems* and *Sonnets* together is thirteen and six-tenths. On the other hand, the percentage of run-on lines in plays composed in 1595 and after is much greater, that in those

<sup>17</sup> The computation is based on the figures of König, as given in Neilson and Thorndike's *Facts about Shakespeare*, pp. 71, 76.

up to and including *Hamlet* being twenty and six-tenths. The average of the last three plays, with which some would like to place the composition of the *Sonnets*, that is *Troilus*, *All's Well*, and *Hamlet*, is twenty-six and four-tenths per cent. It would thus seem from this second test that the *Sonnets* must belong with Shakespeare's early work.<sup>18</sup>

Any discussion of the date of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* must take into account the supposed discovery of references to contemporary events. Yet the few such references must be admitted by all to be at best indirect, figurative, and less conclusive than are usually felt necessary for the unmistakable dating of a work. Those which have been most relied upon are the references to the "mortal moon" and "peace" in sonnet 107, these being believed by some to refer to Elizabeth's death in 1603 and the accession of James I. Some would thus place all the *Sonnets* in the period of Shakespeare's maturity. Others would assume that this sonnet, written much later than most of the others as acknowledged by most critics, has somehow been placed at this point and adequately fits the position. The first hypothesis I have been dealing with throughout this paper. The second rests upon the insecure notion that the order of the *Sonnets* as first published was not original with Shakespeare, an hypothesis which from the nature of the case can not be proved, unless by some fortunate chance an authentic manuscript may still be discovered. All that we certainly know is that the order of the first edition is the best we are likely to have, and all things considered the assumption that it is the original order is the only one at all satisfying.

The attempt to make the line of sonnet 107,

The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,

refer to Elizabeth's death, first suggested by Massey (*Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets*) and accepted by Lee and Beeching, requires a twisting of the natural meaning of the words. The expression "mortal moon" has been assumed to apply to a human being, when the primary and usual Elizabethan meaning of "mortal" is not 'pertaining to mankind, human,' but rather 'subject to death,' a meaning which might readily be applied

<sup>18</sup> The run-on lines of the *Poems* and *Sonnets* have been counted in the Neilson *Shakespeare* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.).

figuratively to a heavenly body in eclipse. Similarly, "hath her eclipse endured" should mean 'has regained her accustomed brightness after an eclipse,' and not at all apply to the death of a monarch. While 'complete obscuration' fits Shakespeare's use of *eclipse* in two of the three passages, it does not so suit that in *3 Henry VI*, iv, vi, 63 or the usual Elizabethan usage. If the reference is to Elizabeth at all, it should be to some event in her reign in which she successfully emerged from difficulty, and such is the interpretation of the figure by Dowden, Butler, Gollancz, and Tyler.

One may well compare this allusion of sonnet 107 with other references to eclipses in Shakespeare. For example, nowhere else occurs such an expression as "hath her eclipse endured," all other references to an eclipse and its evil influence being simple and direct. Thus Othello says in his perturbation after smothering Desdemona (v, ii, 98-100) :

Methinks it now should be a huge eclipse  
Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe  
Did yawn at alteration.

Gloucester in *Lear* (I, ii, 112) begins his long rehearsal of earthly effects from eclipses by "These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us." And again Antony sees his fate in a heavenly portent (III, xiii, 153-4) :

Alack, our terrene moon  
Is now eclipsed, and it portends alone  
The fate of Antony.

In view of these direct expressions, had Shakespeare intended to indicate the death of Elizabeth by reference to an eclipse, we should certainly have expected him to say something like "our mortal moon hath been eclipsed," or "is now eclipsed," rather than "hath her eclipse endured."

But is it necessary to impute any allegorical significance to "mortal moon" in this line? Lunar eclipses are sufficiently common, and were in early times sufficiently mysterious to cause comment. Now a total eclipse of the moon was visible in London April 14, 1595, while no other could have been seen there between December 20, 1591, and the beginning of 1599. It is not unreasonable to believe Shakespeare had in mind this natural phenomenon,

and that this late sonnet of his series may have been written soon after that event.<sup>19</sup> "This most balmy time" of sonnet 104 would also nicely correspond with an April event.

Besides, the following lines, especially

And peace proclaims olives of endless age,

may best refer to the years between 1588 and 1596. "The years that followed the repulse of the Spanish Armada were the culminating years of Elizabeth's reign," says Creighton in the *Age of Elizabeth* (p. 227); and again, "The repulse of the Spanish Armada marks the period in Elizabeth's reign when the national spirit rose to its highest point" (p. 199). In 1589 England had carried the war to Spain itself, and while the expedition of Sir John Norris was not successful in its aim of taking Lisbon it showed that Spain could be met on her own soil, and the nation responded to this new evidence of its greatness. Creighton also noted that Shakespeare, better than any other, had voiced the new national spirit in the well-known passage of *Richard II*, II, i, 40, beginning

This royal throne of kings, this sceptered isle.

Nor can it be without significance that *Richard II* was written in this very year 1595 in which I suppose Shakespeare also wrote,

And peace proclaims olives of endless age,

or within a year if we assume sonnet 107 may have alluded to the almost total eclipse of the moon in October 1594.

Nor could such significant lines to peace and England's greatness be equally applicable much later. Early in 1596 the Spanish king of the defeated Armada captured Calais, and England again found it necessary to oppose her old enemy. Moreover, the taking of Cadiz in June by the allies under the leadership of England did not bring peace. The war party about Elizabeth insisted on

<sup>19</sup> The information was furnished at my suggestion by the United States Naval Observatory at Washington. A total eclipse of the moon on Dec. 20, 1591, was probably too early for Shakespeare to have in mind, although a partial eclipse of Oct. 19, 1594, obscured almost ten-twelfths of the moon's surface and may have occasioned the line. A partial eclipse with almost complete totality occurred Feb. 11, 1598, but that would be too late to be considered according to all the reasoning of this paper.

continuing the struggle in expeditions against the colonial empire of Spain. In 1598 the Irish revolt of Hugh O'Neill broke out. The fiasco of Essex in Ireland was followed by his attempted revolution in the heart of London itself. Even Elizabeth's popularity waned in these last years of her reign, and her people, through parliament, were agitating for greater political freedom, an agitation which was to increase in the succeeding reigns. Apparently with the sonnet we are discussing in mind, A. F. Pollard notes it as "strange" that "the accession of James I was hailed as heralding a new and gladder age by Shakespeare and minor writers" (*Encyc. Brit.* ix, 535). May we not think it much more strange that anyone should have interpreted sonnet 107 as referring to the death of Elizabeth, rather than to the years between 1588 and 1596 when its lines would have been especially applicable? The accession of a new monarch can scarcely be thought a period of certainty regarding a nation's future, and surely the use of "olives" by others in reference to James is no reason why Shakespeare may not have used so common a figure for an earlier time.<sup>20</sup>

The ease with which a seeker after internal evidence seizes upon some supposed allusion to an external event is shown by Mr. Wyndham's interpretation of "heavie Saturne" in sonnet 98. He thought this a reference to the planet Saturn as "a somewhat conspicuous feature in the sky during the month of April in the year 1600 or 1601." As Alden points out, however, this can hardly be a reference to the heavenly body, but rather an allusion to the classical divinity in his ordinary significance of sad, or saturnine. Besides, the planet Saturn could not have been a sufficiently brilliant feature to have impressed Shakespeare above other objects of the April sky in any year.

\* The language of the sonnet differs essentially from that used by those known to be writing of Elizabeth's death, as in *Sorrowes Joy* by Cambridge men, and Chettle's *Mourning Garment*. "Fair Cynthia's dead," "Luna's extinct," "Our sun eclipsed did set," Death has "veiled her glory in a cloud of night," and of Elizabeth's immortality "her star will shine in darkest night," are all clear references to one who has passed away. "The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured," on the other hand, clearly refers to the emergence from such obscuration.

Onetime allusion of a somewhat different sort may rightly be more fully considered than has been done, that to the three years of sonnet 104—"three Winters cold," "three summers' pride," "three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd," "three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd." Sarrazin here assumes definite relation to *Romeo and Juliet* (*Shaks. Jahrbuch* XXXIV, 668 ff.), but this seems to narrow the reference too greatly. The allusion must mean, however, at least three years of acquaintance or friendship with him to whom the sonnets of the first series are addressed. Such years may antedate Shakespeare's earliest sonnet writing, but they seem far more likely to refer to an actual friendship of three years' duration when sonnet 104 was composed. It is not the present intention to argue for any particular friend as necessarily implied, but Shakespeare's known relations to the earl of Southampton would largely satisfy the language of the sonnet. The dedication of *Venus and Adonis*, entered in the *Stationers' Register* in April 1593, doubtless implies some months of acquaintanceship with the earl, or at least a year since Shakespeare had first seen him—"since first I saw you fresh" of the sonnet in question. Thus the three years might easily have been concluded in the spring of 1595, to which sonnet 107 seems to refer specifically and the weight of other data in this paper more generally. Even if the three years are wholly past and reference is to the beginning of a fourth spring—see "this most balmy time"—the date for sonnet 107 as April 1595 is not too early.

In considering anew the problem of when Shakespeare composed his *Sonnets*, I have attempted to use mainly objective data not hitherto employed, or not hitherto emphasized in the same way. The reason for Shakespeare's use of the Surrey sonnet type has been more clearly shown by a history of its use in the years before Shakespeare began his sonneteering. Again, the *Sonnets* have been more closely connected with those in the plays, the earliest of this form which Shakspeare is known to have written, and the sonnets of the plays more fully with the first edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. Especially has Shakespeare's probable imitation of Sidney's alexandrine sonnets in the one of similar form in *Love's Labour's Lost* been first noticed and argued. Finally, the application of rime tests for the first time has seemed to show that the completion of the *Sonnets* probably followed close upon

Shakespeare's early *Poems*, and thus must have been in the early period of his development. New reasons have also been given for dating sonnet 107 not later than April 1595, while the specific allusion in sonnet 104 to three years of friendship with the subject of the first series has been shown to point to the years immediately preceding.

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## THE SCANSION OF WYATT'S EARLY SONNETS

By FREDERICK MORGAN PAELFORD

Some fifteen years ago, in the introduction to a little volume of *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, I took the position that "Wyatt's earlier verse wavers between the old Teutonic four stress line and the iambic decasyllabic line, with its identity of word accent and metrical accent."

This attitude was in accordance with that school whose conception of early Tudor prosody is expressed in the following quotation from Professor Pollard's introduction to the *Castell of Labour*:

Through the disuse of the pronunciation of e-final, and the general clipping of inflexions, the secret of Chaucer's verse within two generations of his death was entirely lost. If any one will turn to either of Caxton's editions of the Canterbury Tales he will find that many lines, as they are there printed, have entirely ceased to be decasyllables; they can be read in no other way than as trotting verses of four accents apiece. Other lines, however, in which there were no inflexions to lose, or small words to drop out, remain distinctly decasyllabic, and cannot be compressed into verses of four accents except by a reader with an enormous power of swallow. It was a text like this which drew down on Chaucer the condescending allowance for his "rudeness" of a succession of critics, few of whom possessed a tithe of his music. It was also, I think, the existence of such a text of Chaucer that accounts for the metrical peculiarities which we find in the *Castell of Labour*. The modern reader who expects to find all the lines of a stanza of equal metrical length, or of different lengths arranged in a fixed order, may look askance at the suggestion that Barclay normally uses lines of four accents, but mixes with them (especially towards the beginning of his poem) others of a slower movement with five. Yet this is what Barclay found when he read Chaucer, as he must have done, in the editions of Caxton, Pynson, or Wynkyn de Worde, and I believe that he accepted these alternations as a beauty, and one which should be imitated.

Subsequently I came to feel that the pronounced rhythmic flow in much of Wyatt's verse, notably in the rapid two foot and three foot verses, argued so good an ear that the chances were against his ever having countenanced the early Teutonic four stress line in a pentameter environment, that the halting and tumbling of such lines as they jostled their way through a sonnet would have distressed Wyatt quite as much as the modern reader. I consequently swung over to the other school, and in a recent edition of Surrey

where I quoted the sonnet, "The longe love that in my thought doeth harbar," as illustrative of Wyatt's earlier prosody, treated the poem as pentametric throughout.

Obviously my two attitudes were contradictory, and this inconsistency was noted by a scholar of distinction, who felt it unfortunate that I had receded from the earlier position. As a result of the correspondence on this subject, I have restudied Wyatt's pentameter verse with particular reference to the antecedent Tudor verse. In the light of this study, I present herewith my conclusions as to how Wyatt scanned his earlier sonnets.

In a discussion of this question the presumption must be accorded the theory that Wyatt was employing pentameters in all of his early sonnets. The theory is entitled to this presumption because the later sonnets are severely regular and seldom depart from the strictest observance of iambic movement, with the accents rigorously placed. In fact, so scrupulously did Wyatt strive for regularity of accent that this later verse is unduly methodical, a fault of over-scrupulousness into which he led his immediate successors, so that subsequent English verse had to swing back toward greater freedom to escape from the mechanical results of excessive metrical evenness. To be sure, Romance words still receive an accent on the final syllable in the later sonnets,—sometimes a complete accent, sometimes a hovering accent as in "lyuīng," "cōmmŷng,"—but the continuance of this practice is the best evidence that Wyatt did not regard it as awkward or inelegant, but as legitimate poetical license, if not actually lending added grace. As a matter of fact, the Romance accents are a credit to Wyatt's ear, for these foreign words are invariably more pleasing in sound when thus pronounced. Subsequent English verse would be the more musical if pronunciation had so crystallized that later poets would have felt free to follow the example of Wyatt in this regard. The following sonnet is characteristic of Wyatt's later composition:

If waker care; if sodayne pale Coulor;		9
If many sighes, with litle speche to playne,		
Now Joy, now woo if they my chere distayne,		
For hope of small, if muche to fere therefore;		
To hast to slake my passē lésse or more,		
Be signe of love, thén dō I love agayne.		3
If thou ask whome; sūre, sīns I did refrayne		
Brunet, that set my welth in such a rore,		3

Thunfayned chere of Phillis hath the place  
 That Brunet had; she hath and ever shal.  
 She from my self now hath me in her grace:  
 She hath in hand my witt, my will, my all:  
 My hert alone wel worthie she doeth staye,  
 Without whose helpe, skant dō I live a daye.

5

3

Now if at some stage in his composition of sonnets Wyatt committed himself to the iambic line, is it not reasonable to suppose that this was coincident with his very first experiments in the form? Ambitious to establish this cultivated genre in English poetry, he would naturally incline to adhere as closely as possible to his Italian models. Indeed, with his scrupulous observance of all the other desiderata of the sonnet—the number of verses, the rhyme scheme, the thought divisions—is it to be supposed that he would regard as immaterial the structure of the line? If he were not scrupulously watching his scansion, how account for those frequent slurrings which, as his own manuscript testifies,<sup>1</sup> he indicated in his very earliest poems:

To be juste and true; and fle from doublenes  
 His cruel dispite for to dis-gorge and qwit  
 Be rayned by reason, shame, and reverence  
 That cruell love hath long soked from myn hert  
 Disdaynful doubleness have I for my heir  
 O cruell causer of undeserved chaunge  
 I have wailed thus, weeping in nightly pain.

The latest discussion of Wyatt's prosody is to be found in Miss <sup>April</sup> ~~Ide~~ K. Foxwell's *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems* (University of London Press, 1911). Miss Foxwell believes that Wyatt consistently secured pentameters in his pentameter verse, and that the departures from the strict iambic pentameter line are in accordance with a body of recognized prosodic variants. Rearranged for the convenience of this paper, and supplemented somewhat, these variants are as follows:

1. Initial trochee
2. Initial monosyllabic foot
3. Trochee after caesura

<sup>1</sup> See ~~Ide~~ K. Foxwell, *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 1, 7, 34, 35.

G. J. M.

4. Monosyllabic foot after caesura, preceded by regular foot
5. Caesura in the middle of a foot (perhaps almost too universal to be recorded)
6. Epic caesura: additional weak syllable before caesura, followed by normal foot after caesura
7. Monosyllabic foot elsewhere than at the beginning of a verse or after the caesura
8. Anapaestic foot:
  - a. First foot
  - b. Other than first foot
9. Final *es* (and perhaps final *e*) pronounced
10. Alexandrine verse
11. Hendecasyllabic verse: additional weak syllable at end of verse
12. Slurred syllables, of which the most frequent are:
  - a. *R*, *l*, *m* or *n* (usually unaccented), followed by weak syllable
  - b. Suffixes, such as *eth*, *en*, *on*, *er* or *ing*
  - c. Vowels in juxtaposition
  - d. Unimportant monosyllables\*
13. Long vowels or diphthongs treated as dissyllabic
14. Vowel sound inserted between consonants
15. Four stressed line

Miss Foxwell deduces the variants from Chaucer as she believes Chaucer to have been read by Wyatt. But it is not necessary to rest the case on so slender a foundation, for the pentameter verse of most of the early Tudor poets conforms to these variants. Furthermore, they would seem to have been derived from Lydgate rather than from Chaucer. As I see it, Lydgate, who doubtless knew how Chaucer was read, worked out his own slightly different prosodic formularies, and the early editors of Chaucer, as well as the early Tudor poets, in the main conformed their verse thereto.

It should now be observed that, with the exception of 9 which has been used only sparingly since the middle of the sixteenth century, these variants are all characteristic of the English iambic pentameter verse as written by the Elizabethan and later poets, and are constantly employed to secure variety and flexibility. The following lines from Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Browning illustrate the characteristic use of these variants:

\*It is often difficult to determine whether a certain foot is to be regarded as an anapaest, or as an iambus with the first member composed of slurred monosyllables. The writer feels uncertain how to dispose of certain feet of this character in the selections below, and will not be inclined to quarrel with those who differ from him.

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Carve for himself, for on his choice depends                   | <i>Hamlet</i> 1. 3. 20            |
| 2. Good my Lord, give me thy favour still                         | <i>Tempest</i> 4. 1. 204          |
| 3. The better to beguile. This is for all                         | <i>Hamlet</i> 1. 3. 131           |
| 4. Died every day she lived. Fare thee well                       | <i>Macbeth</i> 4. 3. 111          |
| 5. My hands are of your colour; but I shame                       | <i>Ibid.</i> 2. 2. 60             |
| 6. To our most valiant brother. So much for him                   | <i>Hamlet</i> 1. 2. 25            |
| 7. Look to't I charge you: come your ways                         | <i>Ibid.</i> 1. 3. 135            |
| 8a. We were punished, both of us, the merry way                   | <i>Ring and Book</i> 6. 45        |
| 8b. To the young Roman boy she hath sold me and<br>I fall         |                                   |
| 9. Of hunter swifte and sent of howndes trew                      | <i>Ant. &amp; Cleo.</i> 4. 12. 48 |
| 10. How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this<br>unpleasant news | <i>Faerie Q.</i> 3. 4. 46. 5      |
| 11. Be something scanner of your maidens presence                 | <i>Richard II</i> 3. 4. 74        |
| 12a. Well, he can say no other than what he says                  | <i>Hamlet</i> 1. 3. 121           |
| 12b. With glistering semblances of piety                          | <i>Ring and Book</i> 6. 20        |
| 12c. As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole                 | <i>Henry V</i> 2. 2. 17           |
| 12d. To the young Roman boy she hath sold me and<br>I fall        | <i>Parad. Lost</i> 1. 74          |
| 13. You must not take for fire. From this time                    |                                   |
| 14. If you will tarry, holy pilgrimage                            | <i>Ant. &amp; Cleo.</i> 4. 12. 48 |
| 15. Earth gaps, hell burns, fiends roar, saints<br>pray           | <i>Hamlet</i> 1. 3. 120           |
|   | <i>All's Well</i> 3. 5. 43        |
|   | <i>Richard III</i> 4. 4. 75       |

For the purposes of the present investigation 2 and 4 are the most important of these principles because they really furnish the key to the metrical interpretation of most of the debatable lines in the early Tudor pentameter verse. The monosyllabic foot, at the beginning of a verse or after the caesura, is the storm centre around which the battles over this verse must be fought.

Although this foot is frequently employed in the later poetry,—as indeed in Chaucer,—it will be observed that the word constituting a monosyllabic foot usually calls for a marked stress, and that when it occurs after the caesura the pause is pronounced and impressive, occupying the full time of a light syllable. Moreover, there is a tendency further to compensate for the monosyllable by an anapaest somewhere in the line. The following examples from *The Ring and The Book* illustrate this:

I am a priest,—talk of what I have learned  
Make you hear, this time, how, in such a case  
Bends his brows on us—please to bend your own

Now when one turns to the early Tudor verse the crucial question is, do these monosyllables constitute legitimate feet or are

they construed as feet merely that prosodists may avoid recognizing in a pentameter environment the traditional and insistent four stress line of Old and Middle English poetry? Why, one may ask, are not these so-called monosyllabic feet the initial weak syllables of anapaests? The answer hinges in part, at least, upon the importance of the words which constitute the supposed monosyllabic feet. If, in the main, they are important words in the thought, then they are entitled to recognition as much as in modern poetry, and to avoid emphasizing them is to do injustice to the verse. If, on the other hand, they are in the main unimportant words—articles, conjunctions, unstressed prepositions, and the like—and encourage one to hurry lightly over them, then they may be regarded as the first syllables of anapaests in four foot lines—or as running light syllables in four stress lines, if one wishes to conceive of these poets as thinking in terms of stresses rather than of feet,—and such lines may be interpreted as survivals from the traditional Old English line. It is quite conceivable, however, that tradition favored reading narrative poetry in a rhetorical and pompous way—the grand style—in which case even insignificant words may have been stressed. This alternative will be dwelt upon more fully later.

I shall now review the practice of Wyatt's predecessors in order subsequently to examine his earlier sonnets against this antecedent Tudor background. As Wyatt obviously admired Chaucer, and imitated his language, the study may properly begin with the text of Chaucer as printed in Wyatt's day.

The following passage is taken from *The Knightes Tale* as it appears in the edition of 1532. The numbers to the right indicate the prosodic principles illustrated in a line, in accordance with the table above:

35	Thys duke/ of whom I make ménçyoune (makē ménçyoune)	7 or 9
	Whan he was come/ almost (comē, almost) to the towne	4 or 9
	In all hys wele and (welē and) hys most pride	4 or 9. 7 or 15
	Hē was ware/ as he cast hys eye asyde	2. 12d
	Where that there knelēd in the hyghe wéy (highē wáy)	5. 7. or 9
40	A company of ladys/ twéy and twey	5
	Eche after othēr/ clādde in clothēs blāke	5. 9
	But such a crye/ and suchē a wo they make	
	That in thys worlde/ nys crēāture lyūinge	1. 13

	That euer herde sūche (herdē sūche) a waymentynge	4 or 9
45	And of thys crye/ they nolde neuer stynten Tyll they the reynes of hys bridell henten What folke be ye/ þat at myn home cōmmýng	3
	Perturben so my feest with crýēng	13
	Quod Theseus. Haue ye so great enuy	
50	Of myn honour/ that thus complayne and cry Or who hath you mysbode/ or offended Nowe telleth me/ yf it may be āmēndēd. And why that ye be clothed thus in blake?	11
	The oldest lady of thēm all spāke	4 or possibly 15
55	Whan she had swownēd with a deadly chere That it was ruthe fōr (ruthē fōr) to se and here Shē sāyd lōrde/ to whom fortune hath yeue Výctöry/ and as a conquerour to lyue (or Výctöry/ and as a conquerour to lyue)	5 4 or 9 7 1 + 12b 1. 5. 12d
	Nought greueth vs your glory and honour	
60	But we bēsēke yōu of mercy and socour And haue mercy on our wo and distresse Some drope of pytē/ throuḡh thy gentylnesse Upon vs wretched wymēn/ lēt thou fall For certēs lōrde/ there nys none of vs all	6 5 5 9
65	That she ne hath be a duchesse or a quene Nōwe bē wē cāytȳfes/ as it is well isene Thankēd be fortune/ and her false whēle (false whēle) That non estate assureth fōr tō be wele (assurēth fōr to be wele)	12c 1. 6 1. 5. 7 or 9 12b + 3 or 12d

For most of the lines in this passage the scansion proposed will probably be accepted without serious challenge, and shows how the Tudor poets presumably read Chaucer. But what of those verses in which one must choose between recognizing a monosyllabic foot after the caesura, preceded by a regular foot, or accepting the verse as having only four stresses? Are the words in these monosyllabic feet of enough importance to justify stressing them or is it more natural to touch them lightly and regard the verses as having four stresses? Line 57,

She sayde lorde to whom fortune hath yeue,

clearly calls for five stresses, "lorde," as a term of address, requiring marked emphasis, and the Tudor reader must so have scanned it, and line 54,

The oldest lady of them all spāke,

is almost as clear a case. To be sure, the latter verse can be compressed into four feet by allowing for an iambus, an amphibrach, and an anapaest before the caesura, but a Tudor reader, recognizing that Chaucer was using the iambic pentameter as the norm, would find it simpler to recognize a monosyllabic foot than to break thus completely with the metre. Would he not be as much inclined as were the Elizabethan and later poets, to recognize, as the equivalent of a weak syllable, the pause before an impressive word?

More troublesome are those verses in which one must choose between 9 and 4, or 9 and 7, on the one hand, and a four stressed line on the other. Line 44,

That euer herde suche a waymentynge,

demands that "suche" be stressed, and eliminates reading the line with four stresses, and similarly line 41 requires that "blake" be stressed:

Eche after other, cladde in clothes blake.

In the latter line a Tudor reader would almost certainly regard the *es* of "clothes" as a syllable, for there were words like "certes" and "goddes" in which the *es* was regularly pronounced, as well as words ending in *is*, *as* (*domas*), or *ys* (*ladys*), pronounced almost as *es*, to encourage him to do so, to say nothing of the influence of possessives. With final *es* pronounced, the suggestion might very naturally occur to pronounce final *e* also. Moreover there was the contemporary musical practise to suggest it. The musical manuscripts leave no room for doubt that the final *e* was often syllabic in singing. For example, *MS. Selden B 26*, of which I chance to have rotographs at hand, shows that on folio 28 b, in the song "Blessed be that Lorde in mageste," "stalle" and "alle" are sung as dissyllables, and on folio 32 b, in the song "Tappster fylle another ale," "sale," "founde" and "rounde" are so sung.\* It must further be borne in mind that in the sixteenth century the gentleman, and certainly the poet, was trained in music.

It is therefore quite conceivable that Wyatt and his contemporaries may have read the following verses as indicated:

\* See also *Add. MSS. 5465* and *5665*, which contain the songs of the court of Henry VIII.

Thys duke of whom I makē mēncyoune  
 When he was comē almoſt to the towne  
 That it was ruthē fōr to se and here  
 Thanked be fortune and her falsē whēle.

Now if one turns back to Lydgate—and one must remember that the early Tudors admired Lydgate quite as much as Chaucer, if not more, in fact—he will find that Lydgate's poetry conforms to the same prosodic principles as does the poetry of Chaucer in Tudor dress, and will recognize that the prosody of Lydgate must have exerted a determining influence upon the early printed versions of Chaucer. The following passage from *The Temple of Glas* (531-547) is typical:

Thus euēr slēping and dremyng as I lay,	6
Within þe templi me bouȝt þāt (þouȝt(ē) þāt) * I sey	7 or 9, or 15
Gret pres of folk, with murmur wondirful,	9
To croude and shove—þe templi was so ful—	4 or 9, or 15
535 Euerich ful bise in his owne caūse (ownē caūse),	12c. 7 or 9
That I ne maȳ/shor̄tly in a clause	13
Descriuen al þe Rithēs & þe gise,	9
And eke 1 (ekē 1) want kunningy to deuyse,	4 or 9, or 15
Hou som þer were with blunnyng, encense & mylk,	9
540 And some with flourēs sóte & soft as silk,	6. 9. 12c
And some with spárðvis & dovuēs fāire & white,	12a. 5
That forto offērin gán hem to delite	6 or 15
Vnto þe góddes, wiþ sigh & with prāiēr	1
Hém tō relese of þat þai most desire;	1. 4 or 9
545 That fōr þe prese, shōrtli (presē shōrtli) to conclude,	13 + 5 or 15
I went my wāl fōr þe multitude,	1
Mé tō refresh ouē of þe prese allone.	1

If "may" in line 536 and "eke" in 538 are to be regarded as dissyllables, this passage does not chance to contain examples of 4, but as a matter of fact the omission of the thesis before the caesura is so common in Lydgate that it is regarded as a distinctive mark of his composition. Thus in the following verse there is no neglecting the emphatic syllable that follows the caesura:

503 And þan anon Vénus cast adoune.

If I read their poetry correctly, Hawes, Barclay and Skelton fall right in line with the practice of Lydgate, though each tends some-

\* Sic Professor Schick.

what to his own mannerisms. The following passage from *The Pastime of Pleasure* is characteristic of Hawes' verse:

When Phebus entred was in Geminy,	
Shynng above in his fayre golden spere,	1
And horned Dyane then but one degré .	
In the Crabbe had entred fayre and cleare;	2
5 Whén that Aurora (Whén thát Aúrrora) did well appære	2 or 15
In the depured ayre and cruddy firmament,	10
(or In the depúred ayre and cruddy firmament,) (or In the depúred ayre and cruddy firmament,)	8a + 12
Fóorth thén I walked without impediment	1
Into à médwé both gaye and glorious,	6
Whiche Flora depainted with many a colour,	10
(or Whiche Florá dëpainted with máný a colour)	8b + 8b
10 Lÿke à pláce of pleasure most solacious,	8a
Encensyng out the aromatike odoure	12c
- Of Zepherus breath, whiche that every floure	12a. 4
Through his fume doth alwaye engender.	2
So as I went among the flowres tender,	1
15 By sodayne chaunce a fayre path I founde,	13
On whiche I lokéd and ryght oft I mused,	5
- And then all about, i behelde the grounde	12d. 4 or 15
- With the fayre path whiche I sawe so used.	4 or 15
My chaunce or fortune i nothyng refused;	5
20 But in the path fóorth I went apace,	1. 4
- To knowe whether and unto what place	4 or 15
It woulde me bryng by any similitude.	8b
- So forth I went, wére it ryght or wrong,	4 or 15
Tyll that I sawe or royll pulchritude	
25 Before my face an ymage fayre and strong,	
With two fayre handës strétched (händes strétched)	
	out along 9 or 4
Unto two hye wayes there in pàrtcion,	8b
And in the rýght hände was this description:	6
This is the strayght wáye of contemplacion	1. 6
30 Unto the joyfull tower perdurable:	
Whó that will unto that mancion,	2
He must forsake all thinges variable,	
With the vayne glóry so muche deceivable,	8. 6
And though the way be hard and daungerous,	
35 Thé lust énde therof shal be ryght precious.	8a

I recognize that there are four lines in this passage—17, 18, 21, 23—and possibly a fifth—12—which can easily be read with four

stresses only, inasmuch as the words marked as monosyllabic feet in these lines do not *compel* emphasis because of their thought value. As a matter of fact, however, does not the very language which the poet consistently employs, rhetorical and rotund, inflated and pompous, suggest that the poem is to be read in the grand style, with declamatory solemnity? Mock heroic as it sounds to our ears when so delivered, I venture that such verse was expected to be declaimed in deep tones and with rhetorical grandiloquence. Be that as it may, and even if it be conceded that these lines should be read with four stresses, they constitute but one-seventh of the total number of lines.

When one turns to *The Shippe of Fooles* he again finds but few verses that permit of four stresses, as the following quotation shows:

	That in this shyp the chefe place I gouerne By this wyde see with folys wanderynge	
10	The cause is playne and easy to dyscerne Styll am I besy bōkēs assamblynge	1. 5. 9
	Fōr tō haue plēnty it is a pleasant thynge	1. 6
	In my conceyt and to haue them ay in honde	12
	But what they mene do I nat vnderstonde	
15	But yet I haue them in great reuerence And honoure sauynge them from fylth and ōrdüre.	11
	By often brusehyngē and moche dylgencē Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt couerture	
	Of domās sātyn or els of velvet pure	6
20	I kepe them sure ferynge lyst they sholde be lost	12a
	For in them is thē cōnnyngē wherin ī me bost (ī mē bōst)	12a. 8a + 12a. 7 or 15
	But if it fōrtūne that any lernyd men	6
	Within my house fall tō disputacyōn	8b
	I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokēs thēn (bōkes thēn)	9 or 7
25	That they of my cūnyngē sholde make probaciōn	8b + 12a
	ī kēpe nāt to fall in altercaciōn	6
	And whyle thēy cōmōn my bokes I turne and wynde	6
	For all is in them and no thynge in my mynde.	12d

Some scholars will doubtless be inclined to read verse 21 with four stresses, although the bombast of the line would seem to justify stressing the personal pronoun. Again, some may question the Romance pronunciation of "disputacyōn," "probaciōn" and

"altercaciōn"; yet in the selection from *The Pastime of Pleasure* there is no escaping the Romance pronunciation of "colour" (9) and "odoure" (11) as determined by "floure" (12), whether one reads the line with five stresses, as

Of Zépherūs bréath, whiche thāt évēry floûre  
or reads it with four, as

Of Zépherūs bréath, whiche thāt évēry floûre.

But again, if one concede that all four of the lines are to be read with four stresses, the percentage of such lines is still small and refutes Professor Pollard's statement that "Barclay normally uses lines of four accents." At the most, such lines are the exception.

Skelton furnishes the strongest evidence that the five stress line was soundly established in early Tudor poetry, for however tumbling or turgid the two foot and three foot verses commonly associated with Skelton's name, in such a poem as *The Bowge of Courte* he handles the pentameter line with assured skill, securing the identity of word accent and metrical accent, and relieving the reader of any prosodic uncertainty:

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| In autumpne, whan the sonne in <i>Virgine</i><br>By radyante hete enryped hath our corne;<br>Whan Luna, full of mutabylyte,<br>As emperes the dyademe hath worne<br>5 Of our pole artyke, smylyng halfe in scorne<br>At our foly and our unstedfastnesse;<br>The tyme whan Mars to werre hym (werrē hym) | dyde dres; 4 or 9    |
| I, callynge to mynde the greate auctoryte  | 12a                  |
| 10 Of poetes olde, whýche (oldē whýche) full craftely,<br>Vnder as couerte termēs ás (termes ás) coude be,   | 4 or 9 + 5<br>9 or 4 |
| Can touche a trouth and cloke it subtylly<br>Wyth fresshe vtterauñce full sentencyously;   | 5                    |
| Dyuerset in style, some spared not výce to wryte,<br>Sóme óf moralytē nobly dyde endyte;   | 1. 12. 5             |
| 15 Wherby I rede theyr renome and theyr fame<br>Maye neuer dye, bute euermore endure:<br>I was sore mouēd to aforce the same,<br>But Ignoraunce full soone dyde me dyscure,<br>And shewed that in this arte I was not sure;  | 5                    |
| 20 For to illumyne, she sayde, I was to dullē,<br>Auysynge me my penne alwaye to pulle,  | 12a                  |

	And not wryte; for he so wyll atteyne	2
	Excedyngे ferther than his connyngē is,	
	His hede māye bē hárde, but feble is his brayne,	8b
25	Yet haue I knownen suche er this;	15
	But of reproche surely he maye not mys,	
	That clymmeth hyer than he may fotynge haue;	
	Whāt and he slyde downe, whō shāll hym saue?	2. 3
	Thus vp and down my mynde was drawen and cast,	
30	That I ne wiste whāt (wystē whāt) to do was beste;	4 or 9 + 5
	So sore ēnwérēd, that I was at the laste	6
	Enforsed to slepe and for to take some reste;	
	And tō lye downe as soone as I me dreste.	1
	At Harwyche Porte slumbrynge (Portē slumbrynge)	
	as I laye,	4 or 9 + 5
35	In mȳne hōstēs hōuse, cālled (housē cālled) Powers Keye,	
	8a. 9. 4 or 9 + 5	
	Methought I sawe a shyppe, gōodly of sayle,	3
	Come saylyngē forth into that hauen brood,	
	Her takelynge ryche and ḥ̄f hye apparayle:	3
	She kyste an anker, and there she laye at rode.	12b
40	Marchauntes hēr bōrdēd to see what she had lode:	6
	Therein they founde rōyall (foundē rōyall) marchaundyse,	4 or 9 + 5
	Frāghtēd with pleasure of what ye coulde deuyse.	1. 12a

I shall make nothing of the scansion of *The Flower and the Leaf*, because its date is unknown and the finish of the verse argues in favor of dating it as late as possible. Suffice it to say that the author knew how to write good pentameters.

We are now in a position to return to Wyatt and to attempt the scansion of his early sonnets. Certainly he wished his sonnets to be written in good pentameters, for that was the metre called for by the type. Moreover there was already a rather well defined body of principles governing the construction of pentameter verse. He almost certainly would not regard the introduction of an occasional tetrameter as a literary grace and he would not wish his verse to run unduly to anapaests. If, without undue wrenching, a line can be read as a pentameter with the accents properly disposed, that I believe is the way in which it should be read.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It should perhaps be noted in passing that Spenser employed a certain number of four stress lines in *The Shepheards Calender*. These need not trouble us, however, for the poet was deliberately striving for archaic effects. Contrast the prosody of the *Faerie Queene*.

I shall now give several of the earlier sonnets with the scansion indicated:<sup>\*</sup>

## 1

Césär, when that the traytor of Ēgípt,	1
With thonorable hed did him present,	
Cóvēring his glādnēs, did represent	1
(possibly, Cōvering his glādnēs, did represent) ↗	1 + 12a. 8b. 15
Plāynt with his teres ówtewārd, as it is wrritt;	1. 3
And Hannibal, ēke, whēn fortune him shitt	3
Cléne frōm his reign, and from all his intent	1
Ladight tō his folke, whom sorrowe did torment,	1
His cruel despite for to dis-gorge and qwit.	12c
So chaunceeth it oft, that everý pāssión	12b
The mind hideth, by colōr cōntrāry,	
With fayned visage, now sad, nōw mēry:	13
Whereby if I laught, āny týme ör scēsōn,	12d. 8b. 13
It is: for bicadise i have nother way	8b. 4
To cloke my care, but under sport and play.	

## 2

Thē lóngē lōve (Thē lóngē lōve) that in my thought	
dōeth hārbār:	9 or 7. 3. 8b
And in myn hert doeth kepe his residence:	
Into my face prēsēth with bolde pretēce:	3
And therein campeth spreding his baner.	
Shē thāt me lerneth to love ānd sūffré:	1. 12b. 13
And willes thāt my trūst and lustēs négligence	8b. 9
Be rayned by reason, shame, and reverence:	
With his hārdines tákēth displéásür.	8a. 3. 13
Whēre with all unto the hertes forrest he fleith:	8a
Léving his enterprise with payn and cry:	1
And ther him hideth and not appereth.	
Whāt may I do when my maister fereth?	1
Büt in the feld with him to lyve and dye?	1
For goode is the liff, ēnding faithfully.	12d. 8b. 4

## 3

Whō sō list to hount: i knōw where is an hynde,	8a. 3
Büt, as for me: helas, I may no more.	1
The vayne travail hath werid me so sore,	
i āme of theim, that farthest cometh behinde	1. 12b
Yet, may I by no means, my weried mynde	

\*The text is taken from Miss Foxwell's edition.

Drāwe frōm the Der; but as she feeth afore	1. 12b
Faynting I folōwe. 1 leve of therefore:	1. 5
Sīns in a nett I seke to hold the wynde.	1
Who list her hount: I put him oute of dowbte: As well as I: may spend his tyme in vain.	
And graven with Diamonds in letters plain:	12b. 13
Thēre is wr̄itten, her faier neck rounde abowte:	2. 12b
Nōll me tangere for Cesars I amē And wylde for to hold: thōugh ī sēmē tāme.	1. 12c 12d. 8b. 4. 9 or 15

## 4

Was ī néver yet of yoūr love greved,	8a. 13
Nor never shall whilē thāt my liff doeth last;	3
Būt of hating mȳself that date is past,	2. 8b
And teeres cōtinūell sōre hāve mē wērlēd. (or, Ānd teeres cōtinūell sōre hāve mē wērlēd.)	12c. 6. 3. 13 10
I will not yet in mȳ grāve be buriēd;	8b. 13
Nōr ḥn my tombe, your name yfixed fast,	1
As cruell cause that did the sperit son haaste	12a
Ffrōm thūnhappy bonys, bȳ great sighes sterred.	8a. 5
Thén if an hert of amourous faith and will	1. 12a
May content you, wíthoūte dōyng (wíthoūte dōyng)	
greiff, 4 or 9	
Please It you so to this to doo releiff	1
Yf, othr wise, ye seke for to fulfill	
Yoūr disdāin: ye erre: and shall not as ye wene;	8a
And you yourself the cause thereof hath bene.	

## 5

Eche man me telleth I chaunge moost my devise:	12b
And on my faith, me thinck it goode rēasōn, To chaunge propose like after the sēasōn;	
Ffor in every cas, to kepe still cōn gýse	12d. 13
Ys mytt for theim that would be taken wyse;	
Ānd I āmē nōt of suchē maner cōnditiōn:	8a. 12
But treted after a dyvērs fāsshiōn:	12a
And thereupon my dyvernes doeth rise.	
But you that blame this (blamē this) dȳvērnes moost,	9 or 4
Chaunge yoū no more, but still after oon rate,	1
Trete ye me well, and kepe ye in the same state	12c
And while with me doeth dwell this weried goost,	
My word nor I shall not be variablē,	11
But alwaies oon your owne both ferme ānd stāble.	11

6

If amours faith, an hert ünffāyndē,	13
A swete languor a great lovely desir:	
If honest will kÿndælled in gentill fier:	3 (?)
If long error in a blynde māze chāyndē:	12d. 13
If in my visage, eche thought dēpāynted:	1. 13
Or else in my sperklyng voyse lōwēr ör hīghēr,	12a. 3. 11
Which nōwe fēre, nowe shame, wōfully (shamē wōfully) doth tyer:	8a. 4 or 9
If a pāle colour which love hāth stāyndē :	8a. 13
If tō háve an other then myself more dere:	8a.
Yf waſſing and ſightiŋ continually,	1. 8b
With ſorrowfull anger feding bissely:	12a
Yf burning a farr of: and fresing nere	
Ar cause thāt bȳ lōve my ſelf 1 deſtroye,	8b. 7
Youſs is the fault and myn the great annoye.	1

The whole problem involved in this paper is one that can never be solved beyond controversy, but the solution offered is the one that appeals to the writer as having the strongest probability.

In concluding, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Albert H. Tolman and Professor Harry Morgan Ayres for valuable suggestions.

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## ON A DOCUMENT CONCERNING CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

BY WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS

The prosecution of the charge of atheism against Christopher Marlowe, rudely interrupted by his unexpected and violent death, depended in some degree, as we know, upon a document found among the papers of Thomas Kyd and handed down to us in an apparently fragmentary state. It has been twice printed, once by Professor Boas in 1901<sup>1</sup> and again by F. C. Danchin in 1913.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these editors has noticed<sup>3</sup> what will be made clear by the evidence hereinafter adduced, namely, that the sheets of the original ms. are bound up in reverse order, and that when properly arranged their contents is practically continuous, so that the document is not made up of a series of fragments, but is, though incomplete, perfectly coherent. It will be seen, also, that we possess something more than the first half of the document, and that the missing portion is perhaps the less important part, since what it adds does not compel us to change in the least our interpretation of the paragraphs hitherto known. Heretical the doctrine therein expounded unquestionably was, but, of course, in no sense atheistical.

As to the matter of authorship,<sup>4</sup> we may now say that the paper was not composed either by Marlowe or by Francis Kett, though Marlowe may, no doubt, have got it or the copy from which it was taken from Kett. We need not raise the question how far it represents Marlowe's own opinions. It may quite possibly be in Marlowe's handwriting.

In 1549 was published a book entitled *The Fal of the Late Arrian*, the author of which, John Proctor, tells us in his preface why he wrote the work. The passage<sup>5</sup> runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Thomas Kyd*, cx-cxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Etudes Critiques sur Marlowe*, *Revue Germanique*, IX, 566 ff.; cf. X, 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Danchin, IX, 570, suspected that f. 189 should come before f. 187 (he says nothing about f. 188), but remarks that one cannot be certain of the matter.

<sup>4</sup> Boas, *ibid.*, lxx, briefly considers this question.

<sup>5</sup> Sig. D 4 *verso et seq.*

"Here to breake vp this matter gentle Reader, and at lengthe to come to the declaration and disclosyng of my purpose and intent in this my lytle booke, whiche I haue entituled: The Fal of the Late Arrian: Thou shal [D 5] understand that I haue in the same confuted the opinion of a serten man who lately denied Christ deuinitie and equalitie, with God the father, affirmynge that he was but a mere Creature, and a passible man only, not God. And this was Arrius opinion: of whom in my booke I do treate more at large: and as many as do holde that opinion, are called of Auncient wryters, Arrians: and therefore I intitle my treactise: The fall of the late Arrian: not disclosyng hys name throughe oute my worke, but vnder the name of Arrian: whom I wold be lothe to displease, if he hath Recanted that blasphemous oppinion, as some saye that he hathe. This oure late Arrian therfore not long sync was before serten of the Counsell & dyuers other Learned men, for his opinion, by whose procurement I know not. [D 5 verso.] And deliuerner the same his opinion with his proufes in writyng to the lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury beyng therunto at length required, as in the begynnnyng of his writyng he confesseth. Wherof dyuers copies came into diuers mens handes: and one was sent to me, from a frende of myne: who required me to peruse the same, and to let him vnderstand what I thought of it. To whome I dyd eftsones restore it incontinent, writyng vnderneath the same for my awnswere to my frendis demaunde, nothing els but *Vae homini per quem venit scandalum tantum.* Then being of mynd neuer to haue sayde one worde more vnto it, Yet I thought it veray necessary and expedient, that so blasphemous & perilous opinion shuld be confuted by some man, and that with speedy expedicion: In consideracion the people nowe a dayes [D 6] for the most parte, be so good of takyng, that nothyng is to harde for them to learne: especiallye yf they heare of any new lesson not taught, or herd of a long tyme before: Then nothyng cometh a misse vnto them, nothyng to harde for them to learne and beare away, althoughe, it be in deade neuer so muche agaynst God the Father, and his natural Sonne Iesus Christ." But as no one writes the book, Proctor undertakes the task.

The book is written on the plan then and later usual in the case of controversial treatises of this occasional character. The late Arian's manuscript is dealt with paragraph by paragraph. Each is quoted in full and to it is appended the appropriate amount of pertinent or impertinent refutation. When we put together all the paragraphs thus separated by Proctor, we have a complete and coherent document, identical in all important respects, so far as the first half goes, with the Marlowe fragment. It is here reprinted with page and line references to the corresponding passages in Professor Boas's edition of Kyd.<sup>6</sup> I have expanded contractions

<sup>6</sup> If the reader intends to collate, he will please remember that Professor

and shortened long s's, but otherwise reprinted *literatim* (except for such blunders as I may have myself committed).

**Sig. E1.**

**Arrian.** Albeit in thys vehemente and vnthought on perturbacion of mynde (reuerende father) all labor is odious, writyng diffyculte and harde, commentacion vnplesaunt and greuous, vnto me: yet in the defence of my cause, beyng required to write, for the reuerence which I owe vnto your Lordship aboue other, I haue purposed briefly and compendiously to commit in Writyng what I thinke touchyng tharticles. [cxii, 33-39.]

**Sig. E2.**

**Arrian.** Which myne opinion by the communication tofore had with your Lordship, mighte haue ben euidently noughe [sic] & sufficiently knownen, [E2 verso] without writyng. For first at the beginnyng, when your lordship admitted me to disputacion before manye Wytnesses, and then after to priuate and familiere talke, I dyd plainly say all that then came into mynd: verely I haue not dissimbled my opynion, Which I gotte not or borowed out of Sacerius, Conradus Pellican, and suche garbages, or rather synkes or gutters: but out of the sacred founteyn. [cxiii, 1-9.]

**Sig. E7.**

**Arri.** To whiche sacred founten, iust and right faith ought to cleave and leane, in all contrauersyes touchyng Religion, chiefly in this poynt whiche seemeth to be the pyller and stay of our religion: where it is called into question concernyng the inuocation of sayntes, or expiacion of soules: A man may err without great [E7 verso] daunger, in this point being the ground and foundation of our fayth, we may not err without damage to religion: I call that true religion whiche instructeth mans mynd with right faith, and worthy opinion of God. And I call that right faith, which doth credit & beleue that of God, which the scriptures do testify not in a few places, & the same depraued & detort in to wrong sense, but as ye wyll saye, throughlye, with one and the same perpetuall tenor and concet. [cxiii, 10-20; last fifteen words lacking, but the expression "will say . . . concet" occurs cxii, 10-11. The sheets in the Marlowe copy have been placed in the wrong order; if arranged, 189, 188, 187, there will be found no gaps in the MS. of any importance.]

**Sig. F3 verso.**

**Arri.** What the scriptures do witnes of God, it is cleere and manyfest ynoughe: for fyrist Paule to the Romans declareth that he is euerlastynge, and to Tymothie inuisible and immortall, to the

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Boas has not reprinted with entire correctness, as may be seen from a comparison of his fac-simile page with the corresponding portion of his printed text.

Thessaloniens lyuing and true. Iames also teacheth that he is incommutable, whiche thinges in the old lawe and Prophetes likewise are taught infixed, inculcate so often, that they can not escape the reader: And if we thinke these Epithetons not vaynelye put, but truely and profitably adiecte, and that they agree to god, And that we must not beleue him to be God, to whome the same agree not? We therfore cal God (whiche onelye is worthy this name and appellation) euerlastynge, inuisible, incommutable, incomprehensible, immortall, &c. [cxii, 12-22.]

Sig. F5 verso.

Arri. What the scriptures do witnes of God, it is cleere and manifest ynougue and so forth as is aboue rehersed. [cxii, 23-4.]

Sig. G1.

Arri. And if Jesus Christ, euen he whiche was borne of Marye, was God, so shal he be a visible God, comprehensible, and mortall, which is not counted God with me, *quoth* great Athanasius of Alexandrye, &c. [cxii, 25-7.]

Sig. I2 verso.

Arri. For if we be not able to comprehend nor the angels, nor our own soules which are thynge creat, to wrongfully then and absurdly we make the Creatour of them comprehensible, especially contrary to so manifeste testimonyes of the scriptures, &c. [cxii, 28-31.]

Sig. I6.

Arri. For howe may it be thought true religion whiche vnitethe in one subiecte contraryes, as visibilitie, and inuisibilitie, mortalitie and immortalitie, &c. [cxi, 5-7.]

Sig. K7.

Arri. It is lauffull by many wayes to see the infirmitie of Jesus Christ whome Paule in the last Chapiter to the Corinthians, of the seconde epist. denyerh [sic] not to be crucifyed through infirmitie. And the whole course and consent of the euangelicall historye, doth make him subiecte to the passions of man: as hungre, thyrst, wernessee, and feare: to the same end lykewise, ar swete, anxietie, continuall prayer, the consolacion of the angell: agayn, spittynge, whypping, rebukes or checkes, his corpes wrapt in the lynnens clothe, vnburayed. And to beleue for sothe that this nature subiect to these infirmities and passions is God or any parte of the diuine essens: what is it wother [sic] but to make God mighty and [K7 verso] of power of thone parte, weake and impotent of thother parte, whiche thynge to thynke, it were madnesse, & folly, to perswade other impietie. [cxi, 8-20.]

Sig. L8.

Arri. The nature deuine is single, communicable to no creature: comprehensible of no creat vnderstanding: explicable with no speche. But as Paul saith in the fyrist to the Romans, by the visible structure of the worlde we deprehende the inuisible power, sapience and goodnes of God, &c. [cxi, 21-25.]

## Sig. M3 verso.

Arri. Where it is by the scriptutes [sic] euident that there is one god, as in the .vi. of Deut. Your God is one God: yet the vocable is [M4] transferred to other, and therfore it is written in the .lxxxi. Psalme: God stode in the sinagoge of gods: which place, Christ in the .x. of Iohn, declareth to agree to the Prophetes, whyles he studieth to auoide the crime of blasphemye, for that he callyng God father, had signified him selfe to be the sonne of God. And Paule in .I. to the Corin. viii. And though ther be which are called goddes, whether in heauen other in erth (as there be gods many, and lords many) yet vnto me is there but one God, whiche is the father, of whom ar all thynges, and we in him. And sayth Paule: There be to whom their bely is god: but to many, Idols: according to that sayeng: al the gods of Gentyles, Idols. And Paule in the .ii. to the Corin. iii. dothe call Satan, the god of this worlde. To men it is applyed but syldome: yet sometyme it is, and then we vnderstand it as a [M4 verso] name of a meane power, & not of the euerlastyng power: Exod. xxii. Thou shalt not detract the gods: & Moyses be he a god to Pharaao. Agayn, Paule to the Rom. ix. calleth Christ, God, blessed for euer: and in the Gospel of Iohn. Ca. xx. Thomas Didimus doth acknowledge him God throughe the feelyng of the wounde: Many tymes that I remember, I do not fynde, that he is called by this name. [cxi, 25-cxii, 8; last seven words lacking.]

## Sig. O4.

Arri. Where as he is notable by other dyuers names, whiche for the most part al if they haue great commendacion in man: they ar not admitted to the deuine nature: as humilitie, obedience, gentlenes, paciency, much lesse these: Sheepe, Lyon, Worme, Hoste, Synne, cursyng, and other lyke. [Lacking.]

## Sig. P2.

Arri. He is called now and then the Image of God: for that I suppose, his lyfe is as ye wolde saye, the glasse of the deuyne wyl towarde vs. [Lacking.]

## Sig. P2 verso.

Arri. He is called the worde also: verelye because he was nerest vnto the father. And as ye wolde saye the organ or instrument of the deuine voyce: For the worde is made fleshe. what els dothe it signifie, then that the fleshe receyued the worde. And that God the father dyd greeffe into [P3] Chryst as ye wolde saye by implantacion that heuonly doctrine which shuld concile vs vnto him: and in maner conuerted the same into his nature. That he shuld not say ne thinke any thyng but the worde of the Lorde: not that the fleshe was conuerted into the deuine nature: or admitted into societie and feloship with the same. As it seemeth veray absurde at the fyrist blushe. And that it is not true, the

style folowyng declarerh plainly. And he dwellerh [sic] emongest vs, &c. ful of grace: Grace, power, is of God: The fulnesse whereof doth make men desposed to the loue of God, and the obseruacion of the lawe not Gods [sic. Lacking.]

## Sig. P6.

Arri. And if oportunitie serued to searche the Scriptures accordingly, it shulde easely appeare that Christ is not of the same substanciall or nature, neither equall with God the father. And suche places and testimonies as now come to my remembraunce, I wyll hereunto add. &c. [Lacking.]

## Sig. Q1.

Arri. To syt on my right hande, and on my lyft hande is not in me to gyue. Mat. xxii. [Lacking.]

## Sig. Q4 verso.

Arri. Of that day or houre no man knoweth, neyther the aungels whiche are in heauen, nor the sonne, but the father onely, &c. [Lacking.]

## Sig. Q6.

Arri. Why callest thou me good? noone good but God. [Lacking.]

## Sig. Q7.

Arri. Gloryfy thy son. &c. Ioh. xvii. [Lacking.]

## Sig. Q8.

Arri. All are yours, you ar Christes, and Chryst is Gods. Cor. iii. [Lacking.]

## Sig. R1 verso.

Arri. Yea more aptly is this declared of Paule, whyles he explaneth that of Dauid: he hathe subiecte all thynges vnder his feete. &c. Cor. xv. [Lacking.]

## Sig. R3 verso.

Arri. Christ lyueth through the verfue of God: and there is one only Lorde, &c. What more manifest then this? [Lacking.]

## Sig. R5.

Arri. But not to trouble your lordship any lenger with my rude & barberous talke, shortly thus I thinke of Iesus Chryst. Verely that he was the most electe vessel, the organ or instrument of the deuine mercy, a Prophet and more then a Propheete, the son of God, but according to the spreete of Sanctificacion, the fyrist begotten but emongest many brothers. &c. [Lacking.]

## Sig. S2 verso.

Arri. Further he was notable by miracles, but which god wrought by him, as also the Prophetes of the old lawe, dyd many wonderful miracles: yet may we not cal them gods therfore. [Lacking.]

## Sig. S5.

Arri. This haue I vttered my opinion in writyng, accordyng to your good Lordships commaundement, besechynge your lordship to take the same in good part, as the thyng done by him which is prest

and readye to do your lordships wyll & commaundement in all poyntes that maye be perfourmed by this weake vayne of wytte in me. [Lacking.]

The Marlowe copy was probably not taken directly from Proctor's book, for, besides the discrepancies of spelling, there are some differences in language and marked differences in punctuation and division into sentences, while in one place two paragraphs are run together. On the other hand, it probably derives ultimately from the book, since it contains the repetition (*Sig. F 5 verso*) of the opening of the paragraph *Sig F 3 verso*, a repetition which would be meaningless in the original ms. but which has significance in Proctor's book as it serves as text for a second attack extending to *Sig. G 1*.

The resources at my disposal have not enabled me to identify the original author of the document. The printed records of the Privy Council for the few years previous to the publication of Proctor's book furnish a list of numerous persons who were called before that body and rebuked or otherwise punished for holding heretical doctrines. In few cases, however, is the exact nature of the errors they entertained made clear, though sometimes we are told that the mass or the sacraments had been brought in question. Sometimes men were turned over to sub-committees for examination, but I have seen no reference to any examination conducted by his Grace of Canterbury.

It may further be noted that the fact that the document belongs to the reign of Henry VIII explains the contemptuous references to Sarcerius and Pellican, which troubled Danchin (cf. *Rev. Germ.*, ix, 569, note 3), and it will be seen that the "cutting in two" of Pellican is a fault of the scribe, not of the "theologian," whose ignorance of these authors is then not so obvious as Danchin would have it.

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## A CRITICAL STUDY OF THOMAS HEYWOOD'S *GUNAIKEION.*

By ROBERT GRANT MARTIN

That one of the most prolific of Elizabethan playwrights should also have been a prolific producer of books other than playbooks is not surprising. It is surprising that, whereas in the case of most other major dramatists their non-dramatic work has intrinsic interest as literature, Thomas Heywood's prose and verse, in bulk perhaps exceeding all the rest, should be of almost no literary significance. When Lamb's "prose Shakespeare" abandons Thalia and Melpomene to woo Clio and Calliope and Polyhymnia, even so sympathetic an apologist as Elia himself would be hard put to it to find aught of Shakespeare left.

How then can a study such as this of Heywood's chief prose work be justified? Only as it may throw light on the man himself, a man toward whom nearly all writers on the drama have admitted a feeling of kindness, frequently even of affection, because of the honesty and humanity which shine through all his plays. Was Heywood a university man, as the tradition goes? Was the reputation for learning in which he took pride and which has clung to his name really deserved? How much of a scholar was he? Who were his favorite authors? What kind of a mind did he have? It was with the hope of doing something toward answering such questions that this study was undertaken.

The *Gunaikeion* is a folio of over 470 pages, printed in 1624 by Adam Islip.<sup>1</sup> It is prefaced with a dedication to Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, Heywood's chief patron from the time he joined Worcester's company of actors about 1601-2 until Worcester's death in 1628. The dedication is followed by an Address to the Reader, in which the author sets forth his purpose as follows:

I only present thee with a Collection of Histories, which touch the generalitie of Women, such as have either been illustrated for their Vertues, and Noble Actions, or contrarily branded for their Vices, and baser

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<sup>1</sup> Reprinted under the title *General History of Women* in 1657 and again later, n. d.

Conditions; in all which, I have not exceeded the bounds and limits of good and sufficient Authoritie. Here thou mayest reade of all degrees, from the Scepter in the Court to the Sheep-hooke in the Cottage: of all Times, from the first Rainebow, to the last blazing Starre: of all knowne Nations, from the North to the Meridian, and from the East to the Septentrion: of all Faiths; Iewes, Pagans, or Christians: of all Callings; Virgins, Wives, or Widowes: of the Faire and Foul, Chast and Wanton, of each of these something: Briefly, of all Estates, Conditions, and Qualities whatsoever. In the Goddesses, and other Poeticall Fictions (which to some Readers may appeare fabulously impossible) you shall find their misticall sences made perspicuous and plaine, with the true intent of the Poets, which was not (as some have dreamed) merely to transfere Worship and Honor upon Naturall Causes, thereby to debarre the true and ever-living Creator of his divine Adoration, but rather including in darke and aenigmatical Histories, Precepts of Wisdome and Knowledge, least they should be made too popular, and therefore subiect to contempt.

The models for this sufficiently ambitious contribution to the literature of feminism Heywood found in his revered classics. Says he,

Now if any aske, Why I have shut up and contruded within a narrow roome, many large Histories, not delating them with everie plenarie circumstance? I answer, That therein I have imitated *Aelianus de Var. Hist.* and *Valer. Maxim.* who epitomised great and memorable acts, reducing and contracting into a compendious Method wide and loose Histories, giving them notwithstanding their full weight, in few words.

He then queries

Why amongst sad and grave Histories, I have here and there inserted fabulous Jeasts and Tales, savouring of Lightnesse? I answer, I have therein imitated our Historicall and Comicall Poets, that write to the Stage; who least the Auditorie should be dulled with serious courses (which are merely weightie and materiall) in everie Act present some Zanie with his Mimick action, to breed in the lesse capable, mirth and laughter: For they that write to all, must strive to please all.

This is an exact enough statement of Heywood's theory and practice as exemplified in his own plays. He belongs to the group of writers whom Doctor Crothers dubs the Edulcorating School: "Some writers," says Crothers, "like Dean Swift always present truth in acid form, others prefer to add an edulcorant or sweetener."

The book is a hodge-podge of miscellaneous information, a gallimaufry of anecdotes drawn from a very wide range of authorities, classical, mediæval and Renaissance, larded with quotations, adorned with verse translations of stories and epigrams that Hey-

wood found in classical and Renaissance poetry, and interspersed with *facetiae* of a less classical kind, familiar to those who have any acquaintance with the jest books of the Elizabethan period. Heywood does roughly follow a method in the arrangement of his material. He divides it into nine books, called by the names of the Muses after the fashion of Herodotus, each book purporting to deal in a general way with certain kinds of women, mortal and immortal. But he intrudes freely matter which has no direct bearing upon the theme immediately under discussion, and the semblance of order is not much more than nominal.

*Is there anything of permanent value in Gunaikēion?*

Heywood's judgment of the value of his work went widely astray. His plays he esteemed lightly, apologized for, dismissed disparagingly. Glancing, no doubt, at brash Ben Jonson, who deemed his plays worthy of publication as Works, Heywood says, "My plays are not exposed unto the world in Volumes, to beare the title of Workes, (as others)," and adds, "it never was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind Voluminously read" (*Address to Reader, English Traveller*). Among his plays even he did not discriminate truly, pluming himself most on some of the least worthy, the *Ages*, which he regarded with great complacence on account of their wealth of classical erudition, and which he hoped to see step forth, all four together, in "an handsome Volumne," illustrated "with an explanation of all the difficulties, and an Historicall Comment of every hard name, which may appeare obscure or intricate to such as are not frequent in Poetry" (*Address to Reader, 2 Iron Age*). It was as the Baedeker of classical poetry, the historian of womankind, the grave and reverend celebrant of *The Hierarchy of Blessed Angels*, that the good man hoped to be remembered by a grateful posterity, not at all as the creator of the *Woman Killed with Kindness* and the *Girl Worth Gold*.

Are there, among the dusty wares and tarnished trinkets of this Old Curiosity Shop, still treasures to make glad the heart of the collector? Well, *Gunaikēion* is, as Professor Bates says in her admirable introduction to the *Belles Lettres Heywood*, "still entertaining" to seekers after the curious, but it has little of permanent or historical interest. References to sixteenth and seventeenth century notables, of whom we should be glad to hear more, are few

and uninforming. While Heywood is writing of woman poets (p. 398) he gives a list of certain titled ladies who could lay some claim to conversation with the Muses: Queen Elizabeth; Lady Jane Grey; Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, beautiful, accomplished and unfortunate, next in succession after James I to the throne of England; Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister; and an unnamed lady called "the late composer of our extant *Urania*." This last was Lady Mary Wroth, niece of Sir Philip Sidney, a friend and patroness of men of letters. She had published *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* in 1621 (ent. S. R. 13 July), an imitation of Sidney's *Arcadia*. The guarded nature of Heywood's allusion is doubtless due to the fact that the sale of the book had been stopped because it had satirized certain people in court circles.<sup>2</sup> A little gossip about these titled bluestockings, pray you, good Master Heywood. But no. Details in plenty about Sappho and "Telesilla Poetria," but of these Englishwomen only brief compliment in the most general terms, quite without critical or historical value.

Versions of stories used in the plots of Elizabethan plays always have a certain amount of interest. Exclusive of the mythological material, which is too common to require comment, four such stories are told in *Gun*. Two Heywood himself used for plays. One forms the sub-plot of *The Captives*; it was taken from Ma-succio's *Novellino*, but in *Gun* it is localized in England and dated in the time of Henry V (253-6). The other is the main plot of *The English Traveller*, one of Heywood's most effective dramas. Heywood calls it "A Moderne History of an Adulteresse" (193-6) and tells it with much circumstantial detail. He sets it down as "a true discourse," "lately happening and in mine owne knowl-edge," even speaking of the hero of the tale as still living. There has been some tendency among critics to accept these statements. To my mind the story has all the earmarks of an Italian novella, and the fact that Heywood so plainly asseverates its truth but convinces me the more strongly that he borrowed it from some source not yet discovered. I regard his assertion as the story teller's usual assumption of personal knowledge in order to secure interest. In length and manner the tale closely resembles the story

<sup>2</sup> See D. N. B., Lady Mary Wroth. For this information I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. R. S. Forsythe.

first mentioned, which, though it was borrowed from an Italian source, Heywood transplants to England and narrates with the gravest pretence of veracity. He does the same thing with a third tale, of a reformed prostitute, which he dubs "a home-bred Historie" and locates in London (458-62). For this material see later, under Erasmus. There is finally the story of Comiola Turringa, as Heywood calls her, which he obtained from Fulgosus (448) : Massinger used the version in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* as the basis of his *Maid of Honor*. The only conclusion to be drawn from this group of stories, so far as I can see, is that the more exact and circumstantial Heywood becomes the more likely he is to be borrowing.

At least three other stories are of more than passing interest because of their use in other connections. One is the grawsome tale of revenge told by Nashe's Jack Wilton, of the man who blew out his enemy's brains after promising him life on condition of renouncing Christ and swearing his soul to the devil (400). Nashe's editor, R. B. McKerrow, has been unable to trace the story. Another is the traveller's story of frozen words (315), the subject of Addison's essay, *Tatler* 254. The third is the mellifluous and gorgeous yarn of the man who fell into the bee tree, became stuck in the honey, and would have died from a surfeit of sweetness had not a foraging bear pulled him out (315). This is the rollicking "Black Bill's Honeymoon" of Noyes's *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*.

The section of greatest interest to the general reader is that occupied by the witch stories, of which Heywood has a varied collection drawn from authorities of the highest reputation in that line. There is no reason why he should have been less credulous of witchcraft than were most of his contemporaries, and to him these tales of possession and transportation through the air are as authentic as the rest of his matter.

#### *Sources.*

The question of the sources of this mass of heterogeneous biography has interested me particularly because of the light it might throw on Heywood's scholarship and reading. I do not pretend that the results of my investigation are complete. To make them so would require a knowledge of classical and mediæval literature

more thorough than I possess, and access to libraries more completely stocked in these literatures than are the institutions available. The information that follows, then, is presented for what it is worth, with all its imperfections and omissions on its head. For convenience I have classified the authors according to nationality and period of writing, viz.: classical Greek, late Greek, classical and late Latin, mediæval and Renaissance Latin (including the humanists), English, French, Italian, and scattering. The arrangement under each class is alphabetical.

#### I. GREEK—CLASSICAL

1. *Apollodorus*. Athenian grammarian, 2nd century B. C. Heywood knew his *Bibliotheca*, or *De Deorum Origine*, in the edition of Benedictus Aegius Spoletinus, Rome 1555, with the original Greek and a parallel Latin text (see p. 167). Not extensively used. The most important material drawn is in the stories of Pasiphae (167), Jocasta-Oedipus (171), Atalanta (227). The translations are rather loose and much carelessness is in evidence, either on Heywood's part in making his text, or in the printing.

2. *Aratus*. Author of the *Phaenomenon*, an astronomical epic, surviving only in partial Latin translations. An important source for Heywood's *Hierarchy of Blessed Angels*, but little used in *Gun.* (e. g. on the Pleiades, 105).

3. *Herodotus*. One of the most important sources. Heywood draws from every one of the nine books except the last, in every case but one giving an ascription to the author, and sometimes, though not usually, the number of the book as well. The material from Herodotus includes striking stories like those of the sisters of Cambyses (170), Phaedima (184), Tomyris (232), the wife of Candaules (251). Heywood knew Herodotus well, though in a Latin translation (see later), and translates at considerable length, though often loosely and with a good many errors. He doubtless follows Herodotus in calling the books of *Gun.* by the names of the nine Muses.

4. *Hesiod*. Hesiod's name occurs frequently in the first two books, which treat of goddesses and minor female figures of classical mythology. There are several quotations (in Latin) of lines from the *Theogony*, and the story of Pandora (32) seems to combine the accounts in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Some of these references may have been picked up from intermediate sources, but I see no reason to doubt Heywood's acquaintance with the original.

5. *Homer*. Although making a good many references to Homer, and several fragmentary quotations from the *Iliad* (31, 109, 249)—this last being taken via Athenaeus) and one from the *Odyssey* (277), *Gun.* offers no good evidence that Heywood was well acquainted with Homer's epics.

All the quotations are in Latin. The epitomee of various books of the *Odyssey* (1, 2, 6, 7, 24 on pp. 11-12; 17-23 on pp. 277-9; 10 on p. 404) are translations from the Latin of Ausonius (q. v.). The story of Homer and the potters (13) is from the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus, and the song which the blind poet is alleged to have sung, called *Caminus* or *Fornax* (13), is the 14th of the so-called Homeric epigrams. The story of Homer's birth, the oracle concerning him, and his death (173) is from the supposititious life of Homer by Plutarch. Thus there is little to indicate a first-hand knowledge of Homer's work, and nothing at all to prove an acquaintance with it in the original Greek. A few passages in *I Iron Age* based upon the *Iliad* offer more convincing proof that Heywood did know the *Iliad* than all the references in *Gun.* put together.\*

**6. Palaephatus.** Author of a treatise *De non Credendis Fabulosis Narrationibus* (called by Heywood "five bookees *Incredibilium*"), of about the third century B. C., giving rationalizing explanations of Greek myths. Use infrequent (6 references) and unimportant.

There are many references to Greek philosophers and occasional ones to dramatists and other poets (see section on H.'s knowledge of Greek), but the probability is that they are mostly second-hand.

## II. GREEK—LATE

**1. Aelian.** The *Varia Historia*, with its heterogeneous collection of anecdotes, furnishes Heywood with one of his models, but does not actually supply so much material as one might suppose from the rather numerous citations, chiefly in the third and sixth books. Some fifteen anecdotes are borrowed; Aspasia (130) and Rhodope (306) are good examples.

**2. Athenaeus.** One of Heywood's favorite authors, if we may judge from the extensive use of the *Deipnosophistae*, or *Banquet of the Learned*, in other of his work, notably *Philocothonista* and *His Majesty's Royal Ship* and a well-known passage in *The English Traveller*, as well as in *Gun.* The stories of Odatis (133), Nitetis (249), the Callipygae (297), are taken from Athenaeus. The long list of famous professional beauties, headed by Lais and Phryne, in book 6, draws very heavily on the 13th book of Athenaeus. Some of the most piquant of Heywood's anecdotes go back to the Greek rhetorician, who had a racy line of drummer's yarns. A casual reader of *Gun.* might easily jump to an erroneous conclusion as to the extent of Heywood's learning, misled by his custom of incorporating Athenaeus's citations intact with the names of their authors duly given; Heywood usually, however, refers to Athenaeus in the margin. The *Deipnosophistae* is just such a book as would most delight the heart of Heywood, whose pride in ventilating his erudition was doubtless as sincere as that of the old Greek.

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\* Cf. J. S. P. Tatlock's article, "The Siege of Troy in Shakespeare and Heywood," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 1915, xxx, 673-770, pp. 687 and 723.

3. *Lucian.* Heywood was well acquainted with the Wit of Samosata, upon whom he levied for one incident in *Brazen Age*, and fifteen of whose dialogues he translated into verse in *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, not to mention two more appearing in *Hierarchy*. In *Gun.* he renders the dialogue of Juno and Latona (20) and the *Judicium Deorum* (453), hesitating not to add or subtract but giving a lively rendering of the spirit; the latter appears again in verse in *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*. He also gives a free version of the description of the City of Sleep from the *Vera Historia*. Though no very discerning judge of wit, Heywood was a great lover of it, and his versions of Lucian, if somewhat pedestrian, are tolerable.

4. *Pausanias.* Mentioned occasionally, but from the character of the references I judge that many of them are second-hand.

5. *Plutarch.* May be said to dispute with Ovid the honor of being Heywood's favorite author. Used with the greatest freedom and familiarity. Borrowings in *Troia Britannica*, *Hierarchy*, and *Curtain Lecture*, and doubtless many more than I have noted. The largest single contributor to *Gun.*; in five out of the nine books Plutarch is one of the three or four chief sources. Taking the *Lives* first, we may comment that we should not expect to find any very large amount of borrowing, since the sex of the subjects permits merely of bits of information here and there on the women whose histories touched those of Plutarch's heroes. Despite the unpropitious nature of the material, however, we find use of the following *Lives* (I cite these more to demonstrate Heywood's familiarity with them than because they furnished any considerable number of details): Numa (2, 96), Marius (7, 99, 445), Crassus (98, H. refers wrongly to *Gracchis*), T. Gracchus (127), Alcibiades (241, 371), Demetrius (243), Pompey (276), Romulus (311, 437), Pericles (344), Artaxerxes (444), Alexander (464). Some of the unlocated references to Plutarch may doubtless be charged to the *Lives* also. The *Moralia*, however, were to Heywood a rich mine of anecdote and reflection, upon whose treasures he levied without stint. There are 77 titles in the edition I made use of, that of H. Stephanus, Paris 1572. Of these I have verified borrowings from twenty, and I have no manner of doubt that a better Plutarchian than I could turn up others. Here is the list (I have used the Latin titles, with which Heywood's are not always in agreement, showing that he was using a different text): *De utilitate ex inimicis capienda*, *De fortuna*, *Coniugalia paecepta*, *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum*, *Instituta Laconica*, *Apophthegmata Lacaenarum*, *De virtutibus mulierum*, *Quaestiones Romanae*, *Quaestiones Graecae*, *Parallelia*, *De defectu oraculorum*, *De cohibenda iracunda*, *De garrulitate*, *Consolatoria ad uxorem*, *Amatoria narrationes*, *Amatorius*, *Symposaicon*, *De vitanda usura*, *Utra animantium plus rationem habeant, terrestriana an aquatica*, *De facie quae in orbe lunae appetet*. Naturally enough the essays most contributive are those containing the greatest number of illustrations, especially *Parallelia*, (Plutarch gives 41, of which Heywood takes 10), *Amatoria narrationes* (4 out of 5 taken), and *De virtutibus mulierum*. The last Heywood

borrowed almost entire, though scattering the anecdotes through his volume in somewhat bewildering fashion; he quotes, without acknowledgment, Plutarch's introductory comparison of men and women (118-19), and of the 27 anecdotes forming the essay lifts all but 6.

The translation of Plutarch's matter is usually pretty close to the original, with a good deal of incidental inaccuracy, especially as to proper names; the spelling of proper names is unreliable all the way through *Gun.*, but it is my impression that Plutarch fares rather worse than the average in this respect. The ascription to Plutarch of material borrowed is usually made, and commonly by reference to the particular essay.

The use of Plutarch, then, is wide, and seems to be all at first hand; a hasty comparison of Heywood's versions with the corresponding pages of Philemon Holland's translation of the *Moralia*, 1603, showed no trace of evidence that Heywood had recourse to that magnificent folio. That Heywood used so much material from Plutarch is perhaps not so much to be wondered at as that, having so thorough an acquaintance with the *Moralia*, he did not draw even more heavily on their wealth of anecdote.

### III. LATIN—CLASSICAL

1. *Ammianus Marcellinus.* The three references to this fourth century historian of the Caesars are correctly made, but it looks as though the matter were taken from some intermediary and carelessly at that (e. g. reference to Ammianus and Marcellinus 212, and bad spelling of proper names).

2. *Aulus Gellius.* So little matter is taken, even from the passages of the *Noctes Atticae* to which Heywood makes reference, that it is difficult to form a conclusion as to his familiarity with the original. Because of the small amount used, the variations from Gellius' text, and the inter-mixture of Gellius' matter with that from other sources, I incline to the opinion that Heywood obtained his quotations second-hand.

3. *Ausonius.* This Christian poet of Bordeaux, so highly esteemed by his fourth century contemporaries, was likewise admired by Heywood, who does him the honor of rendering at least eight and a half of his epigrams into English verse (pp. 19, 121, 152, 164, 270, 292, 352, 435) and of making partial rather free translations of his *Nuptial Cento* (333-6) and *Griphus de Ternario Numero* (93) without acknowledgment. The epigram on the seven sages (193) is the *Sententiae Septem Sapientium*. Another more important unacknowledged loan from Ausonius is to be found in the rhyming summaries of various books of the *Odyssey* (see Homer) lifted from the Latin *Periochae*,<sup>4</sup> or epitomes, of Homer's epics. Ausonius wrote these in prose, prefacing each with a Latin hexameter, the first line of the book; Heywood usually quotes the Latin verse and then proceeds to turn the prose into English verse.

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<sup>4</sup>Ausonius's authorship of these *Periochae*, which has been doubted, is accepted by recent scholarship; see Byrne, *Prolegomena to Works of Ausonius*, New York, 1916, p. 67.

4. *Cicero*. References few and unimportant. The list of opinions of the nature of God held by ancient philosophers, with which *Gun.* opens, resembles but is not taken (directly at least) from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.

5. *Curtius*. There are traces of Curtius in the places where he is cited as authority, but there is never any actual straightforward translation, and there is no certainty that Heywood made direct use of the *Life of Alexander*.

6. *Fulgentius*. A grammarian of the sixth century, author of a work on the myths, with allegorical explanations of them and absurd etymologizings of the proper names. Heywood in his account of the Muses (bk. 2) gets in *passim* practically all of Fulgentius' matter.

7. *Horace*. A few scattered fragmentary quotations from the Odes, Epistles and Satires; part of ordinary schoolboy's acquaintance with the classica.

8. *Hyginus*. Considerable use, not only in *Gun.* but in *Hierarchy*, of the two works on mythology and astronomy ascribed to this freedman of Augustus, who is not now considered their author.

9. *Justin*. This Antonine historian's epitome of Trogus Pompeius' history of the world was evidently quite familiar to Heywood, who makes lengthy translations from it, such as the death of Olympias (187-9), the Amazons (219-22), Agathoclea (295), always citing his authority.

10. *Juvenal*. Four or five brief quotations, with a twelve-line rendering of a passage from the third satire (316); not so great a favorite with Heywood as was Martial.

11. *Macrobius*. His *Saturnalia* is not so interesting a book as Atheneaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, on which it was modelled, nor did Heywood find it so; the few anecdotes he borrows are correctly attributed in every instance but one.

12. *Martial*. Quotations from seven of Martial's fourteen books, with tolerably close renderings of three epigrams entire and parts of others. Apparently well known and liked by Heywood.

13. *Ovid*. Heywood's favorite poet. Freely used in the *Agés* plays.\* His name appears in *Gun.* more frequently than that of any other author, ancient or modern. There are 27 translations in verse more than four lines in length, all but two in heroic couplets, and dozens of shorter quotations. Practically all of Ovid's work is represented—*Metamorphoses*, *Tristia*, *Fasti*, *Heroines*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Amores*. The longest of the passages from Ovid are Sappho's letter to Phaon from the *Heroines* (448 lines, p. 389), the elegy to Perhilla, *Tristia*, III, 7 (62 lines, p. 397), on

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\* See J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Shakespeare and Heywood," *P. M. L. A.*, xxx, 673-770, and R. G. Martin, "Notes on Heywood's *Agés*," *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 23-29.

the fame of poets, *Amores* (56 lines, p. 484), and an epitome of the whole fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*, running to 760 lines (pp. 48-56), which Heywood inserts at the end of the first book, apropos of nothing in particular, but merely for the fun of it. He must have translated, first and last, practically all of Ovid's poetry.

14. *Plautus*. Brief quotations from six of the plays, which furnished Heywood with plots for *English Traveller* and *Captives* and one act of *Silver Age*. Terence does not seem to have been as familiar to Heywood.

15. *Pliny* (the Elder). The majority of the references are brief and have rather the appearance of being picked up from some other source than the original. This can be proved in at least one instance: when Heywood says, "Plinie to Vespasian speakes thus, concerning the power of Fortune" (22), he is really lifting the quotation from Petrus Crinitus, who had been cited just above. The citation of Pliny for the anecdote of Tiberius Gracchus (119) is wrong; it should be to Plutarch. Only the last two references (349 and the list of women painters 351) seem to be genuine.

16. *Propertius*. Several quotations, accompanied in six instances by verse translations of four lines or over.

17. *Tibullus*. Four references, one accompanied by a translation of 16 lines of verse. Catullus, oddly enough, is all but passed over in *Gun*.

18. *Valerius Maximus*. Named by Heywood, with Aelian, as his model, and rather extensively drawn upon, particularly in the third and ninth books. Doubtless familiar to Heywood from his school days.

19. *Virgil*. Many references, once or twice accompanied by verse translations of some length.

There are, of course, references to and citations of other Latin poets and historians, e. g. Claudian, Livy, Lucan, Seneca, Statius, Tacitus, Valerius Flaccus, but these are neither frequent nor important enough to deserve separate mention.

#### IV. LATIN—MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE

1. *Alexander ab Alexandro*. Alessandro Alessandri (1461-1523), Neapolitan lawyer, author of *Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* (Rome 1522, etc.), a commentary on ancient laws and customs. Use of it confined to books 7 and 9 of *Gun*, but one of chief sources for bk. 7, especially the account of marriage customs (327-339), which includes most of Alexander's two chapters on the subject (i, 24 and ii, 5). Heywood's method with the book is puzzling. Instead of making a straightforward translation of Alexander's observations he skips back and forth at random, eventually covering almost the entire ground, but certainly at a cost of much unnecessary labor. Indeed all his use of Alexander is odd, since he dips scatteringly into chapters in all parts of the work to extract one or two small details without much relevance to the matter in hand; perhaps he

valued such references chiefly as opportunity for airing his acquaintance with so recondite an author.

2. *Aventinus*. J. T. Aventine (1466-1534), German humanist, author of *Annals of Bavaria* (1554, etc.). A few references. Herford<sup>4</sup> notes that Heywood was one of the few Englishmen of his time who display knowledge of Aventine and Krantz.

3. *Caelius*. Lodovico Ricchieri, called Lodovicus Caelius Rhodoginus (1450-1520), author of *Lectionum Antiquarum* in thirty books (Basle 1542, etc.). The casual citations of this work I am unable to verify, since no copy is accessible; they are of no great importance.

4. *Cranzius*. Albert Krantz (1450-1517), German humanist, author of histories of the Scandinavian countries and of the Vandals. Comment same as for Aventinus.

5. *Crinitus*. Pietro Riccio, called Petrus Crinitus (1465-1500), first pupil, then successor of Politian as professor of rhetoric in Florence. His 25 books *De Honestâ Disciplina* furnish a few anecdotes.

6. *Egnatius*. Giovanni Battista Cipelli, called Egnatius (1473-1553), a Venetian scholar, famous as an editor for Aldus, author of orations, poems, and *De Exemplis Illustrum Virorum Venetae Civitatis* (Venice 1554), a work composed in imitation of Valerius Maximus. Occasionally cited by Heywood, who calls him "a later writer and exquisite both in the Greeke and Latin tongues" (388). Usually appears in company with Fulgosus or Marullus.

7. *Erasmus*. Several anecdotes from the *Adages* and the *Apophthegms*; the ones that I have been able to identify are from books 5 and 6 of *Apophthegms* and chiliads 2 and 3 of the *Adages*. There may be other matter not ascribed or traced. The last story of any length in *Gun.* is one of those localized in England and is called "Loosenesse of life first converted, and the conversation rewarded, in a home-bred Historie" (458-62). The story falls into two parts, first the conversion of the woman, second the fortunes of the man who rescues and finally marries her. The latter part is parallel to the plot of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, ascribed to Fletcher, Massinger, Field and Daborne, dated 1613. Koeppel<sup>5</sup> in discussing the play says that the first part was taken from the story of Thais in *The Golden Legend*, and is of the opinion that both Heywood and the authors of the play were drawing on some common source not yet found, which combined the two parts. With this latter view I am in agreement, but Heywood's story bears a closer resemblance to one of Erasmus's *Colloquies*, the *Adolescens et Scortum*, than it does to the Thais story. It is quite possible that Erasmus had *The Golden Legend*

<sup>4</sup> *Literary Relations of England and Germany in 16th Century*, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Quellen Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's und Fletcher's*, Erlangen, 1895, *Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie*, vol. 11.

in mind when he wrote his colloquy, but it was probably from Erasmus that the writer of the undiscovered story used by Heywood and the playwrights took the first part of his tale. There is no further likeness to the *Colloquies* in *Gun.*, but two of them appear in *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*.

8. *Fulgosus*. Battista Fregoso (elected Doge of Genoa 1478, died c. 1502), author of nine books of anecdotes grouped under various heads such as bravery, patience, conjugal love, etc., written in Italian and turned into Latin by Camillo Ghilini (*Baptisti Fulgosii de dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea a Camillo Gilino latina facta*. Paris 1508, etc.). Freely used by Heywood from the third book on, and probably supplies more material than any other author except Plutarch. Appears also in *Hierarchy* and *Curtain Lecture*. It is impossible to discover any method in the helter-skelter borrowings; nor am I able to determine the relations between Fulgosus, Marullus, Sabellicus and Egnatius, who constantly appear in company, since editions of the last three are not accessible.

9. *Gyraldus*. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479-1552), author of *Historiae Poetarum Dialogi Decem*, Basle 1545. The references are always exactly made, but are few in number and unimportant.

10. *Marullus*. Michael Tarchaniota Marullus (d. 1500), Greek scholar and poet, living in Florence and a protege of Lorenzo di Medici, writer of Latin verse in imitation of the classical lyrists. All the anecdotes ascribed to him are of pious young women, and were, I suspect, taken from some prose work I cannot trace.

11. *Pontanus*. Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503), famous statesman, humanist and poet of Naples, called the most elegant writer of the 15th century. Heywood's few references are chiefly to *Urania*, or *De Stellis*, a poetical combination of astronomical and mythological lore.

12. *Ravisius Textor*. Jean Tissier of Ravisy (1480-1524), French humanist, rector of the University of Paris, author of Latin farces for his students to perform (of which *Thersites* of the early English drama is one), and of Latin textbooks widely used for two centuries. Heywood refers sometimes to the *Officina*, or *Naturae Historia* (1522, etc.). *De Memorabilibus et Claris Mulieribus* (1521) has a promising sound in connection with *Gun.* The *Dialogi et Epigrammata* (1534) are represented in *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*. None of these works is accessible to me.

13. *Sabellicus*. Marco Antonio Coccio, called Sabellicus (1436-1506), Venetian historian, author of a history of Venice published in 1487, and also of a general history of the world and of orations and poems, a typical Renaissance man of letters. Supplies same sort of material, though less in quantity, as do Fulgosus and Marullus, and usually mentioned in conjunction with them.

14. *Saxo Grammaticus*. The *Danish History* was finished about 1208, was first printed in Paris in 1514, and had other editions in the 16th

century. It was probably the Latin epitome of the work that Heywood used, judging from the spelling of the proper names. Citations few and unimportant, but sufficient to show first-hand knowledge; the omission of the conclusion of the story of the rape of a girl by a bear (349) would in itself prove the latter point.

15. *Scardeonus*. Bernardo Scardeone, author of a History of Padua (Baale 1560 in B. M. and Leyden n. d. in Bodleian). Several anecdotes used. Book inaccessible to me.

16. *Silvius, Aeneas*. Enea Silvio di' Piccolomini (1405-64), eminent as a humanist and man of letters before his elevation to the papacy as Pius II. Heywood draws on both his verse and his historical works, none of which are available.

17. *Vives*. Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), Spanish humanist and educator. The story of Brasilla Dyrrachina (280) is taken from Vives' *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*.

18. *Volaterranus*. Raffaele Maffei (1451-1522), a student of vast learning, author of *Urbane Commentaries* in 38 books, a tremendous fat tome of close packed information divided into three sections, Geography, Anthropology (on famous men), and Philology. Judging from the large number of citations Heywood had this book constantly at his elbow, but owing to the compendious nature of its contents its contributions do not bulk as large as those of some less used authorities. The borrowings are confined to the first two divisions of the book, and as in other cases, e. g., Alexander ab Alexandro, are made in the most random fashion. Owing to haste, or perhaps to the sheer irksomeness of pursuing information in so appalling a medium, the proper names suffer badly in their journey from Latin to English, and the translation is sometimes wildly botched (for examples see below).

#### V. ENGLISH

1. *Bale*. From *The Acts of English Voraries* (2 parts, part 1 1546, both 1548-51, 1560) Heywood takes the stories of Maud of Lorraine (197), Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor (282), Maud of Scotland, queen of Henry I (283), Arlotta, mother of William the Conqueror (300), the sister of Henry II (300). The references to Richard of Devizes, Simeon of Durham, Matthew Paris, William of Malmesbury, Polydore Vergil, Capgrave, and other chroniclers, that make so impressive a list of authorities for these stories, are all lifted from Bale.

2. *Fabyan*. Fabyan's Chronicle seems to have been Heywood's chief reliance for English history, though he also used Hardynge in Grafton's continuation (in *Troia Britannica*), Holinshed (in *Life of Merlin*), Stow (in *England's Elizabeth*), Lanquet's *Epitome of Chronicles* (in *Troia Britannica*), and *Polychronicon* (q. v.). But we find Fabyan not only in *Gun*, but also in *His Majesty's Royal Ship* and as one of the main sources for the *Life of Merlin*. Fabyan's influence in *Gun* is found in the stories

of the wife of Mulmutius Dunwallo (156), Elphleda (236, with *Polychronicon*), Emma (239), Estrilda (252), et al.

3. *Trevisa*. Trevisa's translation (1387) of Higden's *Polychronicon*, as printed by Caxton (1482), furnishes more matter than any other work in English; indeed it probably is outweighed in this respect only by Plutarch and Fulgosus. The pious, curious and scandalous anecdotes which elbow one another in rich profusion in *Polychronicon* are joyfully accepted by Heywood, and are presented by him with much more of original embroidery than is the case when he is translating from Latin sources. He was doubtless acquainted with some Latin edition of the work, but he occasionally mentions Trevisa, and there is sufficient evidence to prove that it was Caxton's edition he was using rather than that of Wynkyn de Worde or a later one. E. g., in the story of Romilda (190), we read "Cacana king of the Anes"; the Latin reading is "Cacanus, rex Avarum, id est Hunorum"; Trevisa's manuscript has "Cacanus kyng of the Aves," but Caxton prints "Anes." Similar evidence from the spelling of proper names may be found in the accounts of Elphleda (236) and the Virgin Mary (270).

In addition to the above, Heywood translates an epigram by Sir Thomas More (264) and a line of another by "ingenious master Owens" (23), John Owen (1560-1622), the popular writer of epigrams. Scattered through the book are facetious anecdotes, some scurrilous and most as little amusing as are the majority of the *facetiae* so popular in Elizabethan times. A few of these may be found in jest books<sup>\*</sup> but they are commonplaces that might have been picked up anywhere, even in the tavern conversation which probably supplied Heywood with many of these yarns.

## VI. FRENCH

1. *Bodinus*. Jean Bodin (1530-96), French political philosopher, is the only French author, except the humanist Ravisius Textor, who figures notably in *Gun.*, and Heywood read him in Latin texts. The preface to Heywood's translation of Sallust, entitled "Of the choice of History, by way of Preface, etc.," is really a translation of ch. 4 of Bodin's *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (Paris 1566, etc.). The *De Magorum Demonomania*, written to prove the existence of witches and to urge their burning, supplies some matter to *Hierarchy*, and is heavily drawn on in books 8 and 9 of *Gun.* Indeed Bodin and Johann Wier (q. v.) are the two chief authorities on witchcraft in *Gun.* Bodin's book was written in refutation of Wier's and he repeats a good deal of Wier's material, so

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\* E. g., the wife who advised her husband to learn to swim (157) and the man who ordered one sleeve made longer than the other (161) are in Taylor's *Wit and Mirth*; the jest of the woman who allowed her drunken husband who had fallen in the fire to lie where he was on the ground that since he paid the rent he was entitled to lie where he pleased (236), was evidently very popular, occurring in *Merry Tales and Quick Answers*, *Pleasant Conceits of Old Hobson*, *Pasquil's Jests*, *Mother Bunch's Merriments*.

that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether Heywood was using one or the other, since both were in front of him. It is evident, however, that his sympathies are with Bodin in his belief in and condemnation of witches, as opposed to the more moderate views of Wier. He says, "Bodinus (contrarie to Wyerius, who will scarce beleeve there be any such, accounting all those Judges as condemne them to the Stake, or Gallowes, no better than Executioners and Hangmen) hee shewes diverse probable Reasons why they ought not to live" (445), and goes on to quote Bodin's fifteen reasons. Pages 399-418 of *Gun.* are based on Bodin, with some interspersed matter from Wier and others. One of the most circumstantial of these exceptions is the story of an old witch of Amsterdam who raised a storm at sea to obtain possession of a kettle which she had given in pawn to one of the passengers on a ship bound for England, was seen at the height of the storm sitting on top of the mast, and when the kettle was thrown overboard jumped into it and sailed out of sight, whereupon the storm abated and the ship proceeded in safety. Heywood protests that he heard this old wives' tale from the woman who had taken the kettle: "A woman of good credit and reputation, whom I have knowne above these fourre and twentie yearees and is of the same parish where I now live, hath often related unto me upon her credit with manie deepe protestations (whose wordes I have heard confirmed by such as were then passengers with her in the same ship)" (415). Allowing for the story teller's old device of crossing his heart and alleging he had his story first-hand from an actor or an eye-witness, a trick which Heywood employs elsewhere in *Gun.*, his belief in witchcraft was undoubtedly genuine, as is witnessed by his and Brome's play *The Late Lancashire Witches*, and the great amount of curious witchlore in *Hierarchy*, and it is not surprising that Bodin's stories and arguments made so strong an appeal to him. To a modern reader these pages of "effascinations" and possessions and exorcisms, of lycanthropy and transshapings, are by all odds the most interesting in the book. It need only be added that practically all the citations of authorities ancient and modern sprinkled so liberally through this part of the work and giving so impressive an appearance of learning are to be attributed to the ingenious Messrs. Bodin and Wier and not to the researches of the author of *Gun.*

2. *Montaigne.* One reference to Montaigne (159), quoting three anecdotes of dauntless wives who set notable examples of fortitude to their less courageous husbands, taken from Montaigne's essay *Of Three Good Women* (bk. ii, ch. 35), shows Heywood's acquaintance with the French essayist. I cannot see that the version in *Gun.* shows any strong resemblance to the original or to Florio's translation.

It may be doubted whether Heywood had any command of the French language.\* The compositor may be responsible for the error in Jeanne

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\* Bang in his edition of *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, Louvain 1903, *Materialen*, etc., vol. III, p. 339, thinks that he did not.

d'Arc's name—"one Joane Are, the daughter of James Are and his wife Isabel, borne in Damprin . . . afterwards called Joane de Pucil" (238)—but it is improbable that he can be charged with "de Pucil" and other errors in the account.

### VII. ITALIAN

Heywood's knowledge of Italian, although it seems probable, is likewise problematical. The Italian humanists whom he laid under contribution have been listed, but they were for him, of course, Latin writers.

1. *Dante*. There are at least two quotations from Dante in Heywood's writings: a stanza from *Inferno* xxxiv appears in *Hierarchy*, bk. 7, and one from *Paradiso* xxxiii in *Gun.* (87), the latter with errors that seem to be due to the copyist rather than to any old edition from which he was quoting.<sup>10</sup>

2. *Petrarch*. Two anecdotes are ascribed to Petrarch, of Azo, Marquis of Este (319) and Hugotio Fagiolanus (346), presumably from Petrarch's Latin prose writings.

3. *Masuccio*. The story of the Fair Lady of Norwich (253-6) is taken from the first novel in the *Novellino* of Masuccio of Salerne, which was also used by Heywood as the sub-plot of *The Captives*. Although the scene is changed to England the version in *Gun.* is too close to Masuccio's narrative to leave room for doubt that Heywood had contact either with the original or with some direct translation. There were nine editions of Masuccio between 1476 and 1541, but his English translator, W. G. Waters (London, n. d.), says that there is no evidence of any previous translation into any other language. This particular story was, however, translated into French in a collection called *Les Comptes du Monde Adventureux* by Antoine de Saint-Denis (1555). Emil Koeppel, who brought the French version to light in this connection, considers that Heywood's treatment in *Captives* is closer to the Italian than to the French, and that the play was based directly on the Italian.<sup>11</sup>

My opinion is that Heywood had at least a smattering of Italian. His facility in Latin was sufficient to enable him to make his way through an Italian novella.

### VIII. OTHER NATIONALITIES

1. *Wyerius*. Johann Wier (1515-88), a celebrated Belgian doctor, who travelled much in the Orient, where he studied the tricks of magicians, and on his return wrote *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Basle 1564). Its attack on the injustice of the punishments inflicted on supposed witches

<sup>10</sup> Prof. G. L. Hamilton of Cornell University informs me that this is "the earliest citation by ten years of the Italian text in an English work."

<sup>11</sup> "Zur Quellen-kunde des Stuart Dramas," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 1896, vol. 97, 323-9.

aroused the clergy against him. His stories, but not his liberal views, appealed to Heywood, who used his illustrations, but sided with Bodin in the controversy.

### *Heywood's Scholarship*

Before we can form an opinion as to Heywood's scholarship three questions must be answered: How particular is he to cite his authority? How far do the references represent his own reading? How truly does he present these older authors, how accurate are his renderings?

In answering these questions we should remember by way of caveat that Heywood was writing a work of profit and entertainment, not a doctoral dissertation. For example of his way with references let us take the third book. (I choose this because most of the anecdotes are readily traceable). Here are some eighty stories, quotations or pieces of reflection borrowed from various sources. These are about equally divided between ascribed and unattributed matter. In over two-thirds of the former the references are correctly made; roughly one-third of the book is correctly vouched for. In the cases of the incorrect ascriptions what has usually happened is this: Heywood has taken the story from an author X who had borrowed it from a still older author Y; Heywood cites Y as his authority, taking both story and reference to Y from X. For example, the story of Cyane (141) is credited to "Dositheus in his booke Rerum sicularum," and that of Medullina (141) to one "Aristides"; both are from Plutarch's *Parallels*. The stories of Cesara (153), Gunnilda (153), and Ethelburga (154) are credited to "one Paulus an historiographer" and "Willemus de Regibus"; all are from *Polychronicon*. The ascriptions are correct, but do not represent Heywood's own reading.

For a considerable part of the unattributed matter the failure to cite authority is more apparent than real. Most of the anecdotes about Roman women are from Valerius Maximus; Heywood cites him for some and not for others, but having been given the clue in one case no intelligent reader could fail to follow it for the others. Seventeen anecdotes are from Plutarch's *De virtutibus mulierum*; only two are accounted for, but since Heywood tells most of them consecutively he no doubt felt, and naturally, that one reference would do for the lot. Of course, there are still a good many unattributed borrowings, from other essays of Plutarch, from

Fulgosus, Macrobius, Volaterranus, and others that I have not identified.

My answer to the question of how particular Heywood was in citing authority would be that on the whole he was active in so doing, though not scrupulous; there was no particular reason why he should have been scrupulous. In consequence, it is never quite safe to assume that a reference is correct. Many errors were bound to occur in the handling of such a mass of material, which was put together in a hurry, errors on the part of the author and of the always to be mistrusted Elizabethan compositor. In general when Heywood refers to one of his favorite authors—Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Herodotus, Fulgosus, Ovid, *Polychronicon*, Bodin, Athenaeus—a reader may have a good deal of confidence that the book in question was actually in front of Heywood. But with minor authors it is always well to be on one's guard. The distinction between primary and secondary sources about which a modern scholar is meticulous, would have seemed futile to a writer of Heywood's type if it had ever entered his head. Thus, in addition to illustrations already given, we have Homer via Athenaeus and Ausonius; Pliny and Pacuvius via Petrus Crinitus; Cicero, Pliny, Suetonius and others via Valerius Maximus; Dosithaeus, Juba, Hegesinax, Theophilus, and many more via Plutarch; a great variety of Greek poets and dramatists via Athenaeus; all kinds of authorities via Bodin and Wier; old English chroniclers and church fathers via *Polychronicon*, Bale and Fabyan. An incautious reader would give Heywood credit for a good deal more erudition than he actually possessed. Industrious he was, learned he was, and yet, even as Chaucer's lawyer seemed busier than he was, so Heywood seemed more learned.

A book such as *Gun.* does not afford a very sound basis for judging Heywood's ability as a scholar. It would be absurd to criticise the book as if it were intended to be scholarly. It is perhaps sufficient to say that one gets an impression from it of its author's fluency rather than his accuracy. Of course he read Latin as easily as he did English, but he often read in haste and translated at top speed. I am not speaking of typographical errors. They are numerous and frequently produce strange transformations in proper names, the error obviously occurring because of the compositor's inability to make out the unfamiliar name. But in too

many instances the responsibility is on Heywood's shoulders for readings which curiously distort the sense of his author's Latin. Sometimes he can easily be forgiven. Athenaeus speaks of "a certain courtesan named Sappho, a native of Eressus, who was in love with the beautiful Phaon, and she was very celebrated, as Nymphis relates in his Voyage around Asia."<sup>12</sup> When Gun. renders this, "Sapho of Eressus (who was enamoured of lovely Phaon) was here famous, as shee herself expresseth to her Nymphes, in her peregrination through Asia" (303), it is easy to see what has happened. Heywood has taken the name of the unfamiliar author Nymphis for a dative of "nymphæ"; the result gives us an odd picture of the Lesbian Muse gipsying through Asia with an attendant bevy of damsels, but a better scholar than Heywood might have been misled. Or again in the story of Aristoclia, who was tugged to pieces between two overzealous suitors, a failure to recognize a geographical proper adjective leads Heywood into the fault of offering assistance where it was not needed. He introduces to us at the opening of the story *three* wooers, "Strato, Orchomenius and Calisthenes Aliartus." Of these, in order to account for the inactivity of one of the trio, he says: "Strato seemed the most indeered to her in affection . . . yet Calisthenes he fed himselfe with the greater hopes . . . betwixt these two Orchomenius stood as a man indifferent" (207). A misreading of Plutarch is responsible for the inglorious neutrality of "Orchomenius," by which Heywood was plainly puzzled, for Plutarch says, "This lady was courted by Straton an Orchomenian and Callisthenes of Haliartus" (*Amatoriae Narrationes*). Another error is etymological, but would have been prevented by even a schoolboy's knowledge of the hero involved. Hyginus in naming the victors in a set of games says that Pollux excelled "cestu," "with the cestus" (Fab. 273); Heywood improves on Hyginus by explaining that "Pollux carried away the prise called *Cestus*, which signifies a marriage belt or gyrdle which the husband used to tye about the wast of his bride, and unloose the first night of their wedding" (228), confusing the two meanings of *cestus*.

Of more flagrant errors, due to haste and carelessness, I shall cite three. In the account of the Muses we read, "Fulgentius

<sup>12</sup> Bk. xiii, sec. 70, Yonge's translation in Bohn Lib., p. 952.

saith, that the nine Muses, with their brother Apollo, import nothing else than the tenne modulations of mans voyce, therefore is Apolloes harpe represented with ten strings: so in the Scripture we reade of the Decachord or Psalterie: others moralise it to be the foure former teeth, against which the tongue striketh: the two lips which are the Cymbals or Instruments to fashion the words: the tongue and the string of the tongue: the pallate, etc." (59). The whole passage is lameley rendered, but the unintelligible "tongue and the string of the tongue" makes nonsense of Fulgentius' words: "lingua ut plectrum quae curvamine quodam vocalem format spiritum" (bk. 1, fab. 15). Volaterranus in the *Geographia* (bk. vii, p. 81, Basle 1544) speaks of Cracus, leader of the Bohemians and founder of Cracow; he goes on to say: "Craco filia Libyssa successit. Haec virgo satidica et vates erat." This appears in *Gun.* as follows: "Volatteranus in *Georg.* writes of one Labissa, a divining woman, that was eminent for many predictions in Bohemia, whom succeeded her daughter Craco, as well in skill, as in fame" (99). Again Volaterranus writes, "Polyxo, uxor Tleopolemi, quae iussit eam (Helen of Troy) arbori suspensi" (bk. xv, p. 175), which Heywood, with I know not what gay intent, renders, "Polyzo, wife of Pleopolemus, caused Helen to be strangled in a bath" (210).

#### *Did Heywood know Greek?*

As an essential part of our inquiry and in view of Heywood's familiarity with Greek authors, the question arises as to whether he read them in the original. Miss Bates apparently believes that he did. After speaking of his reverence for the classic authors and of his copious Latin reading, she says, "That he does not quote Greek text may be due to the limitations of his printers, for he constantly draws material from Greek sources."<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis is upset by the occasional presence of Greek phrases in *Gun.*, though it must be admitted that the crudeness of the characters casts doubt on the amplitude and excellence of Adam Islip's Greek fonts. The real reason, I am convinced, is that Heywood had at best but a distant bowing acquaintance with the language. Why else was his reading of Greek authors always done in Latin trans-

<sup>18</sup> Introd. to *Belles Lettres* Heywood, p. lv.

lations? Why, when he quotes Homer, does the quotation always appear in Latin (12, 31, 109, 128, 249, 277)? Quotations from the following Greek authors are found in *Gun.*, all in Latin: Aeschylus (304), Aristophanes (310), Athenaeus (63), Empedocles (24), Euripides (113), Herodotus (140), Hesiod (32, 62, 71, 75, 108, 112, 113), Lucian (371), Menander (300), Orpheus (36, 113, 114, 116), Pindar (58), Plato (24, 307, 338), Plutarch (46, 58, 66, 268), Sappho (59), Socrates (57), Sophocles (310), Theocritus (112), Xenophon (309). Why are the titles of Plutarch's *Moralia*, on which Heywood levied so copiously, always given in Latin? Because he was using a Latin text. The inference from this and other evidence is that he could not use a Greek text with facility.

His way with Greek sources may be illustrated from pages 289-313. He is in these pages recalling the names of professional courtesans, the majority of them ancient practitioners of the most ancient of professions, such as Lais and Phryne. Most of the information on the Greek women is derived from the thirteenth book of Athenaeus, which Heywood uses *ad lib.*, and a great part of which he translates before he is through, shuffling the material about as he pleases. In these pages, besides citing as authorities many obscure Greek writers, he quotes phrases or snatches of verse from Strattis, Timaeus, Praxiteles, Alcaetus, Apollodorus, Phileterus, Menander, Posidippus, Lynceus, Plato, Sophocles, and Aristophanes. The significant thing about these quotations, which are all lifted from Athenaeus, is that when the author's words are quoted (rather than translated) they are quoted in Latin, and that the works of all Greek authors, whenever mentioned by title, are always given Latin rather than Greek titles. The conclusion is plain, that Heywood was using a Latin text of Athenaeus.<sup>14</sup>

Bang comes to a similar conclusion as to Heywood's reading of Lucian, that it was done in a Latin text.<sup>15</sup>

The occasional use of Greek phrases in no wise controverts the assumption that Heywood, like Shakspere, had little Greek. These

<sup>14</sup> He read his Athenaeus in the edition of Natale de Comitibus, printed at Basle in 1556, a fact which may be proved by a comparison of the spellings in *Gun.* and in the Basle edition with those of Casaubon and other more scholarly editions.

<sup>15</sup> Notes to *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, op. cit.

snatches of the original language, printed sometimes in Greek characters, sometimes in English, are nothing but ordinary schoolboy etymologizings, and are almost always equated with Latin phrases, as if Heywood had been using a Greco-Latin dictionary. Sometimes they are taken intact from his source, as for instance three from Athenaeus (293, 300, 304). They are sometimes correct: thus when Heywood is talking about the Muses he explains the etymological significance of the names, e. g. "Terpsichore, whose name is derived ἀ τέρπω, *delecto*, and χορεια, *tripudium*, that is, *delighting in dancing*" (68). They are more frequently faulty, or even quite wanting in sense. He derives *Horae* "of the Greeke word, which signifies *Custodire*," a derivation to which Liddell and Scott lend no support, and goes on, "these Hourses signifie the fruit it selfe; for the Greeke word *Carpo*, is *Fructus*" (109). Now *καρπός* is *fructus*, but how does Heywood drag *ώρα* into this connection? Or again he derives Dirce from "διενορκειν, i. *Saporis Iudex*, To judge by taste; or *Acre Iudicare*, that is, To censure acutely" (364). Liddell and Scott offer no derivation for Dirce. Other examples equally far-fetched might be cited, but these two are sufficient to show that Heywood was but a bungling journeyman 'if he worked out his own etymologies, or that, if he was relying on the labors of others, he was not a sufficiently good Greek scholar to know a bad etymology or a misprint when he saw one.

"Scholarship" is, then, not a word which can be applied with any great exactness to Heywood's attainments. The great Casaubon would have smiled at them, and among Heywood's fellows Ben Jonson and George Chapman were far more learned. It is as a voracious reader within the limits of his capabilities rather than as a scholar that we think of him. Or, to use his own phrase, as "a piece of a scholar," perhaps deterred by hampering circumstance from the fullest service of the Muses whom he revered.

#### *Heywood's Prose Style*

There remains to speak of Heywood's prose style, a topic which may be dismissed briefly and without enthusiasm. The truth is that neither in prose nor in verse is Heywood much of an artist. For his dramatic verse it may be said that it is easy, clear, and usually adequate, achieving at moments of emotional stress the poignant and truthful simplicity that appealed to Charles Lamb,

who was a great lover of Heywood; but, as Lamb says, "we miss the Poet." Had his prose something of a like simplicity it could be praised. But alas! it wholly lacks the colloquial vigor, the color, the gusto, that we think of as typical of the best prose under Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Much of it is "translation English," stiff and pedantic with the Latinisms that Heywood so much affected, even in his plays. *Facundious, devirginate, gulosity, morosity, gigomantichia* (for the correct *gigantomachia*), *mechal* (one of Heywood's favorite words, and used only by him), *nobilitate, peculiarise, pantarite, vidual, trisulk*—these are samples of the vocabulary employed by Heywood in his efforts to achieve a literary style. It is difficult to select a representative short passage that will give an adequate idea of the tedium felt after prolonged reading. But when any of the translation of Plutarch, for example, is placed beside the corresponding passages in North or Philemon Holland, the loss in raciness and interest in the style for its own sake is easily seen. The sentences are not unduly long but are inclined to ramble. A tendency toward balance and alliteration, reminiscent of Euphuism and therefore old-fashioned, is rather marked; the address to the Reader, quoted at the beginning of this article, affords illustration. It must in honesty be admitted that the style is tame and pedestrian, and it is my impression that the verse translations in *Gun.* have a higher degree of interest, in this point of style, than the pages of prose which they diversify.

Perhaps, after all, the most interesting single feature of the book is the astonishing statement with which it concludes: *Opus Excogitatum, Inchoatum, Explicitum, Et a Typographo excusum, inter septendecim septimanas. Laus Deo.* "This work planned, begun, carried out, and issued from the press within seventeen weeks. Thank God!"

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## SPENSER AND THE GREEK PASTORAL TRIAD

BY MERRITT Y. HUGHES

Spenser is supposed to have been a reader of the Greek pastoral poets and *The Shephearde's Calender* has been generally believed to owe a substantial, though perhaps a vague debt to Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. The tradition began with "E. K.'s" *Epistle Dedicatore*. It was one of the first materializations in the backward and abysm of Spenser's reputation. It gathered momentum as the sixteenth century drew to its close. "Francis Meres, like Webbe, saw in Spenser the compeer of Theocritus and Virgil."<sup>1</sup> There were few allusions to *The Shephearde's Calender* in Elizabethan criticism which do not refer to Theocritus among the ancients whose heir the new poet was believed to be. "Theocritus, in whom is more ground of authoritie than in Virgil,"<sup>2</sup> wrote "E. K." in the "General Argument of the Whole Book," and most of the men who wrote comments on the *Calender* after him were taught to think of the Greek idylls as its first originals.

Some modern investigators have, by implication and without distinct intention, thrown doubt upon some details of the traditional bond between Spenser and Theocritus, but it still stands very much as it did three hundred years ago. Study of Spenser prefers to act upon it rather than to criticize it. The short study of the background of Spenser's pastorals which Oliver Reissert published in *Anglia* in 1886,<sup>3</sup> and which is still the best general treatment of its subject, almost entirely exhausts the verbal parallels between Spenser and the Greek pastoral poets, as well as those between him and his predecessors in the Renaissance. Reissert, however, was interested in the grand diagram of the history of pastoral development which built itself up out of his collection of parallel passages lying behind the *Calender*, and he did not try to deal with questions of Spenser's actual relation to the poets whom he happened to reflect, here and there, in broken

<sup>1</sup> *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Edition of 1909, Vol. xviii, p. 796.

<sup>2</sup> *Spenser's Shephearde's Calender*, Herford's edition, London, 1914; p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "Bemerkungen über Spensers Shephearde's Calender und die frühere Bukolik," *Anglia*, Vol. ix, pp. 204-224.

fragments. The subject of the present study is the first in that series of questions; viz., the extent of the contact of Spenser's pastorals with the idylls of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. Did Spenser ever look back to the Greeks with the true poet's and critic's discrimination of the qualities which were peculiarly Greek, or did he have no more insight than the writers of the *Pléiade*, who, as M. Chamard tells us, "ont mis tout le monde sur un pied d'égalité"?—"Les préceptes de Vida," he adds, "n'avaient pas moins de valeur, aux yeux de du Bellay, que les conseils donnés dans l'Epître aux Pisons.—S'agit-il de fixer les modèles au futur chantre d'idylles? Les élogues de Sannazar figurent à côté des élogues de Théocrite et Virgile."

No attempt has hitherto been made to weigh the evidence on this question. The profound contrast between Spenser and the Greek pastoral poets is on the surface for anyone who cares to compare them, but it has been only vaguely hinted at by criticism. Mr. Greg, for instance, in his paragraphs on Spenser in *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, builds upon Sir Walter Raleigh's principle that "Literature has constantly the double tendency to negative (as well as to reflect) the life around it," to argue that "this contrast is the source of various subsidiary types of pastoral:—of the ideal where it breeds desire for a return to simplicity, of the realistic where the humour of it touches the imagination, of the allegorical where it suggests satire on the corruptions of an artificial civilization." Broadly speaking, Mr. Greg writes, Theocritus' idylls fall into the first of these classes, the ideal, and Spenser's into the last, or allegorical, and so he is inclined to contrast the two men, and to stress their antithetical positions at the opposite ends of a long literary process.<sup>5</sup>

Opposed to this belief is the drift of the traditional opinion that to a considerable extent Spenser found in the Greek pastoral poets suggestions and even inspiration for some of the best qualities in his Eclogues. In the Elizabethan critical essays the opinion usually takes the form of the inclusion of Theocritus in the rather indiscriminate lists of authors to whom Spenser owes an honorable debt. The centuries have petrified it in that form and the

<sup>4</sup>Henri Chamard, *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille*, Tome VIII, pp. 62-63.

<sup>5</sup>Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 7.

*Dictionary of National Biography* invests it with an imprimatur as follows:

Except Milton, and possibly Gray, Spenser was the most learned of English poets and signs of his multifarious reading in the classics and modern French and Italian literature abound in his writings. Marot inspired his *Shephearde's Calender*. The *Faerie Queene* was avowedly written in emulation of Ariosto's *Orlando*. Throughout the work Homer and Theocritus, Virgil and Cicero, Petrarch and Tasso, du Bellay and Chaucer, and many a modern romance writer of Western Europe are laid under repeated contribution.\*

That is the classic form of the tradition. What might be called its romantic form is represented in one chapter of a little book published in 1908 and called *The Feeling for Nature in English Poetry*. The chapter dealing with "The Classical Background" comes to the conclusion that,

Like Theocritus, whom he loved, Spenser brings again upon the pastoral stage the rustics of his native land, speaking their own peasant dialect and living their own lives, yet withal, illumined by the most refined and varied poetry. One is impressed by the belief that the poet must have studied sympathetically the pastoralists before him,—else he could not have successfully given unity to previous experiments in pastoral verse,—assimilating the emotions of rustics with the vicissitudes of the seasons, in a manner that does justice both to nature and to poetry.<sup>†</sup>

The critical and scholarly form of the tradition is still in the making. It is represented by Professor Erskine's suggestion in *The Elizabethan Lyric* that the November Eclogue in the *Calender* owes its concentration and one of its most important ideas to a Greek idyll. Mr. Erskine is interested in the possibility of a Greek influence here because this eclogue stands at the head of the long line of English elegies which ends with Shelley's *Adonais* and Arnold's *Thyrsis*. He does not insist upon it, but he notices that where Spenser's poem departs from its French original, Marot's dirge for Loyse of Savoy, it sometimes approaches Marot's model, Moschus's *Lament for Bion*, so closely that it is possible to suspect that Spenser was working with the Greek threnody fresh in his mind. Professor Erskine is uncertain whether to attribute the divergences from the French to Spenser's "literary

\* D. N. B., xviii, 796.

<sup>†</sup> *The Feeling for Nature in English Poetry*, by J. Ingram Bryan (University of Pennsylvania Dissertation), Tokio, 1908.

taste or literary training" and leaves the question open.<sup>8</sup> The English poem is shorter than its French original and with an art which seems superior it achieves greater lyric concentration. In its finest passage (as will appear later) Spenser deserts the French model to make a version which might almost stand as a translation of the corresponding lines in Moschus's Idyll. The conclusion that Spenser was following the Greek poem seems at this point almost irresistible. Before we draw that conclusion there is a mass of evidence to compare with the item to which Professor Erskine drew attention, and perhaps, for the sake of an immediate understanding, it will be as well to say at once that the opinion<sup>9</sup> at which the present study will arrive holds that direct Greek influence on the *Calender*, if it existed at all, was negligible.

The most important single strand of Greek contact with Spenser's Eclogues is generally thought to be their rough dialect contrived out of archaic and provincial words. This has been regarded as his substitute for the Greek convention which recognized Doric as the natural dialect for pastoral poetry. "The design was suggested," writes the author of the article on *Spenser* in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "by the pastoral poetry of Theocritus, Bion, Clement Marot, and the Italian Mantuanus. In imitation of the Doric dialect of the first named, Spenser adopted the archaic vocabulary which justified E. K.'s glossary." Mr. J. B. Fletcher suggests that the theories of du Bellay and Ronsard explain the language in which the *Calender* was written rather than the example of the Greek triad of pastoral poets.<sup>10</sup> It is unnecessary to repeat the details of his argument here. Whatever may be thought of his general contention that the programme of the Pléiade was adopted almost uncritically and entire by the group of writers whose "president" was Sir Philip Sidney and with which Spenser has been thought to have had a vague connection, Fletcher's proof that du Bellay's unique ideas about poetic diction underlay the work of "E. K." in the *Epistle Dedicatoires* of the *Calender* will have to stand. In *La Defence et l'Illustration de la Langue Francaise* du Bellay laid down the principle which he restated repeatedly in later works; viz., that a

<sup>8</sup> *The Elizabethan Lyric*, by John Erskine, New York, 1903, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> "Areopagus and Pleiade," by Jefferson B. Fletcher, in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 429-453.

poet should embellish and reinforce his vocabulary with all of the native words which he could discover, regardless of their obsolescence or their rarity even in remote dialects.

"Mes enfants," pleads du Bellay in language which resembles that dealing with the same matter in "E. K.'s" *Epistle Dedicatore* which is quoted in the next paragraph, "deffendez vostre mere de ceux qui veulent faire servante une demoyselle de bonne maison. Il y a des vocables qui sont francois . . . Je vous recommande par testament que vous ne laissiez point perdre ces vieux termes, que vous les employiez et deffendiez hardiment contre des maraux qui ne tiennent pas elegant ce qui n'est point escorche du latin et de l'italien."<sup>10</sup>

And Ronsard wrote, "Je te conseille d'user indifféremment de tous dialectes."<sup>11</sup> It was in accordance with this counsel that Spenser wrote, not Doric nor any consistent dialect, but, as Ben Jonson charged, "no language."

There was never any confusion on this point among Spenser's contemporaries. Sidney had no illusions about a Doric dialect in the *Calender*. "That same framing of his style to an old rustic language" he dared not allow; "since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazaro in Italian did affect it."<sup>12</sup> In the *Epistle Dedicatore* "E. K." did not pretend that the Doric of Theocritus had anything to do with Spenser's language. If he had had the least notion that the principle upon which Spenser's eccentric vocabulary was based was related in any way to Greek pastoral precedents we may be sure that he would have said so. He cast about for support in the classics for the French theories of diction which he discussed without acknowledging their origin, but the best example that he could recall was the mannered archaism of Sallust and Livy. He did not feel that a question of dialect was involved in *The Shephearde Calender* any more than such a question was involved in the historical prose of those authors. He was afraid that the new poet had carried the practice a little too far, as Sallust did his "overmuch studie" to "affect antiquity," but, like a good disciple of Ascham and Gascoigne, he had no doubts about the general principle involved.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from the *Avertissement des Tragiques* by Fletcher, p. 438.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from the Preface to the *Franciade*, *ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>12</sup> *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, Edition of William Gray, Oxford, 1829, p. 24.

And first of the wordes to speake, I graunt they be something hard, and of most men unused, yet both English, and also used of most excellent Authore, and most famous Poetes. In whom, whenas this our Poet hath been much traveiled and throughly read, how could it be, (as that worthy Oratour sayde) but that walking in the sonne, although for other cause he walked, yet needes he maught be sunburnt; and, having the sound of those auncient Poetes still ringing in his eares, he maught needes, in singing, hit out some of theyr tunes.

“E. K.” was writing in accordance with the theory of poetic diction dear to the school of linguistic Little-Englanders since the days when Wilson published his *Art of Rhetoric*. Wilson put the principle forward with a sensible *caveat* against the affectation of a Chaucerian vocabulary, but later writers forgot his advice. Obsolescence was a point in favor of a word with Gascoigne when he presented his *Hundreth Sundrie Posies* to his country and recommended it in an *Epistle to the Reverend Divines* (1572).

Although I challenge not unto myselfe the name of an English Poete, yet may the Reader finde oute in my wrytings, that I have more faulted in keeping the olde English wordes (quamvis iam obsoleta) than in borrowing of other languages such Epithets and Adjectives as smell of the Inkehorne. . . . I have rather regard to make our native language commendable in it selfe, than gay with the feathers of strange birds.

French theories and native tendencies explain the principles of poetic diction which “E. K.” preached and Spenser practiced in *The Shepheardes Calender*. Their theories about the use of native words (quamvis iam obsoleta), had nothing to do with the doctrine of poetic decorum which demanded that the speakers in pastoral dialogue should use a coarse, simple speech in keeping with their rustic character. A part of Spenser’s innovation was the application of archaism to the problem of pastoral decorum and the resulting “old, rustic language” which the best judges of his time seem to have condemned. None of his contemporaries thought of connecting it with the Doric dialect which Theocritus’ practice had established as the language proper to pastoral in Alexandrian Literature. They did not think of his diction as a dialect in any sense. Pastoral became known as a “Doric lay” in a later day than Spenser’s. The idea that it should be written in dialect disappeared from European literature when the imitators of Theocritus laid down their pens and it had hardly regained currency when *The Shepheardes Calendar* was written. Trissino in

the *Poetics* (1529) called attention to the fact that the principle of dialect had been lost to pastoral poetry since Alexandrian times and suggested, not very confidently, that it might be revived.<sup>13</sup> A few efforts in that direction were made in Italy and some of more interest in Spain, but they were eccentric and insignificant in the general history of the genre and there is no reason to suppose that Spenser knew anything about them.<sup>14</sup>

The fable about the Theocritan origin of the language of *The Shephearde's Calender* collapses under scrutiny, but the fable is not a very essential part of the legend which ranks the Greek pastoral poets with Marot and Mantuan as sources of Spenser's Eclogues. The legend itself still remains to be discussed, but before turning to it we may pause for a moment to glance at the position of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus in the literature and scholarship of the sixteenth century in England and on the Continent. Mr. Robert T. Kerlin has investigated the subject as far as English literature is concerned in his study of Theocritus and he has been able to unearth only one allusion to the Greek poet in English before the appearance of the *Calender*.<sup>15</sup> Shortly afterward the references to the Greek pastoral writers became frequent in England but the fashion evidently owed its start to Spenser. No edition of Theocritus came out in England in the sixteenth century and only one translation appeared. That was partial; it contained only six of the idylls; it was printed in 1588, nine years after the appearance of the *Calender*; and it owed its arrangement with emblems and arguments prefixed and its ballad metre to Spenser's example.<sup>16</sup> *The Shephearde's Calender* may claim to be the frontier between the indifference of the Middle Ages to Theocritus and the interest in him in modern times which

<sup>13</sup> *Opere di Giorgio Trissino*, Verona, 1729, II, p. 137 of the *Poetics*.

<sup>14</sup> Vide *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Sicnna* by Curzio Mazzi, Florence, 1882, and Barbieri's Introduction to the *Teatro complete de Juan del Elcino*, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

<sup>15</sup> *Theocritus in English Literature*, Yale dissertation, 1906, printed by J. P. Bell, Lynchburg, Va., 1910. The reference occurs in Skelton's *Garlande of Laurelle* (1523), ll. 327-329:

(Apollo) Theocritus with his bucolycall relacyons,  
Hesiodus, the iconicinar,  
And Homerus the fresshe historiar.

<sup>16</sup> *Theocritus in English Literature*, p. 27.

is still occasionally a fertilizing force in English literature. When Spenser was at work on his Eclogues the time was ripe for the transplantation of the continental interest in pastoral poetry to England. Several of his contemporaries were ready to naturalize pastoral models and in Sir Philip Sidney the country had at least one poet able both to read the Greek Idylls in the original and to transfuse some of their qualities into his own work. Mr. Richard Garnett has pointed out that Drayton in his Eclogues (1593) was an imitator of Theocritus although he could not read him except through the medium of Virgil's imitations.

"Paradoxical as it may appear," he writes, "Drayton was partly enabled to approach Theocritus so nearly by knowing him so imperfectly. Had he known him otherwise than through Virgil, he would probably have been unable to refrain from direct imitation; but as matters stand, instead of a poet striving to write as Theocritus wrote in Greek, we have one actually writing as Theocritus would have written in English."<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Kerlin notes that Barnfield, Breton, and Lodge were all more or less indebted to Theocritus through Virgil in the same way,<sup>19</sup> and he is certain that "there are unmistakable evidences that Sidney imitated Theocritus directly."<sup>20</sup> Mr. Kerlin supports his contention with several parallels to the Greek Idylls found in the songs in the *Arcadia* and makes a strong case for his claim. It might be inferred also from the quotation from the *Defence of Poesie* already quoted, that Sidney was familiar with Theocritus and had definite critical views about him.<sup>21</sup>

We have no means of knowing how many of the Greek Idylls were within Spenser's reach when he wrote the *Calender* nor in what form they came into his hands. There seems to have been no literary interest in them before 1579 and there can hardly have been a scholarly interest any nearer than Paris. The *Marginalia* of Spenser's best academic friend, Gabriel Harvey, do not show a trace of concern about Greek pastoral poetry either before or after the triumph of the *Calender*.<sup>22</sup> If an undergraduate at

<sup>18</sup> *The Battle of Agincourt*, edited by Richard Garnett, London, 1893, p. xxii.

<sup>19</sup> *Theocritus in English Literature*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>20</sup> *Theocritus in English Literature*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>21</sup> Vide, p. 188.

<sup>22</sup> *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, edited by G. C. Moore Smith.

Cambridge wished to read Theocritus in Spenser's time he had to do it outside of his classes and probably with very little encouragement. There was no English edition of the Idylls although upward of half a hundred Greek and Greek-Latin editions had been printed on the Continent since 1480. In France for twenty years before the date of the *Calender* there was a growing interest in Theocritus which produced a series of editions culminating in that year with a magnificent volume of 446 pages, published by Henri Estienne, which included appendices of references to all of Virgil's Theocritan imitations as well as to many by more modern poets. The importance of the volume in the eyes of the editor was in the appendix called *In Virgilianas et Nasionianas imitationes Theocriti, observationes H. Stephani.*<sup>22</sup> The book was a study of one of the great classical sequences of imitations of one writer by another in which the Renaissance put so much of its poetical faith. It was a triumphant demonstration of the workings of the law of imitation in one of the great poetic forms and at the same time it was a guide to future continuators of the tradition. Such a book obscured Theocritus' Idylls instead of revealing them. It gave him a nominal preëminence among pastoralists which we find echoed by "E. K." in the remark that in him was "the greatest authoritie"; but it hid his real nature by confining attention to those of his phrases and motives which had been appropriated by Virgil or by his successors. Against a traditional interpretation like this a return to an unbiased and direct appreciation of Theocritus was impossible unless a man combined a far greater knowledge of Greek than was common among even educated Englishmen in the sixteenth century with decided critical independence. A poet with little Latin and less Greek was, like Drayton, limited in his acquaintance with Theocritus to the faint reflection of him in Virgil's Eclogues. We are not certain how good a Greek scholar Spenser was when *The Shephearde's Calender* was written. Lodowick Bryskett's *Discourse of Civile Life*, which was published in 1606, says that in Ireland he was an apostle of Greek studies and offered to become Bryskett's tutor on the road to a fluent reading

<sup>22</sup> Theocriti aliorumque poetarum (Bionis et Moschi) idyllia. (Eiusdem epigrammata) Simiae Rhodii ovum, alae, securis, fistula.—Omnia cum interpretatione Latina. In Virgilianas et Nasionianas imitationes Theocriti observationes H. Stephani.

knowledge of the language. Unfortunately the testimony of the book is not convincing for it is only a part of a literary device to introduce a dialogue and, in any case, it is worthless as testimony about Spenser's earlier command of Greek. More illuminating is "E. K.'s" note on the *March Eclogue* (verse 79), which makes it appear that neither the commentator nor the poet had any reluctance about using and recommending translations of the classics.

✓ 161

But who liste more at large to beholde Cupids colours and furniture,  
let him read either Propertius or Moschus his Idyllion of winged love,  
being now most excellently translated into Latine by the singuler learned  
man Angelus Politianus; Whych worke I have seene, amongst other of  
thyss Poets doings, very wel translated into English rymes.

The references to Propertius' and Politian's Latin versions seem to indicate that they would be the natural place to turn for an impression of Moschus' Idyll and it should also be noted that the readiest interpretation of the remark closing the glosse is that Spenser had used Politian's rendering as the basis of his own translation. Professor Herford adds the following comment to "E. K.'s" note:

The resemblance to Moschus's Idyll, δ *δραγέτης* "Eros, is not very striking. Moschus describes him (Cupid) as 'wholly naked,' 'winged like a bird,' 'a slight bow,' and 'golden quiver.' Spenser's translation is lost.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand Reissert cites the same coincidences in description as ground for the statement that

harmonious (agreement)

Die beschreibung Cupido's bei Spenser ist in vielen zügen übereinstimmd mit der in Mosch. Id. II, δ *δραγέτης* "Eros, welches Spenser—einst in gereimte englische verse übertragen hatte.<sup>24</sup>

The Latin of Politian, which is a marvel of felicitous fidelity to the Greek original, can account for Spenser's resemblance to Moschus in the details which Reissert mentioned and the evidence in the case seems to weigh in favor of the view that he was writing in the tradition of the vogue of the Idyll in the Renaissance and may never have seen the ultimate source of his Eclogue. As we go on we shall see that all of Spenser's adaptations of Greek pastoral poems, both in *The Shephearde's Calender* and elsewhere, have a

<sup>23</sup> Herford's edition of the *Calender*, p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> *Anglia*, IX, 217.

long series of French or Italian precedents behind them and are better evidence of his absorption in the literary fashions of his time than they are of his appreciation of Greek literature.

The traditions about the Greek Idylls which stood between them and the poets of the Renaissance who accepted them as ultimate models made Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus the first in a series of pastoral classics in which Petrarch, Boccaccio, Mantuan, and Sannazaro were members in equally good standing. Like all hierophants of a religion over a millennium old, the pastoralists of the Renaissance did more to obscure than to reveal the nature of the gods which they professed to worship. The *Pléïade* had made the recognition of the Italians on equal footing with the Greeks a cardinal point in its manifestoes and Spenser and his commentator followed them.<sup>25</sup> It was perfectly natural that both the French and English pioneers in criticism should have taken that view of the matter. No other view gave a ray of encouragement to their hopes of 'illustrating' their respective languages. The peculiarity of the laws of imitation as the *Pléïade* treated them was that, while ancient poetry claimed first rank among the classics, Italian literature had almost equal standing, and the aspiring French poet was at liberty to combine whatever material he could find in both sources, quite regardless of higher coherence and of the spirit of the Greek and Latin originals. The history of pastoral poetry in the Renaissance had been a good illustration of the working of the theory.<sup>26</sup> The bond with Theocritus and Virgil had been scrupulously recognized. Both poets were translated frequently both in Italy and in France. Yet the pastoral went on expanding its scope to become satirical and didactic in Mantuan's hands, and modifying its form even to the point of admitting passages of connecting prose in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Theocritus' influence remained as a tradition rather than as a force and the drift was steadily away from his purposes. The sixteenth century saw a number of great collections of pastoral poetry emerge from the press and win enormous popularity. In some of them the Greeks were not represented even by translations and the greatest and perhaps the most representative of them all, the anthology published at Basle by Oporinus

\* Vide J. B. Fletcher in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, II, 439, sq.

\*\* Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 26.

in 1546, did not include any classical examples. It began with Calpurnius and ranged downward to Castalio, including specimens of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Spagnuoli, Urceo, Pontano, Vida, and Erasmus.

Unless a poet was extraordinarily independent of literary fashions he was almost certain, if he wrote pastorals in the sixteenth century, to treat Theocritus as the pastoral tradition of the time was treating him. There were motives, such as the description of the reliefs carved on a cup staked by a shepherd on a contest in song, and touches, such as the weaving of wicker cages for birds or insects, which had been a part of the Theocritan tradition from Virgil down. All of them were trivial, even in a genre which was a tissue of trivialities, or, at best, were of minor significance, but they reappeared in all of the pastoral poetry of the Renaissance, even in the Eclogues of Mantuan, remote as he was from any real sympathy with the Greek Idylls. In reproducing them a poet was simply accepting a convention. Side by side with them existed a fashion for translating and imitating the epigrams and shorter Idylls of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus and also of Anacreon and of the mass of names included in the Greek Anthology. Many of these gave rise to a numerous spawn in the Renaissance and four of them left an impress upon Spenser's minor poetry. Bion's Second and Moschus' Second Idylls were the background of *March*; Theocritus' Sixteenth was, "E. K." asserted, the basis of *October* (though in spite of his claim this case is very much less clear than the other three); and an epigram attributed to Theocritus in the Greek Anthology seems to have been the ultimate source of Spenser's Fourth Epigram. It has already been noticed that there was a well-established interest in Moschus' Second Idyll which dated back to early post-classical times, and that the version of it most familiar to Spenser was probably Politian's Latin Translation. In the other cases there had been a long history of translation and imitation before they found their way into English. Let us examine them in order, starting with the case last mentioned.

The epigram usually printed as Theocritus' XIX is a little etching in nine hexameters telling how Cupid complains to his mother of a bee's sting and is advised to learn from it the misery that his own darts inflict. Mr. Kerlin has pointed out that this Idyll underlies Spenser's Fourth Epigram and he has also noticed that it

is the foundation of imitations by Lodge, in *The Barginet of Antimachus* (c. 1600), and by Watson in 'Εκαρυπταία (1581), but he gives no hint of its earlier history in continental literature. Its vogue on the continent had been widespread. Watson knew of several imitations as his 'argument' prefixed to his version of it (Sonnet LIII) indicates:

The two first parts of this sonnet, are in imitation of certain Greek verses of Theocritus (Id. xix): which verses as they are translated by many good poets of later dayes, so most aptlye by C. Vrcinus Velius in his Epigrammes."

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"Watson goes on to quote the first six lines of Urceo's very literal rendering of Theocritus' Idyll:

Nuper apis furem pupugit violenter Amorem  
Ipsum ex alveolis clam mellia favosque legentem,  
Cui summos manuum digitos confixit, at ille  
Indoluit, laesae tumuerunt vulnere palmae;  
Planxit humum, et saltu trepidans pulsavit, et ipsi  
Ostendens Veneri, casum narravit acerbum, etc.

Watson's 'two first partes' are as follows:

Where tender Love has laid him down to sleepe,  
A little Bee so strong his fingers end,  
That burning ache enforced him to weepe  
And call for Phoebus Sonne to stand his frend,  
To whom he cried, I muse so small a thing  
Can pricke thus deepe with such a little Sting.  
Why so, sweet Boye, quoth Venus sitting by?  
Thy selfe is yong, thy arrowes are but small  
And yet thy shotte makes hardest harte to cry?  
To Phoebus Sonne she turned therewithal,  
And prayed him shew his skill to cure the core,  
Whose like her boy had never felt before.

These lines, it will be observed, have very little to do with Theocritus' version of the conceit (Vide infra, p. 198), although Mr. Kerlin (*Theocritus in English Literature*, p. 25) is of the opinion that Watson's poem is a "paraphrase." When they are compared with Spenser's poem it is at once plain that his Epigram was in Watson's mind. He has retrenched Spenser's version and brought it within the compass of an epigram, but he keeps Spenser's additional material. His closing lines put his indebtedness to Spenser out of doubt:

Then he with Herbes recured soone his wound,  
Which being done, he threw the Herbes away,  
Whose force, through touching Love, in selfe same ground

Spenser's version of the motive of Cupid and the Bee is probably best explained by reference to some of these 'good poetes of later dayes.' There was a famous treatment of it by one of the members of the Pléiade whose general influence over him seems to have been marked although it has never been seriously recognized. Ronsard's Ode xvi of Book IV was a close paraphrase of Theocritus' XIX jointly with the more famous poem on the same subject by the Pseudo-Anacreon. The four poems need only be printed together for the relation to appear. M. Paul Laumonier has already collated the two Greek Epigrams with their compound French redaction in parallel columns,<sup>28</sup> and he has pointed out that the French poet combined the material furnished by his dual original into a poem only a very little longer than the united length of the two poems underlying it. It adds almost nothing and Sainte-Beuve has suggested that the only substantial addition is an Homeric recollection rather than an invention of Ronsard.<sup>29</sup> M. Laumonier notes that Anacreon's form of the Epigram was evidently uppermost in Ronsard's mind when he wrote the version which follows. The discovery of a quantity of verse attributed to Anacreon, (much of it rightly although the specimen given below is probably spurious), had caused great excitement in Paris about the middle of the century and Ronsard was very much interested in Henri Estienne's first edition of the *Anacreonta* in 1551.<sup>30</sup>

*Anacreon—XL.*

Ἐρως ποτ' ἐν ρέσσαι  
κομαρένην μελιτταν  
οὐκ εἰδε, διλλ' ἔτρωθη  
τὸν δάκτυλον πατάχθεις  
τὰς χειρὰς ὠλλινε·  
πρὸς τὴν καλὴν κυθήρην,  
Οἰωλα, μῆτερ, εἰρενε,  
Οἰωλα, κ' ἀποθησκω.

*Ronsard—Odes iv, xvi.*

Le petit enfant Amour  
Cueilloit des fleurs a l'entour  
D'une ruche, où les avettes  
Font leurs petites logettes.  
Comme il les alloit cueillant  
Une avette sommeillant,  
Dans le fond d'une fleurette,  
Lui piqua la main douillette.

By haplesse hap did breed my hartes decay:

For there they fell, where long my hart had li'ne  
To waite for Love, and what he should assigne.

The passages quoted will be found in Arber's reprint of Watson's poems, London, 1870, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Ronsard, *Poète Lyrique*, Paris, 1919, p. 604.

<sup>29</sup> Ronsard, *Poète Lyrique*, p. 606.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 120-124.

Οφις μ' ἔτυψε μηρός,  
πτερωτὸς, δὸν καλοῦσιν  
μελίσσαν οἱ γεωργοὶ.  
Ἄδ' εἶπεν Εἷ τὸ κέντρον  
τοκεῖ τὸ τᾶς μελίσσας,  
τύπον δοκεῖς πονοῦσιν.  
Ἐρως, δοῦντ σὺ βάλλεις;

*Theocritus—XIX.*

τὸν κλέπταν ποτ' Ἐρωτα  
κακὰ κέντασσα μελισσα  
κηρὸς ἐκ σίμβλων συλεύμενον.  
ἄκρα δὲ χειρῶν  
δάκτυλα πάντ' ὑπένειν· δ  
δ' ἀλγες, καὶ χειρ' ἔφενη,  
καὶ τὰν γὰν ἐπάταξε, καὶ  
ἀλατο· τῷ δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
δεῖξεν τὰν δδύναν, καὶ μέριφετο  
ὅππι γε τυτθὸν  
θηρίον ἐστὶ μελισσα, καὶ  
ἀλίκα τραύματα ποιεῖ.  
χα μάτηρ, γελάσσα, τῇ δ';  
οὐκ τοσ δύστη μελισσα;  
δι τυτθὸς μὲν ἔψις τὰ δὲ  
τραύματα ἀλίκα ποιεῖ.

Si tost que piqué il se vit,  
Ah! ie suis perdu (il dit)  
Et s'en courant vers sa mere  
Luy monstra sa playe amere:  
Ma Mere, voyez ma main,  
Ce disoit Amour tout plein  
De pleurs, voyez quelle enflée  
M'a fait une esgratignure.  
Alors Venus se sou-rit  
Et en le basant lè prit,  
Puis sa main luy a soufflée,  
Pour guarir sa playe enflée.  
Qui t'a, dy moy, faux garcon,  
Blessé de telle facon?  
Sont-ce mes Graces riantes  
De leurs auguilles poignantes?  
Nenny, c'est un serpenteau,  
Qui vole au printemps nouveau  
Avecque deux ailerettes  
Cà et là sus les fleurettes.  
Ah! vraiment ie le cognois  
(Dit Venus) les villageois  
De la montagne d'Hymette  
Le surnomment Melisette.  
Si doncques un animal  
Si petit fait tant de mal,  
Quand son haleine espoinconne  
La main de quelque personne,  
Combien fais-tu de douleur  
Au prix de luy, dans le coeur  
De celuy dans qui tu iettes  
Tes amoureux sagettes?

Spenser's Epigram preserves hardly a trace of either of the Greek originals although it seems to have owed something directly to Ronsard's imitation.

*Epigram IV.*

Upon a day as love lay sweetly slumbering, all in his mothers lap:  
A gentle Bee with his loud trumpet murmur'ring, about him flew by hap.  
Whereof when he was wakned with the noyse, and saw the beast so small:  
Whats this (quoth he) that gives so great a voyce, that wakens men withal?  
In angry wize he flyes about, and threatens all with courage stout.

To whom his mother closely smiling sayd, twixt earnest and twixt game:  
See thou thyself art likewise lyttle made, if thou regard the same.  
Ane yet thou suffrest neither gods in sky, nor men in earth to rest:  
But when thou art despised cruelly, theyr sleep thou dost molest.  
Then eyther change thy cruelty, or give like leave unto the fly.

Nathelesse the cruell boy not so content, would needes the fly pursue:  
 And in his hand with heedlesse hardiment, him caught for to subdue.  
 But when on it he hasty hand did lay, the Bee him stung therefore:  
 Now out alasse (he cryde) and welaway, I wounded am full sore:  
 The fly that I did so much scorne, hath hurt me with his little horne.

Unto his mother straight he weeping came, and of his grief complayned:  
 Who could not choose but laugh at his fond game, though sad to see him  
 payned.

Think now (quod she) my sonne how great the smart of those whom thou  
 dost wound:

Full many hast thou pricked to the hart, that pity never found:  
 Therefore henceforth some pity take, when thou dost spoyle of lovers make.

She tooke him straight full piteously lamenting, and wrapt him in her  
 smock:

She wrapt him softly, all the while repenting, that he the fly did mock.  
 She drest his wound and it embalmed well with salve of sovereign might:  
 And then she bathed it in a dainty well, the well of deare delight.  
 Who would not oft be stung as this, to be so bath'd in Venus blis?

Sir Sidney Lee is responsible for the statement that there are altogether no less than six treatments of this motive in the literature of the French Renaissance, of which the "most graceful" is Ronsard's.<sup>31</sup> Sir Sidney points out that "there is nothing in Anacreon to suggest the laughter of Venus 'who could not choose but laugh at his (i. e. her son's) fond game.'" Theocritus' description of Venus as *γελάσασα*, when she answered Eros, is the evident explanation of the laughter of Venus in both Ronsard and Spenser, although Sir Sidney speaks of that detail as an invention of the Frenchman. His suggestion that Spenser's trick of calling the bee a 'fly' is due to Ronsard's 'mouche à miel' is almost certainly correct, however. In the Greeks the bee is an *δῆμος* or *θηρίον*, a monster of a quite different order of creation. Collation of the four poems amply supports Lee's conclusion that Spenser "wrote under French and not under Greek inspiration."<sup>32</sup>

The Sixteenth Idyll of Theocritus, which "E. K." claimed as the pattern of the *October Eclogue*, would, if there were any truth in "E. K.'s" assertion, constitute the most important bond between Spenser and Theocritus. The Idyll was one of the great classic

<sup>31</sup> *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, p. 220.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Sidney Lee does not take any account of the contamination of Anacreon by Theocritus' Epigram in Ronsard's translation.

models for a favorite theme in the Renaissance and a mass of poetry in Italy and France might claim indirect descent from it. It furnished a logic for the poets of an age of patronage. But the Renaissance used classical material for its own purposes and the Frenchmen and Italians who repeated to their noble patrons the promise of poetical immortality which Theocritus made to Hiero of Syracuse sometimes lost the Greek's art and always missed his geniality. The man whose spirit in such begging poetry came closest to Theocritus was Marot, who, as Hilaire Belloc tells us, "whenever he wanted £100, asked for it of the king with the grave promise that he would bestow upon him poetical immortality."<sup>33</sup> Marot approached Theocritus for the same illogical reason which Mr. Garnett says enabled Drayton to do so, namely, because he could not read Greek and knew nothing about the Sixteenth Idyll. Marot's capital performance in this genre was the *Eglogue au Roy* which Spenser made the foundation of *December*. In *October* he did not make use of either Theocritus or Marot, but chose to imitate Mantuan's Fifth Eclogue. He translated the Italian literally but, as Herr Kluge has pointed out,<sup>34</sup> he took absolutely nothing from Theocritus. In *December* his imitation of Marot stopped short of the point at which the Frenchman began his appeal to the royal bounty in the *Eglogue au Roy*. In that he had an authentic, if unintentional, reflection of the true Theocritan spirit in such begging verse. He repudiated it, in the *Calender*, in *The Teares of the Muses*, and in the *Sonnets Dedicatore to The Faerie Queene*, and accepted its perversion by Mantuan and by the poets of the Pléiade who had extinguished Marot's reputation. It was through their glasses that he saw Theocritus darkly, if he saw him at all. The element in the Greek Idyll upon which these French and Italian humanists laid unceasing stress was its satire upon the enemies of Art. Theocritus contented himself with a few lines of good-natured girding at the niggardliness of the times toward poets and he drew a picture of the typical Sicilian Philistine who damned poets for expensive bores:

<sup>33</sup> *Avril*, p. 79.

<sup>34</sup> In *Anglia*, III, 270. "Spenser hat sich einige Z. T. wörtliche entlehnungen aus Mantuan erlaubt, mit Theokrit's genannter idylle, die nichts vom charakter der dialogischen eclogue hat, teilt die Octobereclogue nur das zu allen zeiten gern behandelte thema, klage der dichter über die kargheit der vornehmen; sonst erinnert keine einzelheit bei Spenser an Theokrit."

ἀπωτέρω ἡ γόνυ κνάμα·  
 αὐτῷ μοί τι γένοιτο. θεοὶ τιμῶσιν ἀοιδούς.  
 τίς δὲ κεν ἄλλους ἀκούσαι; ἄλις πάντεσσιν Ὁμηρος·  
 οὗτος ἀοιδῶν λόφος, ὃς ἐξ ἑρμῶν οἰσεται οὐδέν.

Du Bellay was the first to give acrimony to the note of general satire on Philistine society and the Pléiade made it a major motive. In du Bellay's criticism all the world outside of the circle of the Pléiade's admirers was attacked for its 'ignorance.' Spenser caught up these violent diatribes in *The Teares of the Muses* (especially verses 351-455) and in *October* (verses 56-78). No worse perversion of the spirit of the Greek Idyll could be imagined yet this element appeared even in Spenser's mature poetry. He derived it from Mantuan and from the Pléiade, and his acquaintance with Theocritus was not sufficient to correct it.

Ronsard's facility in versifying led him into a typical abuse of the suggestion contained in Theocritus's allusion in Idyll XVI to Odysseus, Cycnus, and Priam's long-haired sons as proofs of the immortality within the poet's gift. Theocritus named only those three examples of poetical immortality in his Idyll and together they make a single, artistic paragraph in the poem.<sup>85</sup> Ronsard and his school were accustomed to unroll formidable lists of the immortal dead eternized by the poets of whom they had deserved that favor and the tradition was made a vehicle for the frigid display of the writer's classical attainments. Lines like the following from the opening of one of his sonnets addressed to Henri III, for example, illustrate the difference between the over-worked convention of the Renaissance and the playful motive in Theocritus.

Pourtant souvenez-vous qu'orphelins de renom  
 Diomed fust mort, Achille, Agamemnon,  
 Sans la Muse d'Homere hereusement fertile,  
 Qui des Rois généreux les honneurs escrivoit:  
 Pour cela Scipion d'Ennius se servoit,  
 Et le fils de César se servoit de Virgile.

In forms like this the motive was widespread and seriously came to make a part of the practical policy of the time with artists. In

<sup>85</sup> It is worth while to note that neither Cycnus, Odysseus, nor Priam's long-haired sons are mentioned in *October* or elsewhere in any of Spenser's poems in which this motive appears.

words which recall the passage from Ronsard which has just been quoted, Castiglione stated the same opinion from the publicist's point of view<sup>86</sup> and registered it as the faith of society. To Europeans in the sixteenth century the idea was an accepted commonplace, like the freedom of the press to-day, and there was a tendency to overwork the subject and to make it an excuse for abusing the times. In *October* Spenser followed Mantuan's lead in that direction and in *The Teares of the Muses* he carried it to an extreme.

"This Aeglogue," "E. K." informed his readers at the start of his glosse on *October*, "is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi Idillion, wherein he reproved the Tyranne Hiero of Syracuse for his niggardise towards Poetes, in whom is the power to make men immortal by theyre good dedes, or shameful for their naughty life. And the lyke is also in Mantuan."

No one except an English Puritan with a background of reading in the French and Italian Renaissance could have twisted Theocritus' suggestion into this notion of poets as the natural censors of those of their contemporaries who have aspirations in a place in history, with the astounding corollary that the proper relation between the literary judges and their distinguished suitors is that of client to patron. To Theocritus the idea that poets hold the keys of immortality was a decorative conceit; to Ronsard it was one of the prime apologies for the poet's profession; to Castiglione it was the principle directing the relations of the government to artists; to "E. K." it was the first law of an ideal world where the meaning of a bribe was unknown and the prizes of life were the encomia of poets whom it was the highest honor of great men to patronize.

The third and fourth of the four cases in which a Greek Idyll is reflected in its entirety in Spenser's work are Bion's Second Eclogue and Moschus' Second. Both are laid under contribution in *March*. The connection with Bion's Second Eclogue was indicated by "E. K." in the introduction to his Glosse by the following remark:

This Aeglogue seemeth somewhat to resemble that same of Theocritus<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Vide Hoby's translation of the *Boke of the Courtier*, re-edited by Sir Walter Raleigh, London, 1912, p. 87.

<sup>87</sup> "E. K." wrote "Theocritus" by mistake. Professor Herford, in his edition of the *Calender*, p. 107, corrects the reading to "Bion."

wherein the boy likewise telling the old man, that he had shot at a winged boy in a tree, was by hym warned to beware of mischiefe to come.

No evidence of any treatment of the subject of Bion's Idyll by any poet of the Renaissance before Spenser has come to light but there can be no question that there were such treatments and that "E. K." had one of them in mind when he wrote his gloss. He describes the young fowler as actually confessing to an old man that he had shot at a winged boy in a tree, exactly as happens in *March*. Bion's Idyll does not warrant his account of it. The poem is a tiny etching of about twenty lines which tells how a shepherd boy points Cupid out to an old man as the god is hiding in a tree. In response the old man warns him not to disturb the deity.

The history of the vogue of Moschus' Second Idyll in the Renaissance has already been treated.<sup>38</sup> Besides the translation by Politian we are sure that Spenser was familiar with Tasso's adaptation of it in the Prologue to *Aminta*. Upton long ago pointed out that Tasso's version of the story of Love, the Runaway, is indisputably the basis of the form in which Spenser introduced it into *The Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto vi. It was perhaps in Tasso's poetry that he first made the acquaintance of the story. His interest in it, like his interest in all of the other Greek Idylls and Epigrams which were the ultimate sources of some of the elements in *The Shepheardes Calender* is, better evidence of his knowledge of French and Italian than of Greek literature.

In addition to the notes indicating Theocritus' Idyll XVI and Bion's II as patterns respectively for *October* and *March*, "E. K." wrote five other glosses attributing details in *The Shepheardes Calender* to the influence of the Greek pastoral poets. It will be worth while to list these and examine them. Taken together, they give a peculiar impression of the annotator's knowledge of the Greek Idylls. It seems certain that he had read them, and he had at least one garbled phrase of Theocritus' original Greek floating in his mind, but his acquaintance with them is a variable which tends to approach zero under inspection. His testimony about their bearing on the *Calender* hardly escapes conviction of deliberate deception. His only plea is the practice of his contemporaries in such matters and the purity of his intentions in claiming classical sanctions for his author as often as possible.

<sup>38</sup> Vide supra, p. 193.

The following list of the glosses referring to the Greek pastoral poets is taken from Mr. Kerlin's book on *Theocritus in English Literature*.<sup>39</sup>

**1 February.**

Glosse: Phyllis—the name is usual in Theocritus, Virgile, and Mantuane.

Concerning this note Mr. W. P. Mustard writes that "It is 'usuall' in Virgil, but does not occur in Theocritus."<sup>40</sup>

**2 April.**

Glosse: (of the poet's immortality conferred on Rosalind by his praise of her, she) specially deserving it no lesse, than eyther Myrto the most excellent Poete Theocritus his dearling.

The reference is to Idyll VII, verse 96, sq., where Myrto is mentioned as Theocritus' 'dearling,' although nothing is said about an immortality of poetic fame for her.

**3 July.**

Glosse: *Melampode and Tereninth*—of thone speaketh Mantuane, and of thother Theocritus.

"E. K." supplements this note by the apposite quotation from Theocritus' Epigram VI. Herford and Mustard both note that the Greek is "badly mangled," Mustard suggests, "by the printer."<sup>41</sup>

**4 August.**

Argument: In this Aeglogue is set forth a delectable controversie, made in imitation of that in Theocritus: whereto also Virgile fashioned his third and seventh Aeglogue.

Idylls I, VII, and VIII might almost equally well be intended by the phrase, "that in Theocritus." The parallels with passages in Theocritus noted in the glosses in the Eclogue suggest that Idyll V, or Moschus' Idyll II, may have been in "E. K.'s" mind.

Glosse: *A mazer*: So also do Theocritus and Virgile feigne pledges to their strife.

Mustard gives the following references: Theocritus, v, 22-30,

<sup>39</sup> Page 17. I have silently added one important glosse which Kerlin overlooks.

<sup>40</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIV, p. 196.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

and Virgil, Eclogue III, 29, sq.<sup>41</sup> Reissert notes the use of the same motive by Boccaccio, vi, 629, and by Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, 16, 44.<sup>42</sup>

Glosse: *Enchased*, engraved. Such pretie descriptions everywhere useth Theocritus to bring in his Idyllia.

Both Reissert and Kerlin are inclined to the opinion that Spenser's representation of two stages of action in the glyptic ornamentation of his cup makes it likely that he was imitating Theocritus in the following description:

— 203 —  
This passage  
is inserted  
in the margin  
of the page.  
Spenser, 203

Thereby is a Lambe in the Wolves jawes:  
But see, how fast renneth the shepheard swayne  
To save the innocent from the beastes pawes,  
And here with his shepe-hooke hath him slayne.  
Tell me, such a cup hast thou ever sene?<sup>43</sup>

Both the German and the American scholar lay stress upon the fact that Spenser could not have imitated Virgil's glyptic ornament in the Third Eclogue (verses 29, sq.), which is a single picture representing only one stage of an action, and both feel that the exclusion of Virgil implies a Theocritan origin for the motive in the *Calender*. Although both of them refer to what Kerlin calls "possibly the most curious passage of this character in literature" in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Prosa Terza, neither of them suggests that the Italian example may have been as important as the Greek in influencing Spenser. The true 'source' of the carving on the mazer in *August* has never been pointed out. It should be traced, not in any single eclogue or poet of any period, but in one of the most widespread and clearly-defined conventions in the mass of pastoral poetry of the French Renaissance.

The motive of the glyptic ornament was repeated over and over by the pastoralists of the Pléiade, and in their work the scenes represented always broke up the action into two or more stages. Baif's best example is in Eclogue IV, where a French shepherd boy, in obvious imitation of Theocritus, makes a carved cup his stake in a singing match.

Ie va mettre un vaisseau,  
Un beau vaisseau de buys, que cherement ie garde,

<sup>41</sup> *Anglia*, IX, p. 218.

<sup>42</sup> *August*, verses 31-35.

De l'ouvre de Francin: aucun ne le regarde  
 Qui, pamant de le voir si proprement ouvré,  
 Ne s'enquiere de moy dou je l'ay recoutré.  
 Sous le ventre Silen le creux du vase porte  
 Monté dessus son asne & ce roidist de forte  
 Qu'en voit son col nerveux s'enfler sous le fardeau,  
 Comme s'il ahanoit a porter le vaisseau.  
 Tout alentour de luy une vigne rampante  
 Traine a monte du vaisseau mainte grappe pendante:  
 Maints amoureux aislez & derriere & devant  
 De sagettes & d'arcs touchent l'asne en avant,  
 Et maints autres tous nus sans arcs & san sagettes,  
 Grimpans a mont les cep, de tranchantes serpettes  
 Coupent les raisins meurs en des petits cofins;  
 D'autres foulent en bas en des cuves les vins.  
 A l'environ du pied maint sautelant Satyre,  
 Les Tygres & Lyons de longues resnes tire,  
 Qui conduisent Bacchus de pampre couronné,  
 Assis dessous un char d'ierre environné.  
 Ie mettray ce vaisseau fait de telle bossure,  
 Tout neuf comme ie l'ay: car pour vray je t'assure  
 Qu'a ma bouche jamais nul ne l'a vu toucher,  
 Mais je te le mettray, combien qu'il me soit cher."

Ronsard develops the same motive, closely paraphrasing Theocritus' description of the boy weaving insect traps unconscious of the fox that is spoiling the vines.

Au pied de ceste nymphe est un garcon qui semble  
 Cueiller des brins de junc et les lier ensemble  
 De long et de travers courbé sur le genou.  
 Il les presse du pouce et les serre d'un noud,  
 Puis il fait entre deux des fenestres égales,  
 Faonnant une cage a mettre des cigales.

Loin derrier son dos est gisante a l'escart  
 Sa panetiere enflée, en laquelle un regnard  
 Met le nez finement, et d'une ruze estrange  
 Trouve le dejeuner du garcon et le mange,  
 Dont l'enfant s'aperçoit sans estre courroucé,  
 Tant il est ententif à l'oeuvre commencé.

Si mettray-ie pourtant une telle hulette  
 Que j'estime en valeur au tant qu'une musette.

*... au abaut - It is an extraordinary fact that neither Reissert nor any other Spenserian scholar has compared any of the pastorals of the Pléiade*

"*La Pléiade Française*, Paris, 1886, Vol. III, pp. 24-25.

with *The Shepheardes Calender*. There is no poetry in the whole pastoral tradition more likely to have been familiar to Spenser. Both Baïf and Ronsard published their pastorals while Spenser was still a youth; Ronsard with great *éclat*.<sup>45</sup> Both belonged to a school in which we know that the English poet took a keen interest in early life and from which it seems that his commentator, "E. K.", drew the bulk of his critical ideas.

An added reason for believing that Spenser had the pastorals of these men in mind when he wrote the description of his glyptic ornament is its subject, a 'shepheard swayne' running to save a lamb from the wolf's paws. The Frenchmen developed the hint given in Virgil and Theocritus by the casual motive in the amoëbaean songs,

Triste lupus stabulis,

and made an elaborate convention of it. "Enemy of the wolf" was an accepted name for a shepherd in their Eclogues; it was one of the "belles circumlocutions" that Ronsard recommended in the Preface to the *Franciade*. In his Third Eclogue Ronsard wrote an account of the ideal shepherd, done in the manner of the fashionable Renaissance descriptions of the ideal courtier, noble, and soldier, and in this he furnished a classic catalogue of the virtues of the herdsman, all of which find their object in the protection of his charges.

Autant comme un berute en addresse il abonde  
Soit a getter le dard ou a ruer la fronde,  
A sauter, a latter, ou à force de coups  
Regagner un chevreau de la gueule des loups.<sup>46</sup>

The protection of the flocks offered the only opening for adventure in the pastoral, and the French versifiers took advantage of it in scenes like the following story of a rescue in Baïf's Tenth Eclogue.

La devant hier un loup bavant de rage  
Vint se ruer, tachant faire dommage  
Sur le bestail que Robin y menoit:  
Une brebis dans sa gueule il tenoit  
Et l'emportoit: Quand le berger l'avise,

<sup>45</sup> Vide G. Lanson's *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1909, p. 287.

<sup>46</sup> *Oeuvres de Ronsard*, Blanchemain's Edition, Vol. iv, p. 66.

Haste son chien, luy fait lascher sa prise:  
 Guette louvet, si bien que pas a pas  
 Le loup tresne ne nous dommage pas."

This passage in itself is enough to account for Spenser's picture of the shepherd swain running to save his "innocent from the Wolves pawes." If the Englishman's passage had any connection with the corresponding description in Theocritus' Fifth Idyll, the relation can hardly have been more important than that between a contemporary galleon and one of the triremes that used to frequent the harbor of Syracuse.

**5 December.**

Glosse: All the which skill in starres being convenient to knowe  
 as Theocritus and the rest use.

Professor Mustard points out that the proper references here are to Theocritus' Idylls VII, 52-54, and XIII, 25-26.<sup>48</sup>

Mr. Kerlin makes one effort to relate Spenser directly to Theocritus through one of the minor poems outside of the *Calender*. In *Astrophel*, the tribute to Sir Philip Sidney's memory which came rather tardily and unenthusiastically from Spenser's pen, he sees reason to think that it had "for its model Thyrsis's *Lament for Daphnis* in the first Idyll of Theocritus."<sup>49</sup> He rests the opinion upon the occurrence of the motive of the grief of nature in *Astrophel*, a form of the pathetic fallacy which was already a convention when Theocritus and Moschus handled it. He remarks that the motive occurs in three of the other threnodies which were composed on the same occasion and published together with Spenser's verses; then turns directly to the conclusion that there was a Greek influence in them all. It would be easy to show that this motive was one of the most fertile conventions in French poetry in the sixteenth century and that in this little sheaf of English elegies on Sir Philip Sidney it was running to seed and had one of its unworthiest expressions. All of them, Spenser's included, are rather frigid, because they speak a poetic language exhausted by translation through too many literatures. Ronsard's *Adonis* in itself accounts adequately for every element of phrase and idea

<sup>48</sup> *La Pléiade Française*, Vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>49</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 202.

<sup>50</sup> *Theocritus in English Literature*, pp. 19-20.

which might relate them to Theocritus, and Baïf furnishes only less interesting imitations of the Greek elegies. Their vogue in Italian literature reached its climax in Castiglione's *Alcon*. The Continentals worked with the Greek poets before them and preserved very much more of their form than the Englishmen did, but already in Ronsard's lines the motive of the grief of universal nature for the loss of a man who has died loses its original lyric value and begins to show the marks of conventionality.

+  
Helas! pauvre Adonis, tous les Amours te pleurent!  
Toy mort, pauvre Adonis, toutes delices meurent!  
Les bois avecques moy lamentent ton trepas,  
Les eaux te vont pleurant, Echo ne s'en taist pas,  
Qui dedans ces rochers redoublent sa voix feinte,  
Ayant pitie de moy va resonnant ma pleinte!  
Toute belle fleur blanche a pris rouge couleur,  
Et rien ne vit aux champs qui ne vive en douleur.

Other minor parallels between Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* and the Idylls of the three Greek pastoral poets will be found in Reissert's *Anglia* article, but in every case except one, aside from the instances already examined in this investigation, he cites a number of intervening parallels in Latin or Renaissance writers which he is inclined to regard as the more influential of the sources upon which Spenser drew. In the single case excepted he notes several parallels in Latin literature, but none of them disposes of the essential thing in Spenser's lines which seem to bind them to a passage in Moschus' *Lament for Bion*. The resemblance to Moschus in this case is responsible for Professor Erskine's suggestion of direct Greek influence upon the *Calender*.<sup>60</sup> Spenser's passage is in *November*:

Whence is it that the flowret of the field doth fade,  
And lyeth long in Winter's bale;  
Yet, soone as Spring his mantle hath displayde,  
It flowreth fresh, as it should never fayle?  
But thing on earth that is of most availe,  
As vertues branch and beauties bud,  
Reliven not for any good.<sup>61</sup>

The corresponding lines are in Moschus' Third Idyll:

<sup>60</sup> Vide, p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> *August*, verses 83-89.

Αἰαὶ ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπήν κατὰ κάποιον ὅλωνται,  
 ηταχλωρὰ σέλινα τὸ τ' εὐθαλὲς οὐλον ἄνηθον  
 ὕστερον αὖ ζώοντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι·  
 ἀμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρπεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,  
 ὅππότε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοοι ἐνχθονὶ κοιλά  
 εὑδόμες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγυρετον. <sup>52</sup>

The last two lines in the English stanza, which lament the loss of goodness and beauty involved in human mortality, have no parallel elsewhere than in the Greek, and although Spenser's passage is modelled on the corresponding verses in Marot's *De Madame Loyse*, it seems to draw this element directly from Moschus. Marot's lines are colorless.

D'où vient cela qu'on voit l'erbe sechante  
 Retourner vive alors que l'esté vient,  
 Et la personne au tombeau tresbuschante  
 Tant garde soit, jamais plus ne revinnt?

*Reissert* cites three Latin parallels to this thought of which the finest and most famous is by Catullus, but he fails to note any occurrences of it in the Renaissance. Catullus' lines are found in the Fifth Elegy.

Soles occidere et redire possunt:  
 Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,  
 Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Two examples of this motive which have not previously been noticed in this connection occur in Renaissance literature; one in Ronsard's Odes and the other in the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro. It will be noticed that both of them belong to the line descending from Catullus' poignant verses of simple despair at the horror of great darkness. Sannazaro's lines are in the Eleventh Eclogue:

Ahi, ahi, seccan le spine; e poi ch'un poco  
 Son state a ricevlar l'antica forza,  
 Ciascuna torna, e nasce al proprio loco:  
 Ma noi, poi che una volta il ciel nos forza,  
 Vento ne sol ne pioggia o primavera  
 Basta a tornarne in la terrena scorza.  
 E'l sol fuggendo ancor da mane a sera,  
 Ne mena i giorni e'l viver nostro insieme:  
 Ed ei ritorna pur come prim'era.

■ Verses 106-111.

Ronsard's passages rivals that of Catullus for brevity.

La Lune est coustumiere  
De naistre tous les mois,  
Mais quand nostre lumiere  
Est eteinte une fois,  
Longuement sans veiller  
Il nous faut sommeiler.<sup>53</sup>

Spenser's closing lines express the tragedy rather than the horror of death and in this respect they contrast with all other treatments of their subject except that of Moschus. Earlier literature in the Renaissance was attracted by the theme but failed to express the most poignant of its elements. Sir Philip Sidney was, seemingly, Spenser's only contemporary or immediate precursor who resembled Moschus by closing his treatment of this theme by an allusion to the tragedy of the loss of human character in death. We have already seen that it is probable that Sidney knew the Greek pastoral poets in the original.<sup>54</sup> His poem is far inferior to both Moschus' *Lament for Bion* and Spenser's *Lament for Didō*, but it preserves the element which they have in common.

Time, ever old and young, is still revolved  
Within itselfe, and never tasteth end:  
But mankind is for aye to naught resolved.  
The filthy snake her aged coate can mend,  
And getting youth againe, in youth doth flourish;  
But unto man age ever death doth send.  
The very trees with grafting we can cherish,  
So that we can long time produce their time:  
But man, which helpeth them, hapless must perish.  
Thus, thus, the mindes which over all doe climb,  
When they by yeares experiance get best graces,  
Must finish then by death's detested crime.<sup>55</sup>

Verbally the resemblance to Moschus' lines is slight here, and we are, perhaps, safe in concluding that Sidney was not familiar with them and reproduced their thought by accident. In Spenser's case there is a distinct resemblance to the phrases of the Greek, but it is not quite close enough to justify the opinion that here is a

<sup>53</sup> *Odes*, Book II, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Vide, p. 191.

<sup>55</sup> *The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, edited by Grosart, London, 1877, III, 54.

- unique exception to the rule that every element in Spenser's poems which goes back ultimately to the Greek idyllists is mediated and explained by its prevalence as a widespread convention in the Continental literature of the Renaissance.

About questions of the more general influence of the Greek pastoral poets on *The Shephearde's Calender* there is room for difference of opinion. From some of its Eclogues all Theocritan influence is excluded. These are the three which "E. K." classed as "morall"; *May*, *July*, and *September*. Reissert does not trace a single Greek parallel in any of these and Kluge has pointed out that their debt to Mantuan is especially heavy.<sup>66</sup> Spenser's contribution to the pastoral tradition in the beast-fables introduced into four of the Eclogues owes nothing to the past.<sup>67</sup> There is little possibility of Greek influence on his treatment of any of the "three forms of rustic song—the singing match, the dirge, and the love-lay," which Professor Herford recognizes as having "been features of the literary pastoral from Theocritus onward."<sup>68</sup> Spenser's dirge, *November*, is admittedly founded upon Marot's *De Madame Loyse*.<sup>69</sup> His singing match in *August* is a burlesque of its Theocritan prototype. Elsewhere it is impossible to be sure whether there is any Greek influence on his amoebaeans. Professor Herford believes that the welcome though "imperfect realism of the *Calender* is due not to any special interest felt by Spenser in the English rustic" as much as it is to his "delight in the noble realism of Theocritus."<sup>70</sup> But in his criticism of the match in *August*, where the realism is stronger than it is anywhere except in the "morall" Eclogues, where "E. K." hints that (as was the case in Mantuan) it was a blind to cover the dangerous allegory, there is a trace of disappointment in the remark that:

Willy and Perigot carry on their contest, not in the polished and sonorous couplets of Theocritus and Virgil, but with hurried snatches of phrase in the homely metre of the ballads which every village Autylochus dispensed to the Mopsas of the countryside.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Anglia*, III, 266-274.

<sup>67</sup> *Anglia*, IX, 209.

<sup>68</sup> Spenser's *Shephearde's Calender*, edited by Herford, p. xlivi.

<sup>69</sup> *Anglia*, IX, 212.

<sup>70</sup> Spenser's *Shephearde's Calender*, edited by Herford, p. xlivi.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

On the larger questions of taste critics will differ and those who wish to recognize Theocritan qualities in Spenser and to attribute them to his response to the notes struck by the Greek have a right to do so. The sources of a poet's higher elements elude the crude methods of the most skillful scholar. In conclusion, however, it is worth while to suggest that in his treatment of the motive which, by the laws of the genre, is most fundamental in the pastoral, Spenser consciously repudiated the spirit of Theocritus' Idylls. The most absolute contrast between the Greek and the English poet lies in their respective treatments of the subject of love.

There is a natural way to handle love in pastoral poetry and it is the way in which it was handled by Theocritus and Ronsard and Alan Ramsay. It should be a toy, the prettiest of all the playthings in the make-believe, rustic world. Unfortunately, a large and very respectable number of poets in the Renaissance preferred to handle it in an unnatural way and with this school Spenser cast his lot. Virgil showed that with all its playfulness the pastoral was capable of a peculiar and beautiful seriousness. Misled by the aesthetic implications of his more serious Eclogues, Mantuan wrote pastorals of pure didactic quality and in the hands of inferior craftsmen the example that he set deteriorated swiftly into a kind of caricature of the medieval exemplum. The themes of the pagan pastoral were inverted to furnish subjects for sermons. Love had a bad reputation in the didactic pastoral, and in the Eclogues of Barnabe Googe, Spenser's most interesting antecursor in English, it ran a course which dumfounders the modern reader who is taken by it unawares. Googe's Fifth Eclogue tells the story of a knight whose page, sent on the errand of a lover's proxy, unconsciously wins the love of his master's lady and precipitates the suicide of all three lovers.<sup>62</sup> In the Fourth the ghost of a suicide lover appears, "a stynkyng smoke" issuing from his mouth. He is snatched away by a friend.

62

Farewell, farewell (quoth he)  
Eschewe the Blase of fervent flames:  
Example take of me.

In the Eighth Eclogue Coridon adjures Cornix in these words:

\* These Eclogues may be found in Arber's Reprint, No. 30.

O Shepheards leave Cupidoes Camp,  
     the end thereof is vyle,  
     Remove Dame Venus from your eies  
     and hearken here a whyle.<sup>\*\*</sup>

Googe had been anticipated in this matter by Wyatt's *Complaint upon Love to Reason* which Turberville enlarged in dreary poulters measure into a morality with Plato, Tully, Sense, Plutarch, and Reason all appearing to testify against Love. The origin of the extreme Puritanism in Spenser's pastorals is illuminated by these earlier English experiments at pastoral and dramatic dialogue, but their immediate inspiration was probably in such Eclogues of Mantuan as the First, *De Honesto Amore et Felici ejus Exitu*, or the Second, *De Amoris Insania*. The upshot of these moralities is that

*Invidia res amor est, res invidiosa voluptas.*<sup>\*\*</sup>

The didactic tradition found congenial soil in Spenser's England and hence arose "E. K.'s" anxiety to assure his readers that the new poet had "compiled these xji Aeglogues" to give a timely warning against the "unfortunate folly" of love. Hence arose also such homilies as that in which Spenser indulges in *July*. After praising the shepherds who guided the twelve tribes of Israel the poet quite illogically contrasts against their virtues the crime of the shepherd who kidnapped Helen of Troy.

But nothing such thilk shephearde was  
     Whom Ida hyll did beare,  
     That left his flocke to fetch a lasse,  
     Whose love he bought to deare;  
     For he was proude, that ill was payd,  
     (No such mought shepheards bee)  
     And with lewde lust was overlayd:  
     Tway things doen ill agree.<sup>\*\*</sup>

From this turn to the first line of Theocritus' Twenty-seventh Idyll, which is the story of the seduction of a shepherdess by a neat-herd. The tale is told in a dialogue beginning,

*τὰν πινυτὰν Ελέναν Πάρις ἡρπασε βουκόλος ἄλλος.*

<sup>\*\*</sup> The whole passage deserves to be compared with Spenser's attacks on lewd shepherds.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Eclogues II, verse 167.

<sup>\*\*</sup> *July*, verses 148-152.

Between the authors of the two passages lies Christianity and Puritanism. Marot and the poets of the Pléiade strove to strike a compromise between the gay naturalism of Theocritus and the claims of theology. Spenser weighed their effort in the balance and found it wanting. He repudiated all the gods in the Theocritan pantheon, and the arch-diety, Eros, first. For him there had been a new heaven and a new earth and the spirit of the old hymns was dead. If he preserved any of their music in *The Shepheardes Calender* he did so because it had become a part of the harmony of pastoral poetry in the Renaissance and because the contemporary dogma of poetic imitation made it inevitable that, though he denied the spirit, he should reproduce the letter.

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## SOME OLD RELIGIOUS CULTS IN SPENSER

BY EDWIN GREENLAW

Spenser's *Mutability* belongs to a group of works in which the doctrine of chance, one form taken by the conception of the universe as a mechanism, has been treated with the imaginative sweep and poetic beauty characteristic of great literature. Such works deal with a fundamental problem in philosophy, to reconcile the seeming casualness and indifference of Nature to man's innate desire for law and unity. I do not here include purely philosophical or scientific discussions; or the innumerable references to fate and chance found in literature of all ages; or such partly conventional, partly sincere perplexities as crop out in all sorts of ways in the work of a poet like Chaucer. Professor Grierson has recently defined metaphysical poetry as that which is concerned with a philosophical conception of the universe—the poetry of Lucretius and Dante, for example.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century Milton again wrote of the cosmic order and of man's relation to it, while in Donne and in other poets of that century are fragments of this metaphysical poetry not assembled, *semina rerum* which the poetic intelligence did not weld into an orderly universe.

It is with mutability as it enters into this cosmic poetry that we have here to deal, not with the chance that is figured by fortune's wheel. In such poetry there is a progress of the soul from the casualties of personal existence to a vision of the order of the universe. Such is the case with Job, one of the oldest of metaphysical poems. It is the case with Lucretius and Quid, who arrive by quite different routes at the same conclusion—

*Omnia mutantur, nihil interit.*

In his invective against Rufinus, Claudian says that when he considered the order and harmony of nature, the regular succession of day and night, the equable movements of the stars, he believed in a creator and governor of the universe, but when he considered the prosperity of the wicked, the calamities visited upon the good, his faith was shaken and he believed that chance ruled

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century.*

the world until the calamity of Rufinus allayed the tumult of his soul. In Boethius we find the same problem: the order that is in the universe set over against the chance that rules the lot of men; but here, too, the argument rises above the first complainings against mishap to a perception of the divine providence.

It would be easy to add other illustrations of the literature in which the poet or philosopher treats of the cosmic order, set over against the apparent reign of chance in human life, and finds, through a special revelation, a solution of the problem; or of literature in which both the material universe and the world of man seem the prey of chance until the special revelation shows law superior to mutability. It is the agent through which the special revelation comes that I wish to stress here. Generally the method is that of dramatic allegory. The action is of gigantic scope; the stage is the universe; man may not appear among the *dramatis personae* or may have but a minor role despite the tremendous issues of the combat. In *Job* the solution comes through the Voice speaking from the midst of the whirwind. In Lucretius the creative force is Venus, sole mistress of the nature of things, without whom nothing rises into the divine borders of light. To the prison cell of Boethius came the lovely lady Philosophy who led him to look beyond his personal calamity and to perceive a law governing the universe. To Dante the solution is brought by Virgil and Beatrice, Reason and Theology. Less familiar to modern readers, though of great influence in its own day and for long afterwards, is the twelfth century De Planctu Naturae of Alanus de Insulis. Here the disorder in the realm of man is contrasted with the harmony of the heavens, but earthly chaos has come through man's own disobedience, and Nature renders judgment.

In two previous studies I have discussed aspects of Spenser's metaphysics.<sup>2</sup> The first of these dealt with his cosmos as set forth

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Philology*, xvii, 330 ff.; 439 ff. In an article to be published shortly I propose to discuss the sources and structure of the cantos on mutability as a whole. I should like here to call attention to an analogue that I believe has not been pointed out. In the *Gigantomachia* of Claudio, a fragment dealing with the war of the Titans on Jove, we learn that Terra plots to overthrow the Olympian deities. Jove summons the gods to a council, and they decide on war. The remainder of the poem, which is incomplete, describes the combat. There is, however, a curious

in the *Hymnes*, in *Mutability*, and in his account of the Garden of Adonis. The second supplemented this study, and showed that he was indebted to Lucretius for many of his conceptions and even for important passages in his poetry. The present study will examine more closely his conception of Nature.

## I

*"Fowles Parley" and "Plaint of Kinde"*

After an invocation to the "greater muse" who alone can help him sing of heavenly things, Spenser describes the coming of the goddess Natura to Arlo Hill to hear the complaint of Mutability and to restore order to the threatened world. The description of the goddess is detailed, but Spenser speaks of the impossibility of giving any adequate idea of her beauty. Finally he exclaims:

So hard it is for any living wight  
All her array and vestiments to tell,  
That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright,  
The pure well head of Poesie did dwell)  
In his *Fowles parley* durst not with it mel,  
But it transferd to Alane, who he thought  
Had in his *Plaint of kinds* describ'd it well;  
Which who will read set forth so as it ought,  
Go seek he out that Alane where he may be sought.

This passage has apparently attracted little attention except as one of several references to Chaucer in Spenser's work. Skeat in his note on the corresponding passage in Chaucer refers to Professor Hales as the first to call attention to the "remarkable passage in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* . . . where that poet quotes and copies Chaucer."<sup>1</sup> An examination of Chaucer's description of Nature, however, shows that he has little in common with Spenser. In the *Parlement of Fowles* we are told how the poet came to a

reference to Nature's fear lest the struggle turn against her sovereign Jove. It is not clear that Claudian personifies Nature as a deity, and the bulk of the poem has nothing in common with Spenser, but as he was acquainted with Claudian and was at the time interested in the allegorical figure Natura, the parallel in this detail arrests attention.

<sup>1</sup> 1, 516, note to *P. F.*, 298. The reference is to *Folia Litteraria*, p. 97, where, however, Professor Hales merely quotes the stanza from Spenser, with a cross-reference to *P. F.*

"park," surrounded by high walls, within which he found a sort of earthly paradise. Under a tree he saw Cupid, and near by were Pleasaunce, Aray, Lust, Curtesye, and many other courtiers. "In a launde" on a hill of flowers, he saw the goddess Nature—

Tho was I war wher that ther sat a quene  
That as of light the somer-sonne shene  
Passeth the sterre, right so over mesure  
She fairer was than any creature.

He gives no description, but refers the reader to Aleyn—

Right as Aleyn, in the Pleynt of Kinde  
Devyseth Nature of aray and face,  
In swich aray men mighten hir ther finde,  
This noble emperesse, ful of grace.

Chaucer goes on immediately with his list of birds, taking, as Professor Skeat observes, some of the details from Alanus.<sup>4</sup> The only other reference to the goddess is in the lines,—

Nature, the vicaire of thalmyghty lorde  
That hoot, cold, hevy, light, moist and dreye  
Hath knit by even noumbre of acorde.

Spenser and Chaucer have in common the hill in the meadow; the bower of branches; the reference to Aleyn as proof of the beauty of the goddess. Chaucer gives no details of her appearance and conveys no sense of mystery, while the references to the hill and the bower of branches are purely conventional and therefore quite without significance. The question therefore arises: did Chaucer's mention of Alanus as a source wherein one might find a description of Nature serve as a hint to Spenser, so that he looked up the *Plaint of Kinde* for himself?

## II

### *De Planctu Naturae*

Since neither Chaucer's description of Nature nor the details derived by him from Alanus supplied anything to Spenser, we are driven to one of two conclusions: either Spenser's mention of the

<sup>4</sup> See his notes to *P. F.*, 298 ff.; 316 ff.; 379 ff., the three passages I have cited. Professor Skeat calls attention to Chaucer's use of the word "vicaire," which comes from Alanus; to his use of the qualities of the birds and their names, common to Alanus and Chaucer; and remarks that Chaucer does not use Alanus' description of Nature "on account of its unmerciful length."

*Pleynt of Kinde* is of no significance, or he used Alanus directly. I am inclined to reject the first supposition as quite apart from Spenser's habit. He rarely mentions a source; where he does, his reference is accurate. In *Mutability* he expressly states that Alanus describes Nature in the way that he should like to describe her had he the power. His apology for proceeding to do what Chaucer had not done is quite in accord with his usual attitude toward his master.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he says (st. 9) that Chaucer did not dare attempt to describe the goddess. Now since, as we have seen, Chaucer nowhere indicates any such caution, but merely mentions Aleyn's book as a place where a description might be found, how did Spenser know, unless he knew Aleyn, that such a description involved difficulties that might conceivably have daunted even Chaucer? Conventional descriptions of Nature might have been found in dozens of places.<sup>6</sup> But Spenser implies, I think, some special quality in Aleyn that he considered so difficult that Chaucer avoided any attempt to transfer it to his poem.

Before I point out what this quality was, and why it is precisely the quality that would appeal to Spenser's genius and not to Chaucer's, I wish to discuss briefly another passage in the *Faerie Queene* which I think proves Spenser's acquaintance with *De Planctu Naturae*.

Some years ago Professor Upham pointed out certain parallels between Spenser's description of the Castle of Alma and a passage in Du Bartas.<sup>7</sup> These parallels, and some few evidences of simi-

\*See his reference to Chaucer when he is about to continue the Squire's Tale, *F. Q.*, iv, ii, 34.

\*The most extensive treatment of the medieval literature in which the goddess Natura appears is in a series of articles by Dr. E. C. Knowlton, based on his dissertation for the Harvard doctorate. In these articles he discusses early literature and the origins of the convention in Plato and Aristotle (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xix, 224 ff.); in Old French (*Modern Philology*, xx, 309 ff.); in Italian literature (*Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi, 329 ff.); in Middle English (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xx, 186); and the allegorical figure of Genius in *Classical Philology*, xv, 380 ff. My own study was complete before I read these articles, and follows quite different lines. Dr. Knowlton's contributions afford a convenient means of studying the enormous popularity of the convention.

<sup>7</sup>*French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 167-170 and Appendix B, pp. 506-518. The parallels are confined to the formal allegory of the parts

larity between Spenser's description and other allegories of the body, familiar since Upton's time, do not completely explain Spenser's allegory. Of course the foundation in the microcosm and the macrocosm is a commonplace. The fact that it is found in Alanus is not therefore proof that Spenser was using *De Planctu*. There is other evidence, however. Spenser's theme is the dignity and beauty of the body while it is kept in sober government. Nothing in all God's works, he says (st. 1) can excel it when ruled by reason, but nothing is more foul and indecent when distempered through misrule and passion. After this proem, we are told how Guyon and Arthur came to a goodly castle whose gates were fast locked long ere night.

On demanding entrance the warder said that he dared not open the gates for fear of enemies that had besieged the castle for many years. As he spoke, a thousand savage men swarmed from rocks and caves and attacked the knights, who put them to flight. Guyon and the Prince were then admitted, by order of Alma (*anima*, the soul) and after some description of the castle we find that they were led to a "parlour" (the breast) where they found ladies personifying the moral qualities and the emotions. Later they ascended to a turret (the head) which is like the heavenly turret wherein God dwells. This turret they found to be divided into rooms occupied by Phantastes, who is not only type of imagination but of present wit ("He had a sharpe foresight, and working wit"); by Reason, and by Memory. The tenth canto is devoted to the story of the chronicles studied by the two knights, but in canto xi we go back to the allegory of the castle of the body. The knights leave Alma and once more encounter the villains that continually besiege the castle. These enemies are divided into twelve troops by their captain, Maleger (Passion). Seven of these (the seven deadly sins) attack the main entrance; the other five troops attack five bulwarks guarded by Sight, Hearing, Smell, Taste, and Touch. In the story of the battle that follows, Spenser's account of Maleger is one of his most powerful and dramatic conceptions, worthy to be ranked with Ibsen's allegory of the Boyg.

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of the body, and do not explain in any way the most distinctive part of Spenser's account. The Castle of the Body is, of course, one of the most widespread of medieval conventions. C. L. Powell discusses some of the principal examples in *Studies in Philology*, xvi, 197 ff. In none of these, however, do we find Spenser's source. His story contains some details of frequent occurrence elsewhere, but the essence of it comes, as I shall show presently, from Alanus. A short article by P. A. Robin in *Modern Language Review*, vi (1911) comments on the twenty-second stanza of Spenser's story, the application of circle and triangle to the frame of the body. These, again, are details that do not explain the complete allegory.

In this summary I have omitted certain details that do not concern us here. The significant elements of the allegory are as follows:

1. The conception of the body as the castle of the soul, symbol of the perfect government of reason.
2. The heart as the abode of the moral qualities; the head as the abode of the intellectual qualities; and the outlying bulwarks, guarded by the senses, especially open to attack by passion.
3. The division of the head into three rooms, presided over by three sages that correspond closely to the three sages in Nature's allegory in Alanus.
4. The use of this entire allegory as an important link in Spenser's treatment of the virtue of Temperance, in which the distinction between lust and love is drawn much as in Alanus.

I have introduced this material for two reasons. In the first place, the allegory is of the medieval type, different in form and spirit from much of Spenser's allegory. Here we have the soul beset by a thousand temptations; the senses as the gateway to evil; the dangers that God's fairest creation may be made foul through the entrance of lust. One needs only to compare it with his description of Phaedria or of Aerasia to detect the presence of an entirely different atmosphere. In the second place, the story as a whole fits very closely the material found in Prose II of *De Planctu Naturae*. Of course there are other medieval analogues, but there are certain details here that point unmistakably to Alanus as Spenser's chief source. An abstract of a portion of Alanus will make this clear.

The "Compleynt" lodged by Nature is against lust. God's fairest work, man, has been degraded by sensuality. This is set forth in Metre I and runs through the entire work. In this respect the work of Alanus departs widely from that of Boethius, to which he is indebted for many details of technique. After the author has stated his theme (Metre I) and has described in great detail the appearance of the goddess and her power (Prose I and II), he tells us that Nature began to complain of the way in which God's intention regarding man had been set at naught by lewdness. In a curiously wrought allegory that comprises the greater part of a long passage, Alanus works out an allegory of the body as type

of a city-state. Nature rebukes him for his failure to perceive her purpose. She created the body. Arranging the different offices of the members for its protection, she ordered the senses, as guards of the corporeal realm, to keep watch, that like spies on foreign enemies they might defend the body from external assault. By this means the body might wed its spouse the spirit.<sup>8</sup> Next, Nature says that the spirit rules through three powers: a power of native strength which hunts subtle matter; a power of reason; and a power of memory, hoarding in the treasure chest of its recollection the glorious wealth of knowledge.<sup>9</sup> Thus the basis of Spenser's allegory is found in Alanus: the senses as defenders of the body against outside foes; Alma or Anima, the spirit, in perfect control of the body; the three powers through which Alma rules: "Native strength," reason, and memory. After a paragraph in which this marriage between soul and body is dwelt upon, Nature proceeds to develop an allegory of the body as the symbol of a most excellently ordered state:

Hujus ergo ordinatissimae reipublicae in homine resultat simulacrum. In arce enim capitinis imperatrix sapientia conquiescit, cui tanquam deae caeterae potentiae velut semideae obsequuntur. Ingenialis potentia namque potestasque logistica, virtus etiam praeteritorum recordativa, diversis in capitinis thalamis habitantes, ejus fervescunt obsequio. In corde vero, velut in medio civitatis humanae, magnanimitas suam collocavit mansionem, quae sub prudentiae principatu suam professa militiam, prout ejusdem imperium deliberat operatur. Renes vero, tanquam suburbia, cupidinariis voluptatibus partem corporis largiuntur extremam, quae magnanimitatis obviare non audentes imperio, ejus obtemperant voluntati. (Wright, II, 453.)

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\* In qua ad corporis clientelam diversas membrorum ordinans officinas, in eadem sensus quasi corporeae civitatis excubias vigilare preecepi, ut quasi exteriorum hostium praevisores corpus ab exteriori importunitate defenserent, ut sic totius corporis materia nobilioribus naturae purpamentis ornata, ad nuptias gradiens, marito spiritui gratius jungeretur, ne maritus suae conjugis turpitudine fastiditus, ejus refutaret conjugia. Wright, II, 450.

\* Tuum etiam spiritum vitalibus insignivi potentis, ne corpore pauperior, ejus successibus invideret. Cui ingenialis virtutis destinavi potentiam, quae rerum venatrix subtilium in notitiae indaginem, easdem intellectas concluderet. Cui etiam rationis impressi signaculum, quae suae discretionis ventilabro falsitatis inania a seriis veritatis secernat. Per me etiam memorialis tibi ancillatur potentia, quae in suas recordationis armario nobilem censem scientiae thesaurizat. Wright, II, 450.

In this passage we have what appears to be the source of Spenser's allegory. Alanus' conception of the body as type of the city-state, Spenser changes to the idea of the castle, fitting his romance better, and conforming to the feudal castle with its outlying provinces. In the breast is magnanimity as ruler. This is the Aristotelian virtue of which Arthur is Spenser's personification, and Arthur, not Guyon, delivers the castle from its enemies. In the head are separate rooms in which dwell inborn understanding, logic (reason), and memory. This detail Spenser copies very exactly, his Phantastes being characterized as possessing "a sharp foresight and working wit" (st. 50), while Reason and Memory are precisely the same as in Alanus. Moreover, the outlying districts (*tanquam suburbia*), given over to passionate pleasures, Spenser uses as the basis for his story of the twelve troops besieging the bulwarks of the senses, and, in canto xi, adds his powerful allegory of Maleger, or passion. Finally, the curious style of Spenser in the entire passage corresponds to the style of Alanus as markedly as it differs from his own usual style. He draws on other sources for some of these devices, as for example in the passage on which Sir Kenelm Digby commented at length, but the whole is filled with the grammatical jargon so highly characteristic of Alanus. Like Alanus, he seems determined to conceal the mystery lest he disregard the Aristotelian precept that he who divulges secrets to the unworthy lessens the majesty of mysteries.<sup>10</sup>

→ The passage in *De Planctu Natura* which I have been discussing contains also the idea which is the genesis of *Mutability*: the majestic government in the universe as in a city—attende qualiter in hoc mundo, velut nobili civitate, quodam reipublicae majestitatis moderamine ratio sanctitur.<sup>11</sup> In *Mutability*, Spenser leaves the quaint scholastic allegory that had characterized his story of the castle of the body, and deals with a cosmic philosophy. The basis

<sup>10</sup> Sed tamen plerisque meae potestatis faciem palliare decrevi figuris, defendens a vilitate secretum, ne si eis de me familiarem impartirem scientiam quaes apud eos primitus ignorata pretiosa vigebant, postmodum jam [n]ota vilescerent. Ut enim vulgare testatur proverbium, Familiaris rei communicatio contemptus mater existit. Aristotelicaeque auctoritatis tuba proclamat, quod ille majestatem minuit secretorum, qui secreta indignis divulgat. Wright, II, 454. The passage comes at the end of the allegory of the body in Alanus.

<sup>11</sup> Wright, 452.

of the philosophy, as I have shown elsewhere, is to be found in Lucretius, with some coloring from Ovid, but his wonderful portrait of the Goddess of Nature comes from Alanus.

The stage on which Spenser unfolds the action of his poem is the universe. Through the spheres from earth to the moon, from the empyrean down to the moon and then to Arlo Hill, his supernatural creations move, uniting on Arlo in a great congregation in which the animals, the trees and flowers, all the creatures of God save only man are united in worship of that *dei proles, genitrixque rerum* to whom Alanus directs his prayer. There is in Alanus the suggestion of this cosmic order. Nature comes from the upper air of the impassible heavens down through the spheres to earth: *mulier ab impassibilis mundi penitiori dilapsa palatio.*<sup>12</sup> While the cause of her intervention is not the same, both poets represent her purpose to be to quell disorder and to rebuke the degeneracy of God's works from their first excellence. Alanus asks why she, a stranger from the skies, has sought the earth. To this the goddess replies that it is because of the transgression of the earthly sphere, the disorder in the ordering of the world, the carelessness of government, the unjustness of law that she has been forced to descend from the innermost sanctuaries to earth:

An ignoras quod terreni orbis exorbitatio, quod mundani ordinis inordinatio, quod curiae incuria, quod juris injuria, ab internis penetralibus coelisticis arcani in vulgaria terrenorum lupanaria me declinare coegit.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the argument, the scene, and the mission of the goddess are the same in both works. The idea of the degeneracy of nature was of course a commonplace of Spenser's time; he expressed similar views elsewhere; his ideas were known to Harvey who remonstrated with him for holding them. Not until the doctrine of progress had been clearly stated, nearly a century after Spenser's time, was this conception of nature's degeneracy in the way to be rooted out. But in the case now under discussion it is not an abstract idea but an intensely visualized embodiment of that idea with which we have to do. Considered from this point of view, the parallelism arrests attention.

With this in mind, let us examine the two descriptions of the goddess and the assembly over which she presides. Spenser tells

<sup>12</sup> Wright, 431.

<sup>13</sup> Wright, 459-460.

us that all creatures, save man, came to the meeting so that Arlo could not have held them had it not been for Sergeant Order, who placed them according to their kinds. In Alanus, Natura's aid is Genius, used by Spenser in another passage, which will be discussed in connection with the topic of the Great Mother. Here it is sufficient to point out, first, that both Alanus and Spenser expressly state that all creatures do homage to the goddess; Chaucer mentions only the birds. Among several details common to Spenser and Alanus is the parallel between Spenser's reference to the dainty trees that seemed to bow their blossoming heads in homage (stanza viii) and Alanus' account of the spring, who like a skilled artisan wove garments for the trees, which lowered their leaves and as if they were bending their knees supplicated the virgin:

Ver etiam, quasi artifex peritus in arte textoria, ut virgineis beatius  
applauderet incessibus, vestimenta texabat arboribus quae demissione co-  
marum, enclitica sub quadam adorationis specie, quasi flectendo genua,  
virgunculae supplicabant.<sup>44</sup>

Spenser speaks (stanza x) of the flowers brought by the Nymphs to deck her footstool, following Alanus, who says that the Nymphs of the dell brought flowers that made the royal chariot red with roses and white with lilies:

Napaeae vero, gremia floribus saturantes regium currum, aliquando  
roseis floribus sanguinabant, aliquando florum foliis liliabant albentibus.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, though Spenser says that all the gods were present save the infernal powers, he does not name them, except that he mentions Pluto and Proserpine as among the adoring throng. Proserpine is the only major deity mentioned by Alanus in his enumeration of the company.

Some of these parallels are such as might have come from a common source, or have reached Spenser through some intervening nature allegory. They gain impressiveness by their number, and this hypothesis is strengthened by the extraordinary correspondence between Alanus' description of the goddess herself and that of Spenser. While Chaucer takes from Alanus a numerous troop of allegorical attendants, thus differing from Spenser, he avoids giving any detailed description of Natura herself. He says he saw a queen

<sup>44</sup> Wright, 447.

<sup>45</sup> Wright, 447.

surpassing all other creatures in beauty as sunlight surpasses the light of stars, and a moment later refers to the *Pleynt of Kinde* as a place where one might find an account of her array. Chaucer gives no idea that he avoided the subject because of its difficulty: it simply did not suit his purposes. He was more interested in the crowd of allegorical characters than in the mystical description which his source dwelt upon, and which, as we shall see, Spenser studied to good purpose.

It will be remembered that Spenser speaks of the difficulty of describing, not the beauty of Natura, but her array and vestments:

So hard it is for any living wight  
All her array and vestiments to tell  
That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright,  
The pure well head of Poesie did dwell)  
In his *Foules parley* durst not with it mel.

At first sight, this stanza seems to indicate that Spenser, like Chaucer, did not propose to describe the goddess. The difference is that Chaucer meant what he said: he gives no description beyond the conventional reference to her beauty. Spenser, on the other hand, gives us a description that is charged with the mysticism characteristic of Alanus, and his details differ so widely from conventional descriptions and correspond so closely not only in phrasing but in atmosphere, as to make it impossible to believe that he did not draw directly upon the work that he names. An abstract of stanzas v-xiii will serve as the basis for comparison:

He begins by saying that she was greater and taller than any of the gods; it was doubtful whether she was man or woman, for her face and head were covered with a veil. Some say that this was because of the terror of her uncouth hue, that her face was like that of a lion, so that mortal eye could not look upon it; others say that it was because of her beauty, which outshone the sun, nor could be viewed save like an image in a glass. He holds that her beauty gives the true explanation, and describes her garment, so bright and sheen that his frail wit could not think of a fit comparison. So great Nature, ever young, yet full of eld, still moving, yet unmoved from her sted, unseen of any, yet of all beheld, sat upon a throne and opened her court.

With this compare Alanus:

After an inventory of her charms of face and person, he describes her crown, which with marvelous revolution and ceaseless turning travelled from east to west and thence back to its rising. Some of its gems were

like planets; others were fixed and constant watchers. Among them was a circle, like a zodiac, containing twelve gems. In front three jewels outshone the other nine; the first of these, filled with light and fire, blazed with the form of a lion. Next, he describes her garment, which perpetually changed in hue, and was so delicate that it seemed like the air itself; on it, as in a picture, was to be seen a parliament of the living creatures. There follows the passage naming the birds, the only part of this description used by Chaucer, but Alanus describes also all classes of animals of land and sea. About the feet of the goddess, he says, there laughed the delight of a picture of the natures of herbs and trees; this he cannot describe accurately, but on her shoes there flourished, as in a picture, beautiful flowers. Lovely as were these garments, they suffered eclipse by the star of the virgin's beauty. Furthermore, she drew on tiles, with the aid of a reed pen, pictures of things. These did not last, but vanished, leaving no trace; she often quickened them, yet they could not endure. While he was trying to realize her beauty his eyes, weakened by the blows of splendor, fled, very fearful, to the tents of his eyelids.

This description I have very much condensed. The chief points to observe are as follows:

1. The emphasis on Nature's beauty, which was so great as to make true description impossible, and which by excess of splendor brought terror and awe.

2. The fact that although he does not represent Nature as veiled in the sense that her beauty was concealed, his mystical account of the diadem and of garments that are constantly changing, representing all the phenomena of nature, is precisely calculated to give this effect. We cannot visualize his picture, because it is not fixed, but constantly in motion. Some details suggested to Spenser a more effective method of description, not less mystical. Moreover, it is worth noting that Spenser's reference to the idea that the goddess had the face of a lion may well have been suggested by the blazing jewel in the diadem: *In quo, ut faceta picturae loquebantur mendacia, leonis effigia fulminabat effigies.*<sup>10</sup>

3. Natura's garments suggested the veil by their texture; by their mystery, representing the manifold forms of nature; and by the impression of change and ceaseless motion that the author tried to convey. In this we have material that fits the theme of *Mutability* as a whole; we also have a source for Spenser's admirable interpretation:

\* Wright, 433.

(some do say — )  
For that her face did like a lion shew  
That eye of might could not endure to view.





*ie causing motion, be unmoved mover.*  
 Great Nature, ever young, yet full of eld;  
 Still moving, yet unmoved from her sted;  
 Unseen of any, yet of all beheld.

The pictures wrought by Natura on tile also express this idea of ceaseless change:

In lateritiis vero tabulis, arundinei styli ministerio, virgo varias rerum picturaliter suscitabat imagines. Pictura tamen subjacenti materiae familiariter non cohaerens, velociter evanescendo moriens, nulla imaginum post se relinquebat vestigia.<sup>21</sup>

So also the garment itself, changing perpetually:

Vestis vero, ex serica lana contexta, multifario protecta colore, puellae pepli serviebat in usum, quam discolorando colorans temporum alteritas multiplici colore faciem alterabat. . . . Haec autem nimis subtilizata, subterfugiens oculorum indaginem, ad tantam materiae tenuitatem advenierat, ut ejus aerisque eandem crederes esse naturam, in qua, prout oculis pictura imaginabatur animalium celebratur concilium.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, the picture of the natures of herbs and trees—opinor in herbarum arborumque naturis ibi picturæ risisse lasciviam—gives the suggestion for the flowers brought by the nymphs and placed at her footstool; for on her shoes, Alanus tells us, delicate flowers were pictured as if real:

*et Sp's nature  
revolves  
in opposite  
change*  
 In quibus vix a vera degenerantibus essentia, sub picturæ ingenio flores evanescerent umbratiles.<sup>23</sup>

4. The idea of motion and change, already noted as the theme of Spenser's poem, is stressed by Alanus through his device of the mystic diadem and the garment of Natura. The diadem revolves like the firmament, passing through all the signs of the zodiac. The pictures, representing the succession of seasons and the generations of living beings, would not endure but vanished away, leaving no trace. An effort to visualize such a diadem and such draperies would be difficult; it is no wonder that Spenser spoke of it as impossible. That he understood, however, what Alanus was trying to say, and that it appealed to his own mystery loving nature, is clear from his conception of Nature as still moving yet unmoved, unseen of any yet of all beheld.

5. By his mystic description, Alanus seeks to give the impression of the majestic government in the universe. So also

<sup>21</sup> Wright, 445.

<sup>22</sup> Wright, 437.

<sup>23</sup> Wright, 443.

Spenser, who exalts Nature above the gods, giving her supreme rule. Even the final judgment which Spenser attributes to the goddess; that though all things hate steadfastness—

Yet, being rightly wayd,  
They are not changed from their first estate  
But by their change their being do dilate,  
And turning to themselves at length againe  
Do work their owne perfection so by fate—

while it is related to the Platonic Great Year, is yet implicit in Alanus' conception. One of a number of passages in which it is expressed refers to the *circle* of the activities of Nature in the prose passage immediately preceding the splendid hymn, "Dei proles, genetrixque rerum." All things, the goddess tells Alanus, are by the laws of their being subject to her power: the firmament, which leads all things not in vain in daily circuit; the stars and the planets, moving in accordance with law and returning to their first place; so too the air seems subject to change, but is nevertheless obedient to law, while animals, plants, the succession of the seasons, acknowledge Nature's power. The passage (Wright, 449-458) is too long to quote, but its importance is shown not only because it definitely repudiates the idea of chance and defines Mutability in the same manner as in the final enigmatic judgment in Spenser's poem, but also because it is so charged with poetic beauty that it could not have failed to impress a poet like Spenser who was dealing with a similar theme. To this mysticism his ear was attuned. One has only to compare such descriptions of Nature as that of Chaucer, or to compare Claudian's account of the garment made by Proserpine for Ceres, to see how completely Spenser fell under the spell of the influence of this twelfth century mystic, to whom, I have no doubt, he was directed by Chaucer's casual reference.

→ In conclusion, while it is true that many elements in Spenser's account may also be found *singly* in other medieval works besides that of Alanus, and that they may therefore be regarded as conventions, it is also true that they are to be found in conjunction, so far as I know, only in Alanus and in Spenser.<sup>20</sup> Again, the

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Knowlton traces the influence of Alanus on other medieval works in the article cited above. Spenser, who is beyond the chronological limits of his study, he does not treat. Spenser's allegory is of course another example of this medieval influence, but it is quite different in content and quality.

fundamental relationship between Alanus and Spenser is far deeper, as I have shown, than the mere imitation of conventional devices, and affects the theme of the entire Mutability story, to which, after all, the description of Nature is only incidental. Furthermore, my contention gains added weight from the facts, first, that Spenser used Alanus in his allegory of the Castle of the Body, and, second, that he expressly refers to Alanus in his poem. Finally, while the influence of Alanus in medieval times was chiefly on the development of the dream literature or on the Court of Love *genre*, to Spenser it seems to have had certain religious implications, representing a cult which is to be identified with an earth-religion, like the worship of Isis or of the Great Mother. This phase of the subject I wish now to discuss.

### III

#### *Mater Deum*

Alanus' account of the goddess Natura is founded, I believe, upon the ancient cult of the Great Mother, which exerted such extraordinary influence throughout the Roman world for six centuries.<sup>21</sup> The theme of *De Planctu Naturae*, as we have seen, is chastity. The seasonal element, especially the detailed description of spring; the attendants, including Hymen and Genius; the jewelled diadem, and the appellation, "O dei proles, genetrixque rerum," all show parallels or modifications of characteristics of the worship of the Great Mother. The diadem, for example, with the mystical representation of the zodiac and the starry spheres, is a modification of the turreted diadem of Cybele. The mystical veil, again, is evidently based on the veil which in representations of the Great Mother is seen flowing over her shoulders. The priests correspond to the galli of the Phrygian deity. The mingling of pagan and Christian elements, so striking a characteristic of the

<sup>21</sup> For the history of this religion see Grant Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 43, 1901. As to Alanus, the Platonic elements in his work are apparent. Dr. Knowlton discusses these, and shows how certain theological and scientific ideas, originally Platonic, passed, through Alanus, into a sort of union with medieval theology (*JEGP*, xix, 226). But this philosophical element does not explain what I regard as an equally important element in the work of Alanus, i. e., his evident debt to ancient religious rites.

work of Alanus, is in full accord with some of the later manifestations of the cult of the Mother. Finally, the nature symbolism affords too many correspondences to admit of doubt as to common origins.

These matters would not be pertinent here were it not that they afford a clue to the interpretation of a number of passages in

- Spenser which instead of being merely isolated examples of the use of ancient myth are really related in an extraordinary manner.
- If, as I think, Chaucer led Spenser to Alanus, his study of Alanus was but one aspect of an intellectual interest that appears in many places in his poetry. He found references to the Great Mother in a score of sources that we know were familiar to him in other connections. Virgil speaks of the Mother as the protectress of the ships of Aeneas (ix, 77 ff.). Lucretius describes her in a passage of rare beauty (ii, 600 ff.). Ovid tells in detail how she was brought to Rome, emphasizes chastity as the foundation of her worship, stresses the nature aspects of the cult, and injects a patriotic explanation by referring the interest in her to Rome's Phrygian ancestry. (*Fasti*, iv, 245 ff.). All these works were used by Spenser in the composition of the *Faerie Queene*. Other sources are in Catullus, Cicero, Livy, Propertius, and Apollonius Rhodius. St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, vii, ch. xvi-xxvi) summarizes pagan nature worship and connects Ceres and Juno with the Great Mother. All these various forms, he says, represent an earth-religion. He mentions Genius as an attendant, and gives evidence of the wide distribution of the cult and of his sense of its dangerous aspects in relation to Christianity.<sup>22</sup>

Other illustrations might easily be given, but these are enough to show the abundance of the material available to any person living in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance if he became interested in the nature cults of antiquity. Not all this material was favorable. Even in the time of the greatest prosperity of the religion, as Professor Showerman observes, men of letters satirized or attacked it. Juvenal and Martial are among these. The poem of Catullus (lxiii) which deals with the relation of Attis and Cybele, ends with the prayer that the goddess may not invade his home to drive him to like madness,—

<sup>22</sup> On the extent of the cult, even to Britain, see Showerman, 291 ff.

Dea magna, dea Cybelle, dea domina Dindymi,  
procul a mea tuus sit furor omnis, era, domo.  
alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos.

Despite the repulsive aspects of the cult, its deep hold on the masses of the people and the great extent of its influence Professor Showerman attributes to the following characteristics: ① The stress placed on chastity. ② The beauty of the Mother, and the help she promised in times of distress. ③ Her maternity: she was the mother of all the creatures in the world, the protectress of cities, supreme in the fields and the mountains, beloved of wild beasts, source of bountiful harvests, the fruitful kindly earth itself. ④ Certain points of contact between the cult and the growing power of Christianity. Thus the Mother's priests were vowed to an ascetic life, they avoided the flesh of swine and kept fast days; there was a blood-purification; the religion was mystical; the seasonal idea of the rebirth of vegetation developed into a belief in a resurrection. The Venus-Adonis story was not the only analogue to the Cybele-Attis myth; parallelism between the death and resurrection of Attis and the fundamental Christian belief was noted in early days; *Mater Deum* was like *Mater Dei*.<sup>22</sup>

Similarities between some of these characteristics of the worship of the Mother and the treatment of Natura in Alanus and Spenser are so apparent as not to need detailed illustration. Two passages, in works known to have been familiar to Spenser, may be taken as typical. The first is in Lucretius (II, 600-660), where we are told about the Great Mother of gods and mother of beasts and parent of our bodies. She drives a pair of lions in a chariot, teaching that the great earth hangs in the expanse of air and that she tames the wildness of beasts. The mural crown on her head indicates her protection of towns. She is called the Idaean or Phrygian mother, since from those lands grain first came for the use of man. The poet speaks of the galli or priests, of the cymbals and other instruments that express in music the Phrygian mood, and describes her progress, attended by showers of roses which quite cover her and her attendants. He concludes the passage by

<sup>22</sup> This paragraph is abridged from material supplied by Showerman, pp. 301 ff. and 329. Showerman cites a discussion of the similarity between the Mother of the Gods and the Virgin in Isidor, *Ep.*, iv, 31, 28, and refers to the formal bestowal of the title *Mater Dei* on the Virgin in 430 A. D.

saying that the true meaning of all this religious belief is to be found in the fact that the earth is mother of all things.

From this passage in Lucretius we note the symbolism of the lions, the turreted diadem, the cymbals, and also the recognition of the cult as a nature religion. The Mother came through the air to earth in her chariot drawn by beasts; her attendants are covered with flowers; the ceremony indicates the return of spring; to her we are indebted for the food that springs from earth.

The second passage that I wish to cite is from Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* I, 1092-1150).<sup>24</sup>

Jason is told that he must propitiate the mother of all the blessed gods on her fair throne, and the stormy blasts shall cease. For such was the voice I heard but now from the halcyon, bird of the sea, which, as it flew above thee in thy slumbers, told me all. For by her power the winds and all the earth below and the snowy seat of Olympus are complete; and to her, when from the mountains she ascends the mighty heavens, Zeus himself, the son of Cronos, gives place. In like manner the rest of the immortal blessed ones reverence the dread goddess.<sup>25</sup>

The passage continues with an account of the sacrifice, together with the names by which the Mother was known, associating her with Rhea. Some details of the ceremony are significant: the brows bound with oak leaves, the youths dancing in full armor, the cymbals. As the rites proceeded, the beasts of the wild wood left their lairs and came fawning upon the heroes. The trees shed abundant fruit, and the earth of its own accord put forth flowers from the tender grass. These were signs of the favor of the deity.

In this passage we observe the resemblances between the Great Mother and the Natura of Alanus and Spenser. She is the goddess of nature. Jove and all the gods are subordinate to her. Her presence is to be invoked on a hill, under a canopy of lofty oaks. The signs of her favor are the submissiveness of wild animals who throng to her presence, and the flowers and leaves that spring spontaneously from earth and trees.

The extent of this influence on Spenser will become more evident as we take into account the entire body of material in the *Faerie Queene*. For purposes of reference I list the passages below, with some observations on them.

<sup>24</sup> That Spenser was familiar with this work is known from parallels that have been cited by previous investigators; I have additional evidence, not related to the present subject, to be presented in a forthcoming article.

<sup>25</sup> Seaton's translation.

1. *The Judgment of Nature. (Mutability)*

This I have discussed in the present essay. The relationship, through Alanus, to the ancient cult is complete, but there are a few details that seem to indicate that Spenser drew directly from some classical account, perhaps Apollonius Rhodius. The special points are: (a) The Veil. This as I have already indicated needs no further reference than Alanus. But the veil figured in the representations of the Mother in art. (b) The beauty and terror inspired by the sight of the goddess. This also needs no further reference than to Alanus, except for Spenser's comment that some say that she had the face of a lion, while others affirm that her face was beautiful. The "others" of course means Alanus; the notion about the lions probably comes from the conventional references to the lion as the special attendant of the goddess. This Spenser might have found in Apollonius. (c) Her throne was on a hill, surrounded by tall trees. This also belongs to all the representations of the Mother. The detail is worked out in Apollonius. (d) The flowers springing spontaneously from the earth he might have found in any account of the Mother, including Apollonius and Alanus. (e) Spenser says that the River Mole decked his head with oak leaves and put on new joyance at her approach. This refers of course to the oaks about the springs that fed the river. It is interesting to observe the association of the oak with the ritual, and the reference to the stream of water. Both details are in Apollonius, who says that springs gushed from the rocks when the heroes performed their rites in honor of the goddess.

2. *The Garden of Adonis (III, vi)*

This passage I have also discussed previously.<sup>26</sup> It is related to the present study because Venus-Adonis parallels Cybele-Attis and Venus appears as equivalent to Natura, as in Lucretius. On Genius as deity of birth and death see below under Agdistes.

3. *Agdistes (II, xii)*

Spenser's Garden of Acrasia differs in marked respects from his Garden of Adonis. The description is mainly from Tasso and is influenced also by the Court of Love conventions. There is no

<sup>26</sup> "Spenser and Lucretius," *Studies in Philology*, xvii, 441 ff.

suggestion that the enchantress had anything to do with Venus as goddess of fecundity. Among her attendants we find one named Genius, the same personage met with in the *Romaunt of the Rose* and in other love allegories.<sup>27</sup> But it is significant that Spenser goes out of his way to explain that this personage is not the Genius who was a celestial power,—

They in that place him Genius did call:  
Not that celestiall powre, to whom the care  
Of life, and generation of all  
That lives, perteines in charge particulare,  
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,  
And straunge phantomes doth lett us ofte foresee,  
And ofte of secret ill bids us beware:  
That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,  
Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceive to bee.

“Therefore,” Spenser continues,

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity  
Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call.

This passage is of high importance for several reasons. It shows that Spenser had studied the personage called Genius sufficiently to distinguish between the conventional love-courtier and the deeper power symbolized by the ancients under that name. It anticipates the introduction, in Book III, of the celestial power associated with Venus as the source of life. This Genius belongs to the cult of the Great Mother.<sup>28</sup> The story of Agdistes, who was

<sup>27</sup> For material on the allegorical figure of Genius see Dr. Knowlton's articles in *Modern Philology* (xx, 318 ff.) and *Classical Philology* (xv, 380). The first of these summarizes Jean de Meun's treatment of Natura in the *Roman de la Rose* and observes that in that poem Genius is “a decadent character in comparison with the august personage in Alan.” The second article discusses some of the works in which Genius appears, but fails to point out the source and true significance of the figure.

<sup>28</sup> Warton (*Spenser*, ed. Todd, iv, 207) cites *Natalis Comes*, 4, 3: *Dictus est autem Genius, ut placuit Latinis, a gignendo, vel quia nobiscum gignatur, vel quia illi procreandorum cura divinitus commissa putaretur. Hic creditur nobis clam nunc suadens, nunc dissuadens, universam vitam nostram gubernare. . . . Quem postea Agdistem appellarunt.* It is, however, the Genius who is the celestial power to which matters of life and generation pertain that we have to consider here, not the daemon of dreams. “Selfe” is usually glossed “soul.” A modern psychologist would gloss the word as “subconscious.”

*Synabo*  
both male and female,<sup>29</sup> is very involved. Versions are found in Pausanius and Arnobius. In these and other places Agdistes is definitely connected with the Great Mother, and the story relates to the birth of Attis. More important than these considerations, however, are the facts that Spenser here characterizes Genius as a celestial power of generation; that he afterwards amplified the conception into the splendid portrait of the divinity of birth and death, agent of Mother Venus, and that in Alanus Genius is the chief agent of Natura, pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against all who had permitted sexual love as the means of human reproduction to sink into sensuality.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. *Cybele.* (I, vi; IV, xi.).

Two allusions to Cybele, one of the names applied to the Mother by the ancients, occur in the *Faerie Queene*. The first is merely a reference to the "franticke rites" that characterized the worship, and is without special significance. The second is more important. Father Thames (IV, xi, 27-28) bears on his head a turreted diadem, which the poet compares with that worn by Cybele:

Like as the mother of the Gods, they say,  
In her great iron charet wonts to ride,  
When to Jove's pallace she doth take her way,  
Old Cybele, arrayd with pompous pride,  
Wearing a Diademe embattled wide  
With hundred turrets, like a Turribant,

*Ver. 1?*

This follows closely Lucretius' description of the Mother, already cited, and affords evidence of the impression made upon Spenser by his study of the myth.

#### 5. *The Temple of Isis* (v, vii)

Originally a corn goddess, identified with the vegetation that covers the earth in the spring, Isis became the center of a stately

<sup>29</sup> Compare Spenser's doubt, in *Mutability*, as to whether Nature was male or female. This is quite accurate, and shows his study of the subject in some other source than Alanus.

<sup>30</sup> It may be remarked that the stories of Pausanius and Arnobius deal with that feature of the worship of the Great Mother which had to do with emasculation, characteristic of her priests, and emphasizing chastity as necessary in her service. There is an apparent connection between this theme and the theme of Alanus, although Alanus, of course, omits all reference to the repulsive aspects of the cult.

ritual with analogues to that of the Great Mother and even of the Virgin.<sup>31</sup> In a remarkable passage Spenser presents an Isis ritual based mainly on Plutarch and supplying certain details of interest in this investigation. The substance of the passage is as follows:

The poet tells us that Osiris, descended from the race of Egyptian kings, typified Justice, while Isis, his wife, represented Equity. Since he now proposes to treat the subject of Equity, it is appropriate that he should tell how Britomart, searching for Artagal, came to a stately temple wherein with great humility she entered and was received by many priests. These were clad in linen robes trimmed with silver, and on their heads, covered with long locks, they wore rich mitres shaped like the moon, indicating that Isis was a moon goddess, while Osiris' symbol was the sun. The temple was a goodly building based on stately pillars, all decked with shining gold, so curiously wrought that the princess marvelled at the skill of the workmen; she stood long time gazing, but thought that she could never gaze her fill. Presently she was led to the image of the goddess, which was framed of fine silver and clad in linen garments. Upon her head was a golden crown and at her feet was a crocodile. One foot rested on the crocodile; the other was firmly planted on the ground, signifying her power to suppress both secret guile and open force. In her hand was a long slender wand. Britomart prostrated herself in adoration and with right humble heart addressed her prayers to the goddess. After the wand moved in token of divine favor, she unlaced her helmet and lay down to sleep beside the altar. This, we are told, was a necessary part of the service, since priests of Isis used no beds, sleeping upon dear mother earth. By the vows of their religion they led lives of extreme chastity; they avoided the use of flesh as food; they drank no wine, since wine is the blood of the giants that warred on Jove. All that night the warlike maid slept under the wings of Isis, and she had a marvelous vision. As she was doing sacrifice, it seemed that her white garment turned to red and her moon-like mitre changed to a crown of gold. As she delighted in the transformation it seemed that a hideous tempest rose from beneath and swept through the temple, so that the holy fire was blown from the altar and the temple was put in jeopardy. With this the crocodile started up and gaping wide devoured both flame and tempest and then threatened Britomart with a like fate. The goddess beat him back with her rod, so that he fawned upon her and after a time she gave birth to a lion, king of all the beasts of the field. Awakening in terror from the uncouth dream she sought the priests, who were busy about the morning mass. As soon

<sup>31</sup> See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 118 ff.; one volume edition, pp. 382-384. Showerman (308, 309, 311) has a few notes on the association of Isis with the Great Mother in the later days of the Empire, and both scholars speak of the suggestion of the medieval worship of the Virgin that is found in the ritual.

as she had told her story one of them, who seemed to be the greatest and gravest of them all, recognized her, and explained her dream as a prophecy of the future greatness of England.

Spenser's debt to Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris has long been recognized. Upton, for example, pointed out the general relationship but called attention to the detail about the long hair of the priests who, according to Plutarch, were bald. This Upton explained by saying that Spenser drew on the descriptions of the priests in the Old Testament.<sup>32</sup> The true explanation seems to me to be that Spenser has transferred, consciously or unconsciously, to the priests of Isis some of the characteristics of the galli. In the standard descriptions of these priests we are told that they were dressed in flowing robes, like women, and wore long hair fragrant with ointment.<sup>33</sup> This observation leads to several other points of interest. While Spenser is undoubtedly indebted to Plutarch, he omits several striking details which he appears to use elsewhere. Thus, he follows Plutarch in tracing the descent of Osiris from ancient kings; in explaining Osiris as significant of the sun and Isis of the moon; and in the details describing the priests—their linen robes, their avoidance of flesh or wine (the detail about wine being thought to be the blood of the Titans is common to both), and their ascetic habits. But in Plutarch the crocodile is not Osiris but Typhon. There is no mention of the justice-equity interpretation of Osiris-Isis; he gives a different philosophical explanation, made up of elements used by Spenser elsewhere, not here. Spenser's representation of Isis with one foot on the crocodile is not a happy one if, as he says, the crocodile is her lover Osiris; that is, it is not a happy one for the lover, or for romantic views of the marital relation. Plutarch is more satisfying. To him Typhon, the crocodile, is the passionate, irrational and brutal part of the soul. Isis therefore represents the reason subduing this irrational principle. The symbolism would fit Spenser's treatment of the legend of Guyon. Again, Plutarch

<sup>32</sup> Todd's *Spenser*, vi, 58-59. Miss Sawtelle follows Upton, except that she omits the surmise as to the reason for the ancient Hebrew rule: to keep as many distinctions between Jewish religious forms and those of Egypt as possible. None of the commentators works out the parallels to Plutarch in detail.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the account taken from Apol. Rho. *Argon.* above.

speaks of the "intelligible part" (form) plus matter as joining to bring the cosmos into being; material that suggests some of the details in Spenser's account of the Garden of Adonis and no doubt related to it. Plutarch also discourses on the triangle and the mystical significance of numbers, following Plato's *Republic*, of course, but also reminding one of a portion of Spenser's allegory of the body. Finally, Plutarch speaks of Isis as the mother of the world, both male and female principles being present in her, sending forth the generative principle into the air. This detail reminds us of Spenser's comment on Nature as both male and female, not found in Alanus; it also introduces the title "mother of the world" which is applicable to *Mater Deum* as well as to the goddess Natura; and it suggests the Garden of Adonis. For these reasons it appears to me that in order to make the temple scene fit the necessary allegory of his legend of justice, Spenser modifies Plutarch greatly; but it also appears that he read it attentively, for the contrast between the rational and irrational principles in the soul, the form-matter theory of the cosmos, and the conception of a goddess who is mother of the world, are important philosophical elements found in other parts of the *Faerie Queene*. *Isis and Osiris* must have fascinated him, also, for its catholicity. Plutarch was really writing on comparative religion. He makes the point that the names given to the gods by various peoples indicate not different deities but the same supernatural principles operating under different titles. Thus the whole treatise dwells on allegory, and would therefore appeal with special meaning to allegory's chief poet.

## IV

*Spenser's Cosmic Philosophy*

It is time to bring together some of the results of these three studies of Spenser's philosophy of nature. The first observation is the very considerable extent of the passages thus brought into relation to each other and the large place they occupy in the body of his poetry. No other English poet of his time, or long after his time, has so much. In the *Fowre Hymnes*, in *Mutability*, and in several passages of considerable length in the *Faerie Queene* we have a body of philosophical poetry to be sharply distinguished from the political Puritanism of the *Calendar* and the allegorical

theology of the first book of the epic. Indeed, his Puritanism and his relation to Calvinism appear to me to have been emphasized in our studies of his ideas to an extent that is misleading. Certainly the main body of his poetry is remarkably free not only from theological bias but even from everything that we ordinarily find in religious or doctrinal verse. The last two *Hymnes* are an apparent exception, but they represent medieval mysticism, not Calvinistic theology.

The second observation is that Spenser's mysticism, perhaps the fundamental characteristic of his thought, is founded on Nature. Even his Platonic philosophy reflects the natural philosophy of the master as markedly as his ethical and political ideas. What I am seeking to do, however, is not to deny the Calvinistic elements in his work, or his debt to Plato and Aristotle in ethical and political matters, but to define more clearly an element that seems to me equally weighty, but singularly neglected. Like every great poet, Spenser had a conception of the order of the universe that included cosmology, a view of the origin of life, and of man's place in Nature. He drew upon a very wide variety of sources for this philosophy. He did not seek, like Dante, like Milton, to reconcile this to Christian dogma in every detail, yet in the third and fourth hymns we have an adequate reconciliation as a sort of climax to all his work.

The third observation is a caveat to those who object that he had not thought these things out clearly or systematically but that they are merely unrelated fragments scattered here and there through the mass of his work. In part this objection is well-founded. He lived in an era of transition. The certainty of medieval thought had passed away,—though it was to be revived, in a sense, by the medievalism of Milton, and by the new attempt to found a kingdom of the saints which Professor Grierson has recently singled out as the true objective of Cromwell's army. Part of Spenser's seeming incoherence, therefore, belongs to his time. It is as characteristic of a scientific mystic like Bruno as of Spenser; as characteristic, even, of a realistic thinker like Bacon as of Spenser. Furthermore, it must be remembered that Spenser's method of dealing with these metaphysical matters is implicit in his whole theory of poetry. It is the more gracious gift of poetry to deal with these matters by example, rather than by rule, as he himself

reminds us in the letter to Raleigh. It was no part of his idea of poetry to give a schematic treatment of philosophical problems. To him truth was to be sought in a synthesis of the best that has been known and thought in the world, and it was to be presented through story. If his method is not our method, that is no discredit. To be sure, many of the topics discussed in these papers, and especially the topics included in the present study, illustrate the survival of medieval conventions in Spenser. They help to prove his medieval sources to be equal in importance and extent to his renaissance sources. It is quite legitimate, therefore, to regard his treatment of Nature and of Mutability chiefly as imitation of earlier allegorists similar to the imitations we find in *Roman de la Rose*, in Gower, in Lydgate and elsewhere. Yet while this is true, it is not the whole truth, as I have tried to show in this paper.

(1) The fourth observation is that the presence of so much of this material in the work of a major poet of the sixteenth century suggests the tendency that was later to give birth to the new science. This is a dangerous sort of generalization, and I do not wish to be taken too literally. I have already acknowledged that much of the material here examined is pure imitation, the survival of medieval conventions. Yet while Spenser was in no sense an original thinker on scientific matters, was not even a sceptic in his attitude toward the science of his time, he preludes the sort of inquiry destined to make the study of nature supreme over dogma as an avenue to truth. Already the new spirit of scientific research was at work. Bruno adopted eagerly the work of Cusanus and of Copernicus and by sheer force of his imagination pointed out the course which science was to follow. But he clothed new thoughts in the language of a nature mysticism. With much that we find in his work Spenser was spiritually in tune. That is why the mysticism that was in Alanus appealed to Spenser while it meant nothing to the temperamentally different Chaucer. And it must not be forgotten that even when we turn to such pioneers of the new science as Bacon, as the founders of the Invisible College of 1645, and the Royal Society, we find much of the same element; the phenomena of the physical world were to be studied, not neglected as mediævalism had neglected them, but they were also often regarded as symbols of the unseen world. Bacon wrote of

the Wisdom of the Ancients as well as of the phenomena of winds, and the author of *Pseudodoxia* was also the author of *Religio Medici* and of *Urn Burial*. The main point for us to observe is the difference between the false and conventional "science" of Lylly or the vulgar magic of *Friar Bacon* and *Friar Bungay* and the cosmic thought of Spenser and Bruno.

Finally, the unifying force in the universe to Spenser was love. • • Milton did not bring against him the reproach that he brought against Sidney, of having written a vain amatory poem. But others, from Lord Chancellor Burghley to Ambassador Jusserand, have brought precisely this charge. To do so is to misunderstand completely his philosophy. To him love is the source of the universe, of every living thing, and of every spiritual value in this world and the world to come. This explains not only his book of Temperance and his book of Chastity, but his hymns, his *Mutability*, and his interest in Venus, in the Great Mother, and in the goddess Natura. He tells the Venus and Adonis story many times, in many different ways. He writes of love as the characteristic of the courtier, Castiglione's point of view. He writes of it as the basis of his Platonic philosophy. He writes of it also as the creator and the regenerative force of the universe. In this he parallels Dante. His theme, throughout his poetry, was

L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle.

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## RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

NOTE.—The following bibliography attempts to include:

(1) all books and articles of scholarly interest and the more important book reviews which appeared in the year ending January 1, 1923; (2) the more noteworthy productions of 1921 which escaped the bibliography printed in the July (1922) number of *Studies*. Owing to the present inaccessibility of certain continental bibliographical material, numerous interesting items have doubtless escaped the present compilation. These will be included in the bibliography for 1924. Thanks are due to Professor Howard R. Huse of the Romance Department for assistance in preparing Section VIII of the present bibliography.

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Reviewed in London *Times* Literary Supplement for June 22, 1922, p. 409; by Tucker Brooke in the *Literary Review* for Nov. 11, 1922, p. 197; by Richard Le Gallienne in New York *Times* Book Review and Magazine for Sept. 10, 1922.

Once more Professor Rollins has put students of our popular literature in his debt by this splendid collection of black-letter broadside ballads of the period 1595-1639. Most of these ballads come from

the collection of Samuel Pepys, thus suggesting the happy title Dr. Rollins has given his work. While many of Pepys' ballads have long been accessible in a variety of places, the present collection gives us a better anthology of this seventeenth century literature than can be found elsewhere, and the publishers have given the book such sumptuous form as to lure even the unprofessional reader into by-paths that he might otherwise neglect.

In his Preface the editor disclaims any intention to classify his ballads as literature; they are forerunners of the modern newspaper, interesting for their revelation of the life and thought of ordinary people; in them "history becomes animated." Eighty ballads appear in the *Garland*, on a great variety of subjects: the assassination of a French king, the execution of Raleigh, prodigies and witches, naval battles, "goodnights" of criminals on the eve of execution, sermonizing ballads and warnings of the wrath to come, prohibition ballads, and paraphrases of parts of the bible. There are also "gigs," and the editor's preface supplies much information about this *genre*. The text is illustrated by complete and learned notes.—E. G.

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Cf. reply of Sir Sidney Lee, *ibid.*, July 20, 1922, p. 476.

Toffanin, Giuseppe. *La Fine dell' Umanesimo*. Turin: Bocca; London: Truslove and Hanson, 1922.

Reviewed in London Times Literary Supplement for Feb. 2, 1922, p. 69.

*Tudor Church Music*. Edited by P. C. Buck, E. H. Fellowes, A. Ramsbotham, R. R. Terry, S. Townsend Warner. Vol. I and Vol. II, pt. 1. London: Milford, 1922.

Spurgeon, Caroline F. E. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357-1900)*. Part IV, Appendix A. Chaucer Society Publications, Second Series 53. London, 1922.

Pgs. 9-73 contain sixteenth and seventeenth century allusions.

Wise, Thomas J. *The Catalogue of the Ashley Library*. Vol. I. A-C. London, 1922.

## II. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE

Baugh, Albert G. *Some New Facts about Shirley*. Modern Language Review, xvii, 228-235.

Bradley, Jesse Franklin and Adams, Joseph Quincy. *The Jonson*

*Allusion-Book. A Collection of Allusions to Ben Jonson from 1597 to 1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922.

In printing this latest of the Cornell Studies in English the Yale Press continues its commendable policy of publishing books of solid worth to scholars. The present volume makes accessible to investigators a large body of interesting material which is invaluable not only to admirers of Jonson but to all students who would familiarize themselves with his contemporaries and the critical opinions of the seventeenth century.

The editors modestly call their compilation a "fair beginning" which in no sense contains all the important references to Jonson. Unquestionably it does not contain certain valuable seventeenth century allusions to an author so much talked about as Ben Jonson; for, to use the words of the editors themselves, "only by the co-operation of many scholars, with labor extending over a long period of years, could a work of this nature be made even approximately complete." Toward such a work Professors Bradley and Adams have really made more than a "fair beginning"; and it is earnestly hoped that the proposed supplement—to be printed "if the opportunity offers"—will shortly appear and that we shall have at no distant time a body of Jonson allusions as complete and valuable as those of Shakspere and Chaucer. Whether the work is continued or not, *The Jonson Allusion-Book* is a volume of enduring worth. For the use of serious and discriminating students such careful compilations are invaluable.

Bolwell, Robert W. *The Life and Works of John Heywood.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1921. Pp. xiii, 188.

Reviewed in the London *Times* Literary Supplement for August 24, 1922, p. 543.

Like most of the Columbia dissertations, Mr. Bolwell's book is, as the title indicates, an ambitious undertaking. Preceding the text is a chronological table of the events in Heywood's life, many items of which will have to be changed in view of the information about Heywood not utilized by Mr. Bolwell. Four chapters deal with the facts of Heywood's life: the first handles briefly the early years of his career; the second deals with his later activities at the court of Henry VIII and the interesting experience with the Reformation; a third reviews his activities under Mary and Edward; and a fourth discusses his experiences as a religious exile on the Continent. Two chapters of somewhat larger bulk are devoted to critical discussions, the first handling in a rather superficial manner such matters as the date, authorship, content, and source of the various dramatic works assigned to Heywood; the second dealing in a similar way with the non-dramatic productions. Six appendices are added as follows: a

genealogical table of the More and Heywood families; the text of the grant to the dramatist of Haydon Manor; Heywood's recantation; the will of William Rastell; Pitseus's account of Heywood; a list of masques and pageants (1510-1554) culled from Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*. An eight-page bibliography and an adequate index conclude the volume.

It is a pity that Mr. Bolwell, who is evidently a student of insight and industry, by neglecting one of the simplest duties expected of a candidate for the doctor's degree has produced a book that is already out of date. If he had informed himself regarding the activities of his predecessors, he would not only have saved valuable time and space but would have protected himself against needless conjecture and inaccuracy. If he had read Arthur W. Reed's *John Heywood and his Friends* (printed in the *Library*, July-October, 1917), for example, he probably would not have asserted with such assurance that the "first definite record of Heywood comes from his eighteenth year" (p. 5), that he was born in London and married about 1529, and that earlier students were unacquainted with the fairly well known masque of *Arthur's Knights*; nor would he have devoted several pages to a futile attempt to determine the date of Heywood's flight from England, an event which took place on July 30, 1564. Again, if Mr. Bolwell had consulted the present writer's article titled "The Heywood Circle and the Reformation" (*Modern Philology*, x, 553-72) he would not have stated (p. 40) that the "recantation of Heywood seems to be the only document pertaining to this affair noticed or used by his biographers," etc. And he would have found other items in that rather juvenile production which would have interested him. Furthermore, if he had examined Arthur W. Reed's *The Canon of John Heywood's Plays* (1918) or H. N. Hillebrand's "On the Authorship of the Interludes Attributed to John Heywood" (*Modern Philology*, September, 1915, pp. 91-104) he would have found much interesting material for confirmation or refutation. Finally, if he had properly informed himself about his subject, he would not have discussed *Calisto and Meleboae* (p. 116) without at least referring to C. R. Baskerville's assignment (*Modern Philology* for January 1916, p. 190) of the production to Rastell; nor would he have assigned *Gentleness and Nobility* to Heywood with such assurance without taking into consideration the arguments for Rastell's authorship as presented by Baskerville (*op. cit.*, p. 190) and Esther C. Dunn (*Mod. Lang. Review*, XII, 266-78); nor would he, in his desire to assign *Thersites* to Heywood (p. 116), have cited Boas's article in the fifth volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* in support of his assignment and neglected to say that the same writer in his *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (pp. 20-22) has given good reasons for regarding the production as an Oxford play.

Brooke, Tucker. *The Marlowe Canon*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXVII, 367-417.

- Brooke, Tucker. *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 25 (June, 1922), 347-408.  
A large body of criticism and allusion (1588 to present) with numerous valuable notes and comments.
- Brooke, Tucker. *Marlowe's Versification and Style*. Studies in Philology, xix, 186-205.
- Brooke, Tucker. *The Prototype of Marlowe's Jew of Malta*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 8, 1922, p. 380.  
Conjecture that Barabas is a "blend of contemporary rumour and imaginative improvisation, growing out of the vague talk which must have abounded in England—particularly in the early part of 1591—concerning the mysterious Passi and the future fate of Malta."
- Byrne, M. St. Clare. *Anthony Munday and his Books*. Library, Fourth Series (March, 1921), 225-256.
- Carter, Henry Holland (ed.). *Every Man in his Humour* (Yale University Press, 1921).  
Reviewed by Eduard Eckhard in *Englische Studien*, 56, 331-332; in London Times Literary Supplement for March 2, 1922, p. 136.
- Cesaresco, Evelyn Martinengo. *Webster's White Devil*. London Times Literary Supplement, April 20, 1922, p. 261.
- Clark, Arthur Melville. *Thomas Heywood as a Critic*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 217-223.
- Cruickshank, A. H. *Massinger: and "The Two Noble Kinsmen."* Lecture before Elizabethan Literary Society at King's College, March 8, 1922. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1922.  
Opposes theory that Massinger is joint author of play.
- Cruickshank, A. H. *Welsh Portraiture in Elizabethan Drama*. London Times Literary Supplement, November 16, 1922, p. 747.  
Brief supplement to W. J. Lawrence's article listed below.
- Day's "Ile of Guls."* London Times Literary Supplement, August 3, 1922, p. 512.
- Eichler, Albert. *Schauspielerinnen in London um 1600?* Beiblatt zur Anglia, xxxiii (May, 1922), 118-120.
- Farnham, Willard. *Scogan's Quem Quaeritis*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 289-292.  
A curious blunder. Cf. Neil C. Brooks in *M. L. N.* for January, 1923.

Frijlinck, Wilhelmena P. (ed.). *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt.* Amsterdam: H. G. Van Dorssen, 1922. Pp. clx, 119.

The editor gives as a reason for reediting this old drama (discovered in 1883 by the late A. H. Bullen and printed in the second volume of his rare *Collection of Old English Plays*) her desire to make more accessible to students a valuable document in English dramatic history. At the same time she has given us a much more reliable text than that of Bullen's edition; for she has so carefully scrutinized the original manuscript as to improve upon numerous readings of the earlier editor—some of them highly interesting—and to restore, with the exception of a half dozen words, all the passages marked through in the original. In reproducing the text she very wisely follows the principles adopted in the publications of the Malone Society. The lines are numbered consecutively, all textual peculiarities are scrupulously preserved, photographic specimens of the manuscript are inserted, all passages deleted in the original have been restored, and all striking or unusual textual features, together with all the variants of Bullen, are carefully listed at the bottom of each page.

The elaborate introduction of 160 pages is somewhat overdone. At times it is digressive or too detailed and crowded with quotations from others. In this section of the volume such matters as date, stage history, sources, relationship to contemporary Dutch affairs, aesthetic and literary value, and authorship are discussed, the editor, it is worth noting, agreeing almost entirely with Oliphant in his apportionment of the play to Fletcher and Massinger. Appended to the text are interesting discussions of the deletions in the manuscript, the original actors of the play, brief but adequate annotations, and a classified bibliography in which the numerous items are listed chronologically. The most valuable portions of the work, aside from the careful and painstaking reproduction of the original text, are the discussions of sources and the relationship of the drama to Dutch history—a task for which the editor is especially well prepared. For these reasons, as well as for others of less consequence, the present edition of *Barnavelt* is a valuable aid to students of English drama.

- ✓Graves, Thornton S. *Some References to Elizabethan Theatres.* Studies in Philology, xix, 317-327.
- Green, Robert. *The Scottish History of James the Fourth.* Ed. for Malone Society by W. W. Greg and A. E. H. Swaen. Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Greg, W. W. *The Printing of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647.* Library, New Series, II (Sept., 1921), 109-115.
- Greg, W. W. *Notes on Old Books.* Library, New Series, III (June, 1922), 53-57.
- Significance of wormholes in British Museum copy of Marston's Antonio's Revenge (1602).

- Greg, W. W. *The Date of "John a Kent."* London Times Literary Supplement, November 16, 1922, p. 747.
- Grossmann, Rudolf. *Spanien und das Elisabethanische Drama* (Hamburg, 1920).  
Reviewed by Eduard Eckhardt in *Englische Studien*, Vol. 56, 425-426; by Ludwig Pfandl in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 143 (N. S. 43), 159-161.
- Hillebrand, Harold Newcomb. *The Children of the King's Company at Whitefriars*. Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXI, 318-334.
- Holthausen, F. (ed.). *An Enterlude of Welth and Helth*. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1922.
- Jonson, Ben. *Every Man out of his Humour*. Edited for Malone Society by W. W. Greg and F. P. Wilson. Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Judson, A. C. (ed.). *Thomas Heywood's Captives* (Yale University Press, 1921).  
Reviewed by C. R. Baskerville in *Modern Philology*, XIX, 421-422.
- Lawrence, W. J. *The Authorship of 'The Costelie Whore.'* Modern Language Review, XVII, 167-168.  
Cf. article by Walter Worrall, *ibid.*, p. 411.
- Lawrence, W. J. *The Date of "John a Kent."* London Times Literary Supplement, November 23, 1922.
- ✓ Lawrence, W. J. *Welsh Song in Elizabethan Drama*. London Times Literary Supplement, December 7, 1922, p. 810.
- Lawrence, W. J. *Found: A Missing Jacobean Dramatist*. London Times Literary Supplement, March 23, 1922, p. 191.  
The "found" dramatist is Thomas Drue, author of *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, and, in the opinion of Mr. Lawrence, the Thomas Drew mentioned in 1611 as one of the actor-sharers of Queen Anne's Company and the T. D. who wrote *The Bloody Banquet*.
- ✓ Lawrence, W. J. *Welsh Portraiture in Elizabethan Drama*. London Times Literary Supplement, November 9, 1922, p. 724.
- Marston, John. *Antonio and Mellida and Antonio's Revenge*. Edited for Malone Society by W. W. Greg. Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Maxwell, Baldwin. *Wily Beguiled*. Studies in Philology, XIX, 206-237.  
Unconvincing argument that play is a thorough reworking, late in

1601, or early in 1602, of the lost *Wily Beguiled* performed at Merton College, Oxford, during the Christmas season of 1566-7.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Notes on the Tragedy of Nero*. *Philological Quarterly*, I, 173-178.

Hitherto unnoted borrowings from classics.

Parker, John. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. *London Times Literary Supplement*. September 7, 1922, p. 569.

Phelps, William Lyon. *Essays on Books*. New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Contains a discussion of Marlowe.

✓ Playfair, Nigel. *The Staging of Shakespeare's Plays*. The New World, May, 1921, pp. 503-510.

Reed, Arthur W. *The Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama*. Shakespeare Association pamphlet. Oxford University Press, 1922.

The "break" which produced the modern variety of drama occurred in the household of Cardinal Morton. Comments on the Rastells and Medwall.

✓ Rhodes, R. Crompton. *The Stagery of Shakespeare* (Birmingham, 1921).

Reviewed by Brander Matthews in *New York Times Book Review and Magazine* for May 21, 1922; in *London Times Literary Supplement* for Feb. 2, 1922, p. 71.

Rollins, Hyder E. *Robert Cox and Thomas Heywood—The Date of their Death*. *London Times Literary Supplement*, August 3, 1922, p. 507.

Shows that Robert Cox was buried on Dec. 12, 1655 and Thomas Heywood on August 16, 1641, this last fact being already pretty well known by students of drama.

Schoell, Frank L. (ed.). *Charlemagne*.

Reviewed by E. N. S. Thompson in *Philological Quarterly*, I, 158.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *Notes on Peele*. *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 290-293.

Textual notes on *Edward I*, *Alcazar*, *Old Wives Tale*.

Spens, Janet. *Elizabethan Drama*. London: Methuen and Company, 1922. Pp. ix, 148.

This scattered and ill proportioned little volume is described by the publishers as a "manual of Elizabethan drama intended for the use

of university students beginning to work at the subject." It begins with a chapter which for some strange reason is titled "Bibliography," presents in a second chapter of twenty pages the "characteristics" of Elizabethan drama, discusses the "origins" in a third of some fifteen pages, dismisses Shakspere's predecessors in a fourth of the same length, touches upon the Revenge Play in a fifth, presents the "Apocrypha and Munday" in a sixth, discusses Shakspere's "Contemporaries" (Jonson, Chapman, Dekker) in a seventh, the "Successors" (Beaumont and Fletcher) in an eighth, the "Decadents" (Massinger, Middleton, Webster, Ford) in a ninth. An "Epilogue" of a page and a half introduces the reader to James Shirley, the Interregnum, and the Restoration.

One is curious to know just what kind of "beginner" would be benefited by the present "manual," which contains no bibliographical help of any consequence, indulges in frequent and needless surmise and conjecture, and devotes a large part of a chapter to Munday and three pages to a guess regarding the authorship of *Edward III*, and dismisses Greene in one page, Ford in a page and a half, and Shirley in a couple of lines. Perhaps the author's abnormal skepticism regarding the conclusions of modern scholarship and her frequently ridiculous surmises are intended to stimulate "beginners" and "suggest lines of research," to use a phrase from the publishers' description of the volume. If so, the method is a dangerous one; for it is more than likely that it will lead to confusion or encourage a particularly amateurish type of theorizing which with appalling frequency is being offered to the world as Elizabethan scholarship.

- Stopes, Charlotte Carmichael. *The Seventeenth-century Accounts of the Masters of the Revels*. Shakespeare Association pamphlet. London: Milford, 1922.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Anything for a Quiet Life*. Notes and Queries, 12 Series, IX, 181; 202; 225; 300; X, 11; 50.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Massinger and Dekker's 'The Virgin Martyr.'* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, X, 61-65; 83-88.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Massinger and 'The Sea-Voyage.'* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 443-446; 484-486.
- Thaler, Alwin. *Minor Actors and Employees in the Elizabethan Theater*. Modern Philology, XX, 49-60.
- Thaler, Alwin. *Shakspere to Sheridan. A Book about the Theatre of Yesterday and Today*. Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xviii, 339.

Reviewed in London *Times* Literary Supplement for June 15, 1922, p. 392; by Brander Matthews in New York *Times* Book Review and Magazine for May 21, 1922; by J. Ranken Towse in the *Literary*

*Review* for July 8, 1922, pp. 790-791; by W. J. Lawrence in *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 418-424.

In his preface Professor Thaler states that he has written the present volume in an endeavor to offer something of "profit and delight" to "all sorts and conditions of people." "I have consistently aimed," he says, "to make this book at once useful and interesting, and that no less to students than to readers and theatre-goers in general." In the opinion of the reviewer, at least, this attempt to appeal to "all sorts and conditions of people" is responsible for most of the shortcomings of the book.

To begin with, the title, while it may possibly attract various sorts of people, is distinctly misleading; for the volume has little or nothing to do with the theatre of today; and instead of being a popular history of the drama or a collection of light essays, as the title would indicate, is the outgrowth of the author's Harvard doctoral dissertation, several chapters of which have already been utilized by Professor Thaler in various articles published in *Studies in Philology* and *Publications of the Modern Language Association*. Again, the attempt to handle adequately and entertainingly in three hundred pages such an enormous subject as the finance and business management of the English playhouses from Shakspere to Sheridan is obviously an almost impossible task. Professor Thaler has done remarkably well.

In plan this book is simple and satisfactory. A short introductory chapter titled "Old Lamps and New"—in which there is a little straining to justify the subtitle of the work—is followed by a more satisfactory one dealing with such matters as the income of playwrights and their relations with managers and actors. The third chapter is a valuable discussion of the finances of early actors, their dealings with one another, and their social status—this latter feature being somewhat inadequately handled. The next chapter sets forth many of the practices and troubles of the early managers; a fifth discusses the aid, largely financial, accorded the London theatres by the Court; and a final chapter deals at considerable length with such matters as the cost and method of erection of the early playhouses, prices of admission, the nature and methods of securing properties and costume, and the modes of advertising resorted to by early theatrical people. Following the text proper are three appendices, the first consisting of extracts from the Lord Chamberlain's Books (1661-1683), the second of a list of references to admission charges in Elizabethan times, the third being a brief discussion of the size of pre-Restoration theatres. Thirty-nine illustrations from the Harvard Theatre Collection add to the value and attractiveness of the book, though some of them do not bear any very intimate relationship to the text itself. The volume unfortunately does not contain a bibliography, and in consequence the references in the footnotes are sometimes so abbreviated as to be somewhat irritating.

In a production handling such a mass of varied materials it is hardly humanly possible to be accurate in each detail; hence Professor Thaler is occasionally guilty of inaccuracies, as, for example, his interpretation (p. 304) of the passage in *Thomas Lord Cromwell* to mean that "two pence" was the price of admission to Paris Garden when the words clearly refer to the sum paid to the operator of the "little boate" at Putney. But these are minor points and have been noted sufficiently by Mr. W. J. Lawrence in the review listed above.

In spite of certain weaknesses, due primarily to the attempt to make theatrical finance interesting to all sorts and conditions of people, *Shakespere to Sheridan* is a valuable book. It would have been more valuable if the author, who shows an exceptionally wide acquaintance with theatrical literature, had frankly written for students alone and had either confined his discussion to the pre-Restoration period or else produced a much larger book in which he could have gone more deeply into numerous interesting practices of Restoration and eighteenth century actors and managers.

- Vogt, George McGill. *The Wife of Bath's Tale, Women Pleased, and La Fee Urgele: A Study in the Transformation of Folk-Lore Themes in Drama.* Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 339-342.
- Webster, John. *Le Démon blanc et la duchesse d'Amalfi par Camille Cé.* Paris: Renaissance du livre, 1922.
- Worrall, Walter. *The Authorship of 'The Costelie Whore.'* Modern Language Review, XVII, 411.

### III. SHAKSPERE

- Abernathy, Julian Willis. "Honest Iago." *Sewanee Review*, XXX, 336-344.
- Acheson, Arthur. *Trailing the Dark Lady of the Sonnets.* New York Times Book Review and Magazine, March 20, 1921.
- Acheson, Arthur. *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story: 1592-1598.* London: Quaritch, 1922.
- Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 14, 1922, p. 838.
- Archer, William. *Re-distributing Shakespeare.* Contemporary Review, cxxi (June, 1922), 746-753.
- Reply to contentions of J. M. Robertson in his *The Shakespeare Canon*; consists largely of an adequate refutation of Robertson's theory regarding authorship of *Julius Caesar*.

Alden, Raymond M. *Shakespeare*. New York: Duffield and Company, 1922. Pp. xix, 377.

Professor Alden's *Shakespeare* is a thoroughly commendable addition to the Master Spirits of Literature Series. In writing his book he frankly admits that he has no Shaksperian theories to propose and that he has "inherited" from his predecessors most of the "substantial ideas" contained in his volume, which seeks, in the first place, to be a "compendium of the known facts respecting Shakespeare and of the prevailing critical judgments of modern scholarship, sufficiently untechnical for the purposes of the general reader, and at the same time uncolored by any desire to prove a case." In the second place, the book seeks to effect a compromise between the passionately laudatory attitude of the romantic critics and the scientific and historical criticism as practiced by later Victorians and their followers.

In plan the volume is simple and clear. The opening chapter discusses in a fresh and stimulating way some of the tendencies of the age in which Shakspere lived; the second presents in conservative and business-like manner the generally accepted facts of the dramatist's life; a third treats the non-dramatic works, very refreshingly abstaining from an attempt to settle the problems of the sonnets; a fourth is devoted to the chronicle history plays; a fifth deals with the comedies, attempting roughly to classify them as "farcical," "thoughtful-satiric," and "thoughtful-sympathetic or romantic"; a sixth chapter discusses the "tragi-comedies," under which confessedly inadequate term are grouped the so-called "dark comedies," *Timon*, and the "romances." In the four preceding chapters, it should be noted, little space is given to technical problems, most of the discussion being devoted to critical and interpretative comments on the various plays handled in chronological, or approximately chronological, order. A concluding chapter titled "Shakespeare" gives in an unusually sane and interesting manner a general impression of the dramatist, emphasizing Shakspere's characteristically Renaissance attitude toward such matters as morality, politics, religion, and love. The Bibliography at the conclusion of the volume includes an excellently selected list of productions dealing with the chief topics discussed in the preceding chapters.

During these productive years when conscientious students trying to keep abreast of the times are compelled to waste many valuable hours on the worthless Shaksperian conjecture that pours constantly upon them, it is gratifying to read a work so sane and sensible as that of Professor Alden. Perhaps some readers will object that he is too hard upon the "modern devotee of conjecture," but no doubt the vast majority of students will agree that this peculiar individual deserves a very hard rapping; and many teachers on the lookout for a safe and up-to-date guide to put into the hands of their students will welcome a book which, in spite of the temptation that all writers

on Shakspere are subject to, consistently refuses to theorize at length about such doubtful items as Shakspere's connection with the so-called War of the Theaters, his attitude toward the Puritans, and his relationship to the Dark Lady. Nor will they appreciate less a book which, while frankly admitting "plagiarism of many kinds," really does more than present "with substantial fidelity" the "tendencies of the best judgment of our own time."

Ashdown, M. *Anlaf-Havelok and the Hamlet Story*. Modern Language Review, XVII, 127.

Additional notes (I and II) to the writer's article "Single Combat in English and Scandinavian Romance."

Baker, Arthur E. *A Shakespeare Dictionary*. Part III: *Macbeth*; Part IV: *The Tempest*. Taunton, England, 1922.

Baldwin, T. W. *On King Lear*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 504.

Bartlett, Henrietta C. *Mr. William Shakespeare. Original and Early Editions of his Quartos and Folios. His Source Books and Those Containing Contemporary Notices*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922. Pp. xxvii, 217.

Reviewed in London *Times* Literary Supplement for June 15, 1922, p. 389; by Belle da Costa Greene in the *Literary Review* for September 16, 1922, p. 30.

The person or persons in charge of the Oliver Baty Cunningham Memorial Publication Fund have exercised excellent judgment in selecting as the second work for publication a book which is indispensable to all serious students of Shakspere and Elizabethan literature in general. In clear, compact, convenient, and frequently interesting form, Miss Bartlett has brought together in the compass of a single volume some 387 items—"all the more important printed sources before 1640, from which we derive our knowledge of the greatest English dramatist, his life and works." More specifically, she has listed and described: (1) all known editions of Shakspere's works, poems as well as plays, issued prior to 1709; (2) the various editions of fourteen of the so-called apocryphal or spurious plays; (3) the various adaptations of Shakspere from John Caryl's *The English Princess* (1667) to Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* (1762); (4) the "source books," that is, the works which Shakspere read or referred to; (5) a hundred and nine productions published between 1592 and 1688 containing important or interesting allusions to the dramatist.

Miss Bartlett's book is more than a mere tabulation. Many of the items are accompanied by valuable notes that possess more than a purely bibliographical value; and especially convenient to the student

is her painstaking endeavor to locate the present whereabouts of all the copies of especially rare books printed before 1640.

*Mr. William Shakespeare* is the very kind of bibliographical work that is especially needed by American students at the present time when so many of the rarities of Elizabethan literature are being brought by enthusiastic collectors to this country. It is to be hoped that such expert bibliographers as Miss Bartlett, aided by the courtesy of our collectors and the liberality of such men as Mr. Cunningham, will continue the good work so ably begun in the present volume; for what has been done for "Mr. William Shakespeare" could most profitably be accomplished for dozens of his contemporaries and immediate successors.

Baudin, Maurice. *The Rôle of the Ghost in Hamlet*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 185-186.

Bayfield, A. M. *A Shakespearian Trifle*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 8, 1922, p. 381.

Beck, Margaret M. *The Dance of Death in Shakespeare*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 372-374.

Brandl, Alois. *Shakespeare: Leben-Umwelt-Kunst. Neue Ausgabe mit sieben Abbildungen*. Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co., 1922.

Reviewed in London Times Literary Supplement for March 16, 1922, p. 168.

Buchin, Erna. *Sidney's Arcadia als Quelle für 'Cymbeline.'* Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 143 (N. S. 43), 250-252.

Campbell, Olwen W. *Troilus and Cressida: A Justification*. London Mercury, IV (May, 1921), 48-59.

Castellano, Giovanni. *Re Lear*. Bari: Laterza, 1922.

Chapman, John Jay. *A Glance toward Shakespeare*. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922. Pp. 116.

This modest title is given by Mr. Chapman to a series of brilliantly written papers or "notes." In addition to the Introduction and a nine-page Appendix—the latter dealing in a very entertaining manner with enunciation and American speech—the little volume contains twelve brief essays, seven of which deal with individual plays by Shakspere. The other five discuss the plays as poetry, their acting quality, the general nature of Shaksperian comedy, Shakspere's types of character, and the sonnets.

Mr. Chapman has some very individual notions about Shakspere; he is capable of sweeping statements; he sometimes makes assertions

that are at least questionable. But perhaps these are all devices whereby the author seeks to attract his reader. Attract him he certainly does.

- Charlton, H. B. Reviews of Gertrud Landsberg's *Ophelia, Die Entstehung der Gestalt und ihre Deutung* (1918), Friedrich Rödebrecht's *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston* (1918) and Else von Schaubert's *Drayton's Anteil an Heinrich IV, 2 und 3 Teil* (1920). *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 301-303.
- Chevrollon, André. *Three Studies in English Literature: Kipling, Galsworthy, Shakespeare*. London: Heinemann, 1922.
- Clark, Natalie Rice. *Bacon's Dial in Shakespeare*. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd, 1922.
- Clutton-Brock, A. *Shakespeare's "Hamlet."* London: Methuen; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1922. Pp. vii, 125.

In a short preface the author states that his theory of *Hamlet* was suggested to him several years ago by witnessing a performance of the play by Mr. William Poel. The publication of a revised version of his original discussion, he says, was "provoked" by the recent theories of Mr. J. M. Robertson and Mr. T. S. Eliot, "which imply, or assert, that *Hamlet* is not a masterpiece at all, but an accident or a failure."

The fact that Mr. Clutton-Brock was "provoked" to publish his theory by the appearance of other theories regarded as uncomplimentary to Shakspere explains various characteristics of his production. In the opening chapter, titled "The case against 'Hamlet,'" he selects with considerable ingenuity some real weaknesses in the arguments of his adversaries, though he has hardly been fair to Mr. J. M. Robertson, whose theory, as I understand it, does not assert or imply that *Hamlet* is either accident or failure. The second chapter—by far the most interesting and stimulating part of the book—deals with the question of Hamlet's hesitation. Briefly, Mr. Clutton-Brock thinks that Hamlet's delay is due to a "violent nervous shock" resulting from the awful news of the Ghost. He writes (p. 45): "The more he tried to force himself into action, the more his unconscious invented pretexts why he should delay to act. In fact, the play is made by Hamlet's irrelevance, not by his purpose of revenge. It is the essence of the tragedy that this irrelevance, the result not of any weakness in Hamlet's character but of nervous shock, causes many deaths where there should be only one, and causes Hamlet to mis-express himself in action and in talk." A third chapter, in which there is a deal of rather abstract language, for which the author duly apologizes, handles *Hamlet* as an aesthetic document and protests

somewhat clamorously against what Mr. Clutton-Brock regards as false standards and methods of criticism. An appendix of nine pages is devoted principally to Professor Stoll's *Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study*. Since few readers are likely to be convinced by Professor Stoll, asserts Mr. Clutton-Brock, the Professor's theory is disposed of in an appendix. Such flippant treatment of a really scholarly monograph, which one suspects Mr. Clutton-Brock has not even read, is little less than ridiculous, especially when Mr. Clutton-Brock deals at great length with Eliot's lighter production based substantially upon the research of Professor Stoll, admits that his own theory about Hamlet was suggested by the performance of a modern actor, and confesses that he has written a book explaining *Hamlet* without reading *Bestrafe Brudermord*.

Mr. Clutton-Brock argues long and eloquently for the aesthetic quality in *Hamlet*; and he apparently thinks that the historical study of the play threatens to detract from the artistic quality of the drama. But it is difficult to see how the theories of Mr. Robertson and Professor Stoll are less complimentary to Shakspere than is Mr. Clutton-Brock's theory which proposes that, unless we regard Hamlet as the victim of nervous shock and its consequent mental disorders, then the plot of the play lacks "all reason and coherence" (p. 88). To the present writer, at least, it seems that the historical method of approach employed by such scholars as Robertson and Stoll is far more likely to determine what Shakspere himself thought about Hamlet than can ever be determined by the devising of highly subjective theories suggested by the impersonation of contemporary actors and expressed in terms compatible with existing ideas of psychology.

Clutton-Brock, A. *On 'Hamlet' and Other Things*. London Times Literary Supplement, May 25, 1922, pp. 342-342; *ibid.*, June 8, 1922, p. 380.

*Coriolanus*. Leading article in London Times Literary Supplement, July 27, 1922.

Craig, W. J. and Case, R. H. (eds.). *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*. Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1922.

Crawford, A. W. *A Note on Julius Caesar*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 164-167.

Cunningham, Henry. *Some Passages in Hamlet*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 29, 1922, p. 428; *ibid.*, July 6, 1922, p. 444.

Cunningham, Henry. "*Hamlet*." v. i, 298. London Times Literary Supplement, October 12, 1922, p. 648.

Reply to W. W. Greg (*ibid.*, Aug. 17). Cf. reply of Greg (*ibid.*,

Oct. 26, 1922, p. 687) and Cunningham's retort (*ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1922, p. 707).

- Dean, Frederick. *Grand Processional of Hamlets*. New York Times Book Review, December 17, 1922.
- De Lorenzo. *Shakespeare e il dolore del mondo*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1922.
- Dowden, Edward. *The Works of William Shakespeare: with an Introduction by Edward Dowden*. Illustrated by G. Demain Hammond. London: Harrap, 1922.
- Eichler, Albert. *Zur Quellengeschichte und Technik von L. Tiecks Shakespeare—Novellen*. Englische Studien, Vol. 56, 254-280.
- Estève, Edmond. *De Shakespeare à Musset: Variations sur la romance du Saule*. Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, July-September, 1922, pp. 288-315.
- Fairchild, A. H. R. "Mummy" in *Shakespeare*. Philological Quarterly, I, 143-146.
- Feuillerat, A. *Shakespeare: Théâtre*. Tome II. *La tempête. Le roi Lear*. Translated with introduction and notes. Paris: Renaissance du livre, 1922.
- Fischer, Rudolf. *Quellen zu Romeo und Julia*. Shakespeares Quellen, II. Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1922.
- Ford, Harold. *Shakespeare: His Ethical Teaching*. London: Smith's Publishing Co., 1922.
- Furness, H. H., Jr. (ed.). *The Letters of Howard Horace Furness*. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1922.
- Contains numerous comments on Shakspere.
- Furness, H. H., Jr. *Hamlet and the Mystery of Amy Robsart: A Reply*. North American Review, Vol. 216 (Sept., 1922), 357-363.
- Gide, André (Trans.). *Antoine et Cléopâtre*. Paris: Vogel, 1922.
- Haines, C. R. *Recent Shakespearean Research*. Quarterly Review, No. 469 (Oct., 1921), 225-243; No. 470 (Jan., 1922), 1-17.
- Haynes, French. *Shakespeare and the Troy Story*. Howard College Bulletin, Vol. LXXX, No. 3 (June, 1922), 67-131.
- A brief account of Troy story from Homer to Shakspere is followed by a discussion of the use of the material by the Elizabethans, Shak-

spere's conception of the story, and his treatment of his sources. The author emphasizes the point that *Troilus and Cressida* "owes its enigmatic nature to the complexity of its sources"—i. e., classical, medieval, and renaissance conceptions of the Troy story.

- Hecht, Hans. *Shakespeares Testament und die Vorrede der Schauspieler zur ersten Folio*. Germanische-Romanische Monatsschrift, x, 162-171.
- Hewlett, Maurice. 'All's Well that Ends Well.' Nineteenth Century, xci, 964-971.
- Hirchberg, Julius. *Wirkliche oder scheinbare Entlehorungen aus Shakespeare's Dramen*. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 143 (N. S. 43), 209-222.
- Hookham, George. *Will o' the Wisp, or the Elusive Shakespeare*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.
- House, Roy Temple. *Lope de Vega and "Un Drama Nuevo."* Romanic Review, XIII, 84-87.  
Shakespere's influence noted.
- Kaye, F. B. *Seventeenth Century Reference to Shakespeare*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 248.
- Kellner, Leon. *Shakespeare-Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1922.
- Kempling, W. Bailey. *Shakespeare Monuments in London*. Fortnightly Review, cxi (New Series), 137-147.
- Kern, Alfred Allen. *King Lear and Pelleas and Ettarre*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 153-157.
- Kuhl, E. P. *A Song and a Pun in Shakespeare*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 437.  
Passage concerned is *Shrew*, IV, i, 41 ff.
- Kuhlmann, Karl A. *Hamlet-Erkenntnisse*. Kiel: W. G. Mühlau, 1922.
- Landauer, Gustav. *Shakespeare*. Frankfurt a M: Rutten and Loening, 1922.
- Law, Ernest. *Shakespeare's Garden*. London: Selwyn and Blount, 1922.
- Lawrence, W. J. *A Plummet for Bottom's Dream*. Fortnightly Review, cxi (New Series), 833-844.  
Contention that *Midsummer Night's Dream* was originally written for public presentation late in 1597 or early in 1598. Quarto of 1600

represents a revision of play as acted on the wedding night of Anne Russell to Lord Herbert, June 16, 1600. On the two following nights *As You Like it* and *Maid's Metamorphosis* were given, this circumstance explaining the introduction of the Masque of Hymen into v. 4 of the former play and also the presence of v. 3—introduced for sake of the song "It was a lover and his lass."

Lawrence, William Witherle. *The Meaning of "All's Well that Ends Well."* Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXVII, 418-469.

Lee, Sir Sidney. *A Life of William Shakespeare. Third Edition of the Revised Version (Rewritten and Enlarged).* London: John Murray, 1922. Pp. xlviii, 776.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement* for June 26, 1922, p. 408.

In his new preface dated April 10, 1922 Sir Sidney states that he has sought to bring the bibliographical notes up to date and has done what he could, "within the restrictions imposed by stereotyped plates," to correct in the text the errors of the previous edition. Stereotyped plates no doubt explain why the present edition of this indispensable book was not given the overhauling that it needs; for in spite of its great value, the work still contains various statements made with assurance but really open to the gravest doubt, while a few of the inaccuracies of earlier editions, recently pointed out by Professor Thaler and others, are repeated without comment by Sir Sidney. Among the "fresh information" inserted in the *Life* is a very telling argument against the theory of Elizabethan punctuation advocated by Mr. Percy Simpson and his followers. Interesting, too, is the discussion of recent sales of important early books bearing upon Shakspere.

Liebermann, F. *Shakespeare als Bearbeiter des King John.* Parts II and III. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 143 (New Series 43), 17-46, 190-203.

Luce, Morton. *Nature in Shakespeare.* *Nineteenth Century*, xcii (Sept., 1922), 397-409.

M., D. L. "Sir Thomas More." *Nation and the Athenaeum* XXX (Dec. 16, 1922), 472.

M., D. L. *Troilus and Cressida.* *Nation and the Athenaeum*, XXX, 907-908.

M., F. D. *The Tonsons and Shakespeare.* *London Times Literary Supplement*, December 14, 1922, p. 842.

- McClorey, John A. *An Estimate of Shakespeare*. New York: Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, 1922.
- McGovern, J. B. *Shakespeariana: "Thisne."* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, xi, 389-390.
- MacSweeney, Joseph J. *Notes on 'King Lear' and 'Twelfth Night.'* London Times Literary Supplement, February 9, 1922, p. 92.
- Mathew, Frank. *An Image of Shakespeare*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1922.  
Reviewed in London Times Literary Supplement for November 16, 1922, p. 742; in *Nation* and the *Athenaeum* for November 18, 1922, pp. 388-390.
- Meyerstein, E. H. W. *The Motives of a Shakespeare Forger*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 1, 1922, p. 364.
- Meyerstein, E. H. W. *The Vision in Cymbeline*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 15, 1922, p. 396.  
Argument for Shaksperian authorship.
- Michelmore, G. *A Book Annotated by Shakespeare (?)*. London Times Literary Supplement, August 10, 1922, p. 521.  
The gentleman believes that his copy of Golding's translation *The Eyght Books of Caius Julius Caesar* (1565) contains annotations in Shakspere's handwriting.
- Moore, J. R. *Ancestors of Autolycus in the English Moralities and Interludes*. St. Louis: Washington University Studies, ix, No. 2 (1922).
- Murray, J. Middleton. *The Disintegration of Shakespeare*. Nation and the Athenaeum, March 11, 1922, pp. 864-866.  
Review of *Croce as Shakespearian Critic* and *The Shakespeare Canon* by J. M. Robertson and *Measure for Measure* edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. J. Dover Wilson.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare*. Shakespeare Association pamphlet. Oxford University Press, 1922.
- Nicholson, Marjorie H. *The Authorship of Henry the Eighth*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, xxxvii, 484-502.  
Ingenious but unconvincing argument that in 1613 Shakspere planned and began a play dealing with Henry VIII but turned his rough draft over to Fletcher, who departed radically from the original plan.

Noble, Richmond. *A Passage in "Hamlet."* London Times Literary Supplement, July 13, 1922, p. 460.

Reply to Cunningham (cf. above). Cf. reply of Cunningham, *ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1922, p. 508; the article by W. W. Greg, *ibid.*, p. 533; and that by Conal O'Riordan, *ibid.*, p. 545.

Nordström, John. *Wanderings of a Second Folio.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 365-366.

Discussion by K. Peterson, *ibid.*, p. 413.

*On Hamlet and Other Things.* Leading article in London Times Literary Supplement, May 18, 1922.

Suggested by A. Clutton-Brock's *Shakespeare's Hamlet*.

Ord, Hubert. *Chaucer and the Rival Poet.* London Times Literary Supplement, May 18, 1922, p. 324.

Parsons, J. Denham. *Stratford-upon-Avon. Gravestones and Inscriptions.* Pub. by the author, 45 Sutton Court Road, Chiswick, W., 1921.

Parsons, J. Denham. *William Shakespeare 'Another's Name,' or the suppressed evidence of the Elizabethan satirists, Marston and Hall, concerning the author of Venus and Adonis.* Pub. by the author, 45 Sutton Court Road, Chiswick, W., 1921.

Poel, William. *A One-Volume Shakespeare.* London Times Literary Supplement, August 31, 1922, p. 557.

Cf. W. Jaggard, *ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1922, p. 569.

Poel, William. *The First Quarto 'Hamlet.' An Elizabethan Actor's Emendations.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 301-303.

Price, H. T. '*Henry V.*' Act II, Chorus, ll. 41-2. Modern Language Review, XVII, 293-294.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur. *Studies in Literature.* Second Series. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Contains study of Shakspere.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur and Wilson, J. Dover (eds.). *Measure for Measure and Comedy of Errors. "The New Shakespeare."* Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur and Wilson, J. Dover (eds.). *The*

*Tempest.* "The New Shakespeare." Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Reviewed by W. W. Greg in *Modern Language Review*, xvii, 174-191.

Rea, John D. *Julius Caesar* II, i, 10-34. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxviii, 374-376.

Redin, Mats. *The Friend in Shakespeare's Sonnets.* Englische Studien, 56, 390-407.

Reid, J. S. *Shakespeare's "Living Art."* Philological Quarterly, I, 226-227.

Rhodes, R. Crompton. *A Reading of "Coriolanus."* London Times Literary Supplement, August 31, 1922, p. 557.

Cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1922, p. 616.

Robbins, Alfred. *Shakespeare's Sonnets and Congreve.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, xi, 145-146.

Roberts, John Hawley. *The Nine Worthies.* Modern Philology, xix, 297-305.

Successful refutation of Lefranc's contention that the Masque of the Nine Worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* is directly indebted to a poem by Richard Lloyd.

Robertson, J. M. *Croce as Shakespearean Critic.* London: Routledge, 1922.

Robertson, J. M. *On "Hamlet" and Other Things.* London Times Literary Supplement, June 1, 1922, p. 363.

Robertson, J. M. *The Re-Surveying of Shakespeare.* Contemporary Review, No. 68 (Sept., 1922), 315-323.

Reply to Archer's article listed above.

Robertson, J. M. *The Shakespeare Canon. I The Origination of "Henry V"; II The Origination of "Julius Caesar"; III The Authorship of "Richard III."* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1922. Pp. xvi, 205.

Reviewed in London *Times* Literary Supplement for March 30, 1922, p. 208; by F. E. Schelling in the *Literary Review* for September 9, 1922, p. 5.

It is impossible to present in limited space all the details of the complex theories advanced in this frequently startling book. Briefly, Mr. Robertson thinks that *Henry V* was originally an old "drum and trumpet" play composed by "Marlowe and his group" (traces of

Greene and Peele being observable) and revised by Shakspere, who "inserted the best matter, ethical and poetical," without, however, giving the play a "vital re-handling." The vindication of the massacre of the French prisoners he would assign to Chapman (p. 59). *Julius Caesar*, he believes, was originally composed by Marlowe prior to 1590, and revised in 1595 or soon afterwards by Drayton and Chapman. The play at this stage of its development ended with the present third act. About 1602 Shakspere revised an old play by the name of *Caesar's Fall*—an entirely different production from the Marlowe-Drayton-Chapman drama—and about 1607 someone, probably Jonson, compressed the two dramas into the present composition known as Shakspere's *Julius Caesar*. *Richard III*, he contends, is essentially by Marlowe, who was probably assisted by Kyd. Heywood, he believes, "did a good deal of later eking out and expanding; but Shakespeare, however much he may have revised, contributes only some six or seven speeches, some of them very short."

Such elaborate and intricate theories of "origination" built up almost entirely on the basis of internal evidence of a slippery and untrustworthy nature are by no means convincing—a fact which Mr. Robertson very well realizes—and the newness and complexity of his theories will no doubt arouse much hostile criticism. We may not agree with the conclusions of this unusually prolific scholar; some of us, in fact, may, as a result of the rapid production of such theories as those of Mr. Robertson, be induced to foreswear the hopeless muddle of Elizabethan collaboration; but none of us can deny the stimulating quality of Mr. Robertson's work and the ingenuity with which he puts his fingers on numerous real defects in the productions universally attributed to Shakspere; nor can we fail to admire the fearlessness with which he combats the tyranny of tradition and the absurdities of romantic criticism.

Schücking, Levin L. *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*. London: Harrap, 1922.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement* for September 7, 1922, p. 567. Original edition (1921) reviewed by Karl Young in *Philological Quarterly*, I, 228-234.

Shakespeare. *The Winter's Tale*. With colored pictures by Maxwell Armfield. New York: Dutton, 1922.

*Shakespeare Canon*.

William Poel in *London Times Literary Supplement*, April 13, 1922, p. 244, April 27, p. 276, May 11, p. 308; J. M. Robertson, *ibid.*, April 20, p. 260, May 4, p. 292.

*Shakespeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*. Decorated by John Austen. New York: Dutton, 1922.

- Singleton, Esther. *The Shakespeare Garden*. New York: Century Co., 1922.
- Smith, G. C. Moore. *Shakespeare's Sonnet xcvi*, L. I. London Times Literary Supplement, June 22, 1922, p. 413.
- Smith, Winifred. *Teaching Shakespeare in School*. English Journal, June, 1922, 361-364.
- Smith, Winifred. *Ghosts at First Nights in Italy*. Poet Lore, xxxiii (Spring, 1922), 114-117.  
Discusses Forzano's *Sly*.
- Smith, Winifred. *Two Commedie dell' Arte on the Measure for Measure Story*. Romanic Review, xiii, 263-275.
- Smithson, E. W. *Baconian Essays. With an Introduction and two essays by Sir George Greenwood*. London: C. Palmer, 1922.  
More "anti-Stratfordian" material.
- Spargo, John Webster. *An Interpretation of Falstaff*. St. Louis: Washington University Studies, ix, No. 2, 119-133.
- Stecher, Richard. *Erläuterungen zu Shakespeares Romeo und Julia*. Leipzig: Beyer, 1922.
- Steinitzer, Alfred. *Shakespeares Königsdramen*. Munich: C. H. Becksche, 1922.
- Stoll, E. E. (ed.). *Henry V*. New York: Holt, 1922.
- Stopes, Mrs. C. C. *Macbeth and James I's Visit to Oxford, 1605*. London Times Literary Supplement, May 4, 1922, p. 292.
- Strachey, Lytton. *Books and Characters*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922.  
Chapters on Sir Thomas Browne and Shakspere.
- Summers, Montague. *Shakespeare Adaptations: The Tempest, The Mock Tempest, and King Lear*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1922. Pp. cviii, 282.  
Reviewed in London Times Literary Supplement for February 23, 1922, p. 120; by Brander Matthews in New York Times Book Review and Magazine, May 21, 1922, p. 9; by Jack Crawford in the Literary Review, September 9, 1922, p. 5.  
Mr. Summers has adequately edited from original editions Davenant and Dryden's *Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* (1670), Thomas Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest; or the Enchanted Castle* (1675), and Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear* (1681). Of these three

reprints the first is of most interest; for the text of the Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* has not been reprinted since 1701, the version passing for this play in the later collected editions of Dryden being nothing more than the book of Shadwell's opera, *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* (1674).

The texts of the three productions, especially that of Duffett's exceptionally coarse burlesque, are followed by adequate and frequently interesting notes revealing Mr. Summer's wide acquaintance with Restoration literature. Preceding the plays is a long and erudite but rather scattered introduction dealing with such subjects as Shaksperian revivals, burlesque, and Restoration theatricals in general. In this section of his book Mr. Summers leans very wisely on Mr. W. J. Lawrence for many of his facts; very unwisely, however, he departs violently from the genial manner of this eminent Irish scholar in correcting the blunders of investigators long since departed.

Tamblyn, W. F. *Notes on King Lear*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 346-349.

Tamblyn, W. F. *Tragedy in King Lear*. Sewanee Review, XXX, 63-77.

Thomas, H. *Shakespeare and Spain*. The Taylorian Lecture for 1922. Oxford University Press, 1922.

Thompson, James Westfall. *Hamlet and the Mystery of Amy Robsart*. North American Review, CCXV, 657-672.

Thurston, Herbert. *The Date of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII."* London Times Literary Supplement, October 19, 1922.

Opposes W. H. Grattan Floods' article in *Month* that a reference in 1602 to a play on Wolsey alludes to *Henry VIII*.

Tolman, A. H. *The Structure of Shakespeare's Tragedies with special reference to 'Coriolanus.'* Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 449-458.

Tonson and Walker's Edition of Shakespeare. London Times Literary Supplement, December 28, 1922, p. 876.

Van Roosbroeck, Gustave L. *Hamlet in France in 1663*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXVII, 228-242.

Whitney, Lois. *Did Shakespeare Know "Leo Africanus"?* Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXVII, 470-483.

Possibility that suggestions for early life and certain traits of character of Othello received from John Pory's translation (1600) of *Leo Africanus*.

Wilson, Christopher. *Shakespeare and Music.* London: The Stage, 1922.

Winchester, C. T. *An Old Castle and Other Essays.* New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Contains four essays on Shakspere.

Winstanley, Lillian. *Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History Being a Study of the Relations of the Play of Macbeth to the Personal History of James I, the Darnley Murder and the St. Bartholomew Massacre and also of King Lear as Symbolic Mythology.* Cambridge University Press, 1922. Pp. 228.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement* for July 13, 1922, p. 458. (Cf. reply of Miss Winstanley, *ibid.*, July 27, p. 492).

In the present volume Miss Winstanley carries on the method of her earlier *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession* (1921). Feeling it inconceivable that such intense productions as *Macbeth* and *King Lear* could have been composed about legendary beings of very remote times, and feeling also that the subjects of such powerful works can not be less than "the fate of nations and the fate of the world," she examines history for data to justify her feeling. Briefly, she argues that Shakspere in writing these tragedies was really writing of his own age in such a way as to appeal to the "complex" of emotions uppermost in the minds of English people about 1604. In other words, the dramas are a "kind of symbolic mythology." *Macbeth* she believes to be a sort of composite of the young and older Bothwells and Charles IX, while numerous features of the play—including even the famous porter scene—are Shakspere's "symbolic" treatment of such events as the Darnley Murder and the Gunpowder Plot. Similarly *King Lear* owes much to these same events, while the aged King has many characteristics of Coligny, and like that worthy in contemporary Huguenot literature, is a symbol of persecuted France suffering from the ingratitude of her children.

One can sympathize with Miss Winstanley's protests against the blundering methods of the "philosophic" critics who approach Shakspere from a narrowly modern point of view, but it is questionable whether the results of such criticism are further from the truth than those of a method which detects in the ordinary doings of an Elizabethan artist dexterous maneuvers of topical import and which collects from diversified historical sources scraps of information which seem to fit in with a preconceived theory. Miss Winstanley refers to her method as "new." The attempt, however, to find allegory or symbolism where little or none exists, and the seeing, in consequence of enthusiasm and over-concentration, of abundant parallels and simi-

larities imperceptible to the ordinary eye is a method which the Elizabethan dramatists themselves repeatedly resented.

That a large number of Elizabethan dramas—even some of those of Shakspere—are topical or "symbolic" nobody will deny; but that is no reason why one should ride the topical theory to death. By Miss Winstanley's method one can "prove" a "kind of symbolic mythology" or a hodgepodge of history in almost any serious drama of the Elizabethan period.

Young, Karl. *The Shakespeare Skeptics.* North American Review, coxv, 382-393.

#### IV. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS

Allen, P. S. *The Birth of Thomas North.* English Historical Review, xxxvii, 565-566.

Convincing evidence that North was born in London, May 28, 1535.

Bayne, R. (ed.). *The Life of John Fisher.* Early English Text Society, Extra Series cxvii. London: Milford, 1922. ✓

Bredvolt, Louis I. Reviews of Logan Pearsall-Smith's *Donne's Sermons* (Oxford, 1920), H. J. Grierson's *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1921), and Mary Paton Ramsay's *Les Doctrines Médiévales chez Donne* (Oxford, 1918). Journal of English and Germanic Philology, xxi, 347-353.

Brown, Sir Thomas. *Religio Medici.* Edited by W. Murison. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Burton, William. *The Loves of Clitophon and Lensippe translated by William Burton.* Edited by Stephen Gaselee and H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

Clutton-Brock, Arthur. *More Essays on Books.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1921.

*Essays on George Herbert and Vaughan.*

Chambrun, Longworth. *Giovanni Florio. Un Apôtre de la Renaissance en Angleterre à l'Epoque de Shakespeare.* Paris: Payot, 1922.

Chambrun, Longworth. *John Florio.* London Times Literary Supplement, June 22, 1922, p. 413.

Chambers, R. W. and Seton, Walter. *Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece.* Scottish Historical Review, xix, 196-201.

Confrey, Burton. *A Note on Richard Crashaw.* *Modern Language Notes*, **xxxvii**, 250-251.

Evidence establishing his precosity as poet, his taking of anglican orders, his departure for Rome in 1646.

Crawford, Bartholow V. *Formal Dialogue in Narrative.* *Philological Quarterly*, **1**, 179-191.

First six pages deal with dialogue prior to 1660..

Davies, Sir John. *Orchestra, or a Poeme for Dancing.* London: Stanton Press, 1922.

Dekker, Thomas. *The Seven Deadly Sins of London.* Edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Percy Reprints. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.

Demans, Robert. *Hugh Latimer. A Biography.* New Edition. London: Religious Tract Society, 1922.

Feuillerat, Albert. *Sidney's Works*, Volume II. Cambridge University Press, 1922. Pp. x, 395.

This volume contains the last part of *Arcadia*, together with *Astrophel and Stella* and other poems and *The Lady of May*. The portion of *Arcadia* included is from the folio 1593, and the text is reprinted without any deviations from the originals. In the Appendix will be found a group of poems of doubtful authenticity. There are abundant critical notes, and an index of first lines of the poems. With the first volume of this edition, published in 1912, students of Elizabethan literature now have access to a considerable body of Sidney's works in a scholarly and attractively printed form. A third volume is promised, to complete the edition.

Fripp, E. I. *John Brownsword: Poet and Schoolmaster at Stratford-upon-Avon.* Hibbert's Magazine, April, 1921, 551-564.

Floyer, J. K. *Some Emblem Books and their Writers.* Cornhill Magazine, New Series, No. 303 (Sept., 1921), 324.

Gordon, J. W. *Bacon's Philosophical Writings.* Nineteenth Century, **xci** (May, 1922), 841-857.

Grierson, Herbert J. C. *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1921. Pp. lviii, 244.

The poems in this anthology are classified as love poems, divine poems, and miscellanies (elegies, epistles, satires, and meditations), and they represent the chief English poets from Donne to Butler.

The editorial equipment, consisting of introduction, notes to the poems, and index of first lines, is superior to that in any other edition of seventeenth century verse, and the selection of poems is admirable.

Excellent as are the selections and the notes, the distinction of the volume lies in the introduction. Professor Grierson has a broader, more illuminated, view of this body of poetry than his predecessors. His criticism is based on exact knowledge and wide reading; it is not confined to matters of poetic technique or to finding illustrations of Johnson's famous definition of poetical wit. He relates the poetry which he examines to its foundations in medieval thought and to its reflection of contemporary thought, including the new science. The full meaning of the term metaphysical he finds in "a philosophical conception of the universe and the rôle assigned to the human spirit in the great drama of existence." The poetry under review lacks the great metaphysical quality of the work of Lucretius and Dante; not even Milton, Professor Grierson holds, was a philosopher. But Donne, besides his medieval scholasticism, possessed a deep reflective interest in the experiences of which he wrote, and Cowley was attracted by the achievements of science and the systematic materialism of Hobbes. The analysis of Donne's poetry seems to the present reviewer to be the best in recent years, while the chapter on religious poetry has the same merit of analysis of the thought rather than the endless discussion of versification and rhetoric that has too long constituted most of our criticism. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, for example, classifies Cowley merely as one of the "writers of the couplet." Professor Grierson has made a valuable contribution not only to literary history but also to the study of some of the intellectual currents of the seventeenth century.—E. G.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. *Poems "Signed" by Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 505-506.

*Happy Island, The*. Leading article in London Times Literary Supplement, August 17, 1922.

Discussion of Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

Judson, C. A. *A Forgotten Lovelace Manuscript*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 407-411.

Judson, A. C. *Robert Herrick's Grave*. Notes and Queries, 12 Series, x, 426-427.

Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 487.

Keith, Arthur. *The Skull of Sir Thomas Browne*. London Times Literary Supplement, May 11, 1922, p. 307.

Loane, George G. *Britannia's Pastorals*. London Times Literary Supplement, September 14, 1922, p. 584.

Textual comments. Cf. Arthur R. Ropes, *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1922, p. 601 and Loane, *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1922, p. 648.

**McKerrow, R. B. (ed.).** *Greenes Newes both from Heauen and Hell by B. R. 1593 and Greenes Funeralls by R. B. 1594.* Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1922. Pp. xii, 96.

*Epigrammes in the Oldest Cut and Newest Fashion by John Weever 1599.* Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1922. Pp. xiii, 129.

These well printed little volumes are reissues of reprints first published by Sidgwick and Jackson (London) in 1911. To say that the editor is Mr. R. B. McKerrow is to say that the editing is carefully done; and the "List of Irregularities, Doubtful Readings, Manuscript Corrections, etc." included in each volume enables the student to use with confidence these convenient reprints of extremely rare originals.

Mr. McKerrow's explanatory notes are helpful and unburdened with irrelevant or conjectural material. The introductory remarks are not so full as one might hope. In addition to containing purely bibliographical comment they touch briefly upon such interesting matters as authorship and date. Mr. McKerrow, it is well to note, is inclined to accept Barnabe Rich as the author of *Greenes Newes*; and he concludes that whereas the arguments against assigning *Greenes Funeralls* to Richard Barnfield are stronger than those supporting his authorship, still he is "not sure" that these arguments exclude the possibility of the "R. B." on the title page being Barnfield's initials.

**Merrill, L. R.** *Nicholas Grimald, the Judas of the Reformation.* Publications of the Modern Language Association, xxxvii, 216-227.

**Moorman, F. W.** *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick.* Oxford and New York. Oxford University Press, 1921. Pp. viii, 446.

An edition, in one volume, of the Oxford Poets series, of Professor Moorman's authoritative critical text of Herrick (1915), but based on the text of 1648 and noting only the variants of that issue. The present volume also omits the Epigrams. For the ordinary reader, this edition is preferable to the larger work. It supplies, at small cost, a trustworthy and complete text of a favorite poet.

*New Light on Donne and Others.* London Times Literary Supplement, January 26, 1922, p. 57.

Review of Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, vii (1921).

**Nicholson, Marjorie H.** *More's Psychozoia.* Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 147-148.

- North, Sir Thomas. *The Diall of Princes by Don Anthony of Guevara.* Translated by Sir Thomas North (1551). Edited by K. N. Colvile. London: Philip Allen, 1921.
- Rogers, Elizabeth Frances. *A Calendar of the Correspondence of Sir Thomas More.* English Historical Review, xxxvii, 546-564.
- Rollins, Hyder E. *The Three Hundred and Sixty-five Children.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, xi, 351-353.
- Saintsbury, George. *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, Vol. III. Oxford and New York. Oxford University Press, 1921. Pp. ix, 552.  
Reviewed by John Berdan in the *Literary Review* for November 18, 1883, p. 220; by G. C. Moore Smith in *Modern Language Review*, xvii, 425-427.
- The third and last volume of Professor Saintsbury's invaluable collection of Caroline poetry includes Cleveland (94 pages); Stanley (65 pages); King (114 pages); Flatman (147 pages); and Whiting (128 pages). An introduction is supplied for each poet represented, and there are useful textual and explanatory notes for the poems. Some of the poets reprinted in this book have recently been made accessible through the work of American scholars, for example, Cleveland, edited by Professor Berdan, and King, edited by Professor Mason; but all students of seventeenth century literature are under heavy obligations to Professor Saintsbury and the publishers for these three splendid volumes.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. *The Countess of Pembroke's 'Arcadia.'* With Introduction by Ernest A. Baker. Reprint. London: Routledge, 1921.
- Shafer, Robert. *Henry More's Psychozoia.* Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 379.
- Shelton's "Don Quixote." London Times Literary Supplement, August 17, 1922, p. 536.
- Smith, G. C. Moore. *Edmund Withypoll.* Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 143 (N. S., 43), 183-189.  
Supplement to reprint (*Archiv*, 142) of Thomas Lupset's *Exhortation to Yonge Men* dedicated to Withypoll.
- Starnes, D. T. *An Erroneous Ascription to Wyatt.* Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 188.  
Ascription in question is "An Epitaph on Sir Thomas Gravenor, Knight."

Thorp, Willard. *John Taylor, Water Poet.* *Texas Review*, VIII, 32-41.

Vaughan, Henry. "Henry Vaughan." Leading article in London Times Literary Supplement, April 20, 1922.

Ward, Sir A. W. *Collected Papers.* Vols. III and IV. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Contains several reviews and articles dealing with Elizabethan literature.

Cf. W. H. Hutton's "The Collected Papers of A. W. Ward," *Quarterly Review*, No. 473 (Oct., 1922), 314-326.

Von Ingersleben, Irmgard. *Das Elizabethanische Ideal der Ehefrau bei Overbury* (Cothen, 1921).

Reviewed by Albert Eichler in *Englische Studien*, 56, 427-428.

Wells, H. W. *The Tercentenary of Henry Vaughan.* New York: Hudson Press, 1922.

Willcock, Gladys D. *A Hitherto Uncollected Version of Surrey's Translation of the Fourth Book of the 'Aeneid.'* *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 131-149.

Woodward, Frank. *Francis Bacon's Cipher Signatures.* London: Grafton and Co., 1922.

## V. SPENSER

Brooke, Tucker. *Stanza-Connection in the Fairy Queen.* *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVII, 223-227.

Carpenter, Frederick Ives. *Desiderata in the Study of Spenser.* *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 238-243.

Carpenter, Frederick Ives. *Spenser in Ireland.* *Modern Philology*, XIX, 405-419.

Covington, F. F., Jr. *Another View of Spenser's Linguistics.* *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 244-248.

Grierson, H. J. C. *Spenser's 'Muiopotmos.'* *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 409-411.

Suggestion that Burleigh is the spider, the child of "policy," in the allegory.

Legouis, E. *L'Epithalame d'Edmund Spenser.* *Revue de littérature comparée*, I (July-Sept., 1921), No. 3.

Translation into French verse with introduction and notes.



Renwick, W. L. *Spenser and the Pléiade*. *Modern Language Review*, xvii, 287-288.

Supplementary note to "The Critical Origins of Spenser's Diction" (*Modern Language Review*, January, 1922).

## VI. MILTON

Bridges, Robert. *Milton's Prosody*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1921. Pp. 119.

Reviewed by J. W. Bright in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvii, 316-320.

This essay is one of several studies of prosody that have appeared recently. It is a revision, with many additions, of material previously published. The four parts into which the book is divided treat of the prosody of *Paradise Lost*, of the prosody of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*, of "obsolete mannerisms," and of the prosody of accentual verse. English verse, he holds, is accentual, and the last chapter is a formal statement of the laws of accent, with a special application to accentual hexameter.

Bundy, Murray W. *Milton's View of Education in Paradise Lost*.

*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xxi, 127-152.

Candy, Hugh C. H. *A New Milton Manuscript?* *London Times Literary Supplement*, January 26, 1922, p. 60.

Discussion: M. A. Bayfield, *ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1922, p. 76; H. C. H. Candy, *ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1922, p. 92 and Feb. 23, 1922, p. 125; T. S. Osmond, *ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1922, p. 92 and March 16, 1922, p. 173.

Mr. Candy believes that some 1300 verses written in a volume (Frankford, 1563) owned by himself are in Milton's handwriting.

Candy, Hugh C. H. *The Milton-Ovid Script*. *Notes and Queries*, 12 Series, xi, 201-6; 221-3; 242-5; 265-9; 281-4; 305-7; 324-6; 344-6; 363-5; 387-9; 406-8; 427-9; 446-8; 463-5; 487-8; 509-9; 525-7.

Further evidence that work (cf. entry above) is a juvenile work by Milton.

Chesterton, G. K. *Milton and Merry England*. *London Mercury*, December, 1921, 134-143.

Gilbert, Allan H. *Milton and Galileo*. *Studies in Philology*, xix, 152-185.

Glicksman, Harry. *A Comment on Milton's History of Britain*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvii, 474-476.

Good, John Walter. *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (University of Illinois, 1915).

Reviewed by Walter Fischer in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XLIII, 371-376.

Hanford, J. H. *The Evening Star in Milton*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 444-445.

Havens, Raymond Dexter. *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xii, 722.

Because of its title and its importance to all students of Milton this book is included in the present bibliography. While the specialist will find it a mine of information on the history of Milton criticism, he will also secure from its pages a much more intangible and difficult sort of knowledge: an insight into the way Milton appealed not only to masters of poetic art who followed him but to hundreds of men and women who had no special inspiration. Such a study is obviously incomplete, for Professor Havens limits himself to verbal imitations, critical opinions, and matters of poetic technique: the great problem of the influence of Milton's ideas is necessarily almost completely lacking in such a study. But as a study of the more formal aspects of Milton's influence this book is final. There may be a few additions or corrections, but these will not alter the main results of a research so thorough and solid as to reflect great credit on American scholarship.

The greatest value of the book, in the opinion of the present reviewer, is in its contribution to the history of English literature in the eighteenth century. It shows the errors in many conventional generalizations about the beginnings of romanticism, about the kinds of poetry written, and read, in that time. The first chapter is an impressive analysis of the extent of Milton's influence, and the remainder of the book fortifies these conclusions by an array of facts astonishing in extent and variety. We shall have to change some of our ideas about the vogue of the sonnet, for example, and about the history of blank verse. Professor Havens has given new demonstration of the necessity for minute and painstaking research, for the laborious gathering of facts, as the basis for sound generalization. We shall need a new history of eighteenth century literature, and this book will be indispensable to the scholar who writes it.

A third value of the book is as a source of material for the study of special topics: the history of the sonnet, of the epic, of the theory of verse-translations, and other similar matters. The various appendices, the bibliography, and the index increase its usefulness as a work of reference in many different fields.

The author deserves the thanks of all readers for the admirable

plan which he has used in dealing with his enormous accumulation of material. Part I is devoted to the attitude of the eighteenth century towards Milton. In Part II the influence of *Paradise Lost* is traced, first on blank verse, then on the major poets to the time of Keats, finally on the types: meditative and descriptive poetry; epic and burlesque; translations; technical treatises in verse; and philosophical and religious poetry. Part III treats of the shorter poems in the same thorough way. The plan is easy to follow; there is proper perspective; both the material itself and Professor Havens's comments interest the reader.—E. G.

Knowlton, E. C. *Causality in 'Samson Agonistes.'* Modern Language Notes, xxxvii, 333-339.

Liljegren, S. B. *Die englischen Quellen der Philosophie Miltons und verwandtes Denken.* Beiblatt zur Anglia, xxxiii, 196-206.

Ludwig, Albert. *Französische Miltonforschung.* Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 143 (N. S. 43), 204-208.

Mutschman, H. *Macaulay and Milton.* Beiblatt zur Anglia, xxxiii, 170-173.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur. *Studies in Literature.* Second Series. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Contains lectures on Milton.

Rand, E. K. *J and I in Milton's Latin Script.* Modern Philology, xix, 315-319.

Rand, E. K. *Milton in Rustication.* Studies in Philology, xix, 109-135.

Roth, G. *Sur un exemplaire de Milton ayant appartenu à Herder.* Revue de littérature comparée, i, No. 1 (1921).

Saurat, Denis. *Les Sources anglaises de la Poésie Milton.* Revue Germanique, December, 1921.

Saurat, Denis. *Milton and the "Zohar."* Studies in Philology, xix, 136-151.

Saurat, Denis. *Blake and Milton* (Bordeaux, 1920).

Reviewed by S. B. Liljegren in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, xxxiii, 39-48.

Seaton, M. E. *Milton and the Myth of Isis.* Modern Language Review, xvii, 168-170.

Smart, John S. *The Sonnets of Milton.* Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Company, 1921. Pp. x, 195.

This book should be in the library of every student of Milton. It makes notable contributions to our knowledge of the friends to whom Milton addressed certain sonnets, giving in an appendix the documents, hitherto unpublished, on which the discussion in the introduction and commentary is based. In the Introduction, besides a well-written survey of the English sonnet before Milton, Dr. Smart defines the poet's use of the classical forms of the Italian sonnet, defends him against the charge of irregularity and failure to profit by the technic that had been developed by generations of writers, and shows that Milton avoided the Petrarchan conventions as a rule, being influenced rather by Della Casa and Tasso. Following this introductory survey, all the sonnets, including the Italian sequences, are printed, each being accompanied by a commentary which explains the circumstances, the sources, and the meaning, together with notes on words and phrases. While many of the notes are devoted to matters of common knowledge, necessary in a text designed for class use, many others contain new information or explain historical matters more completely than in editions hitherto accessible. The total effect of the commentary is highly original. It introduces us, in a very human way, to Milton's circle, and it helps to correct the impression of detachment, of a soul that dwelt apart, that is conventional when we think of the poet of *Paradise Lost*.—E. G.

Wann, Louis. *Milton's 'Lycidas' and the Play of 'Barnavelt.'*  
Modern Language Notes, XXXVII, 470-473.

Winchester, C. T. *An Old Castle and Other Essays.* New York:  
Macmillan, 1922.

Contains a lecture on Milton.

#### VII. HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CRITICISM

Allison, William H. *The First Endowed Professorship of History and the First Incumbent.* American Historical Review, XXVII, 733-737.

Degory Whear first incumbent of William Camden Professorship at Oxford established in 1622.

Beer, George Louis. *The Origin of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660.* New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Beveridge, Thomas J. *English Renaissance Woodwork, 1660-1730.* London: Technical Journals, 1922.

Bloom, J. Harvey (ed.). *English Tracts, Pamphlets and Printed Sheets. A Bibliography.* Vol. I (Early Period), 1473-1660 (Suffolk). London: W. Gandy, 1922.

Burdach, Konrad. *Reformation — Renaissance — Humanismus* (Berlin, 1918).

Reviewed by Jos. Körner in *Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie*, XLIII, 154-162.

C., H. *Edward More (1479-1541), Warden of Winchester College.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, X, 132-133.

Campbell, Thomas J. *The Jesuits, 1534-1921.* London: Encyclopaedia Press, 1922.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement* for April 27, 1922, p. 268.

*Chetham Miscellanies.* New Series. Volume iv. Edited by G. A. Stocks, James Tait, Ernest Broxap, H. W. Clemensha, and A. A. Mumford. Manchester: Chetham Society, 1921.

Contains various seventeenth century records.

Dietz, Frederick C. *English Government Finance, 1485-1558* (University of Illinois, 1920).

Reviewed by Edward P. Cheney in *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 104-106.

Durham, James. *The Townshends of Raynham.* Part I, 1398-1600. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1922.

Duff, E. Gordon. *The Early Career of Edward Raban, afterwards First Printer at Aberdeen.* Library, New Series, II (March, 1922), 239-256.

Dwelly, E. *Dwelly's Parish Records.* Volume vi. Published by author. Fleet, Hants, 1922.

Contains seventeenth century records of Dunston, Chipetale, Radington, Northover, Ilchester, Broadway.

Evans, Joan. *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Particularly in England.* Oxford University Press, 1922.

Firebrace, Captain C. W. *Sir Henry Firebrace, Knight.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 1-4, 22-24.

Fleming, D. Hay. *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Lothian held on the 19th and 20th of March 1611.* Scottish Historical Review, XIX, 106-114.

Gardner, Eric. *Oatland's Palace at Weybridge.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 161-163.

- Gillespie, James E. *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700.* Columbia University Press, 1922.
- Gunther, R. T. *Early Science in Oxford.* Part II. Mathematics. London: Milford, 1922.
- Hind, Arthur M. *Wenceslaus Hollar and his Views of London and Windsor in the Seventeenth Century.* London: John Lane, 1922.
- Hinds, Allen B. (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy.*, Vol. XXIII (1632-1636). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1922.
- Hodges, H. W. and Hughes, E. A. *Select Naval Documents.* Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Hort, G. M. *Dr. John Dee, Elizabethan Mystic and Astrologer.* London: Rider, 1922.
- Insh, George Pratt. *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686.* Glasgow: MacLehose; New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- Jackson, Sir T. G. *The Renaissance of Roman Architecture.* Vol. I, Italy. Volume II, England. Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Johnson, Rev. A. H. *The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London.* Vol. III (1603-present). London: Milford, 1922.
- Kennedy, W. P. M. *A Declaration before the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1562.* English Historical Review, XXXVII, 256-257.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of the Inquisition.* New Edition. 8 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- Lomas, S. C. (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1585-1586.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1922.
- Major, Rev. H. D. A. *Memorials of Capgrave, together with the Parish Register from A.D. 1584 to 1790.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1922.
- Mc. Sir Michael Geere of Old Stepney Green. Notes and Queries, 12 Series, XI, 42-43.
- McKerrow, R. B. *The Use of the Galley in Elizabethan Printing.* Library, New Series, II, 97-108.
- Meredith, Mary. *Charles I. King and Martyr. A Short Account of the Memorial of Merit of Charles the Martyr.* London: Literary Yearbook Press, 1922.

- Morgan, R. B. (ed.). *Readings in English Social History*. Vol. iv (1603-1688). Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Mumby, Frank A. *The Fall of Mary Stuart*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1922.
- Murray, Robert H. *Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. xxiii, 503.

A learned, vigorous, and interesting survey of the thought and influence of these two major figures, especially with regard to their conception of intellectual liberty. The book is abundantly documented, and the bibliographies and notes are of value to all workers in the period. At the end of the book is an admirable monograph on the conception of progress in classical and renaissance writers, published earlier than Professor Bury's book on the *Idea of Progress* and more limited in scope, but at the same time more detailed in its examination of renaissance materials.

- Neilson, George. *Three Aikenhead and Hagthornhill Deeds, 1508-1545*. Scottish Historical Review, xix, 81-87.
- Newton, Arthur Perceval. *An Early Grant to Sebastian Cabot*. English Historical Review, xxxvii, 564-565.
- Notstein, Wallace and Relf, Frances Helen (eds.). *Commons Debates for 1629. Critically edited, with an Introduction dealing with parliamentary sources for the early Stuarts*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Studies in Social Sciences, No. 10 (1921).
- Reviewed by Godfrey Davies in *English Historical Review*, xxxvii, 434-435; by C. H. McIlwain in *Political Science Quarterly*, xxxvii, 349-351; by Arthur L. Cross in *American Historical Review*, xxvii, 292-294.
- Pennington, Edgar Legare. *Raleigh's Narrative of Guiana*. South Atlantic Quarterly, xxi, 352-359.
- Plomer, H. R. *Richard Pynson, Glover and Printer*. Library, New Series, III, 49-51.
- Pollard, A. F. *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*. English Historical Review, xxxvii, 337-360; 516-539.
- Pollen, John Hungerford. *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*. Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1922.
- Pollen, John Hungerford. *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1580* (London, 1920).

Reviewed by W. H. Frere in *English Historical Review*, **xxxvii**, 284-285.

Reid, R. R. *The King's Council in the North*. London: Longmans, 1921.

Reviewed by Kenneth H. Vickers in *English Historical Review*, **xxxvii**, 432-434; by James F. Baldwin in *American Historical Review*, **xxvii**, 550-551.

Robertson, Alexander. *The Life of Sir Robert Moray: Soldier, Statesman, and Man of Science*. London: Longmans, 1922.

Roloff, Hans. *Zu Fords Neudruck von Brights Stenographiesystem 'Characterie' 1588*. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 143 (N. S. 43), 47-51.

Russell, C. F. *Joshua Sylvester and Southampton*. Notes and Queries, 12 Series, **x**, 161-163.

Sackville. *Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613-1631*. American Historical Review, **xxvii**, 493-538; 738-765.

Smith, Preserved. *The Age of the Reformation*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1922.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement*, June 22, 1922, p. 405; American ed. (1920) reviewed by Austin P. Evans in *Political Science Quarterly*, **xxxvii**, 132-135.

Starnes, D. T. *Our Lady of Walsingham*. Texas Review, **vii**, 306-327.

Elizabethan allusions to "Our Lady" numerous.

Stopes, Charlotte Carmichael. *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron*. Cambridge University Press, 1922. Pp. xii, 544.

Reviewed in *London Times Literary Supplement*, February 9, 1922, p. 85; by C. R. Baskerville in *Modern Philology*, **xx**, 108-109.

In a frank and interesting preface the author pronounces her large closely-printed volume "a collection of materials toward a Life" and admits that she investigated Southampton's life, not out of any especial interest in the Earl himself, but in an endeavor to uncover such facts about Shakspere as would enable her to overthrow the so-called "Herbert-Fitton theory" set forth by Mr. Thomas Taylor in 1890. We may regret that the hope which encouraged the writer through her long and ingenious examination of widely scattered source material was unrewarded, but we must congratulate her on the large contribution which she has made to our knowledge of Shak-

spere's patron; for her book throws much new light on his dreams and accomplishments, his friendships and quarrels. Of especial interest to Americans should be the detailed discussion of his connection with the schemes to colonize Virginia.

In addition to contributing much to our knowledge of the many-sided nature of this thoroughly Renaissance gentleman, the volume is valuable for the insight it gives into general Elizabethan life and temperament; and equally valuable are those stimulating passages which are incorporated in large brackets because they are not founded on solid fact. I refer to such passages as the suggestion (p. 40) that Shakspere first met Southampton in the spring of 1591; the possibility (p. 58) that Shakspere witnessed the passage of the Queen through Oxford in 1592; the theory (pp. 71-73) regarding Southampton's connection with the *Play of Errors* performed during the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594; the opinion (p. 75) that *Midsummer Nights' Dream* was written for the wedding festivities of Sir Thomas Heanage and the Countess of Southampton [on this point see Lawrence's *A Plummet for Bottom's Dream* listed above]; the conjecture (pp. 330-333) that Shakspere received suggestions for his *Tempest* from reading Strachey's letter long before it was published in 1625; and the possibility (p. 382) that Southampton wrote the much discussed epitaph on Shakspere.

Finally, Mrs. Stoops' book is noteworthy for something else besides its mass of solid facts and its stimulating ventures into the realm of conjecture. It will serve as an inspiration to all serious students who read it with the knowledge that the author, though laboring under certain handicaps attendant upon long years of unselfish work in the cause of Truth, has nevertheless produced a book which well deserves to rank alongside her other valuable contributions to Elizabethan scholarship.

Strohl, Henri. *L'Evolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515.* Strasbourg and Paris: Istra, 1922.

Reviewed by Preserved Smith in *American Historical Review*, xxvii, 818-819.

Tanner, J. W. (ed.). *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A.D. 1485-1603. With an Historical Commentary.* Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Reviewed by F. C. Dietz in *American Historical Review*, xxvii, 102-104; in London *Times* Literary Supplement, July 13, 1922, p. 454.

Van Dyke, Paul. *Catherine de Medicis.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922.

Van Dyke, Paul. *The Mission of Cardinal Pole to Enforce the Bull of Deposition against Henry VIII.* English Historical Review, xxxvii, 422-423.

- Wainewright, John B. *Maurice Fitzgibbon, Archbishop of Cashel.*  
Notes and Queries, 12 Series, xi, 107-108.
- Wainewright, John B. *Oliver Starkey.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, x, 43-44.
- Wainewright, John B. *William Clyburne.* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, x, 266-267.
- Wheatley-Crowe, Henry Stuart. *Royal Revelations and the Truth about Charles I.* London: Routledge, 1922.
- Whiting, Mary Bradford. *Anne, Lady Bacon.* Contemporary Review, No. 122 (Oct., 1922), 497-508.
- Willey, B. *Tendencies in Renaissance Literary Theory.* Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1922.
- Williamson, George C. *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, 1590-1676.* Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1922.

### VIII. CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES.

*Aberystwith Studies.* By members of the University College of Wales, Vol. III (1922).

Contains study by Richard Thomas of influence of sixteenth century satirist Trajano Boccalini on English literature.

Allen, P. S. and Allen, H. M. (eds.). *Opus Epistolarum Des, Erasmi Roterodami, Denuo Recognitum et Auctum.* Vol. iv (1519-1521). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

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## POE IN RELATION TO HIS TIMES

BY KILLIS CAMPBELL

It is commonly held that Poe betrays in his writings little or no touch with his times or with the land of his birth. He lived and wrote, we are told, "out of space, out of time." An English critic, writing in the London *Academy* for May 14, 1890, declares that his poems "for aught themselves have to show . . . might have been written a thousand years ago, and amid the loneliness that haunts still undiscovered poles."<sup>1</sup> Both his poems and his tales, declares Professor Henry A. Beers,<sup>2</sup> "might have been written *in vacuo* for anything American in them." According to the lamented Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie, "Poe stands alone in our literature, unrelated to his environment and detached from his time."<sup>3</sup> He was "a timeless, placeless embodiment of technical artistry," asserts Professor Bliss Perry.<sup>4</sup> And a similar view has been repeatedly recorded in our text-books on American literature.

But is this view sustained by a careful examination of Poe's writings? It is clear that Poe transcended his environment to an extraordinary degree. More than any other American of his time he was partial to old-world subjects and to other-world settings and situations.<sup>5</sup> He made little use of American scenery. He cared little for American occasions, and even less for our native legends and traditional lore. And he nowhere displays in his writings any whole-hearted devotion to his country. But too much has been made, I believe, of his alleged detachment



<sup>1</sup> LXXVIII, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> *Initial Studies in American Letters*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIV, p. 738.

<sup>4</sup> *The American Spirit in Literature*, p. 196.

from time and place. That he was not essentially un-American in much of what he wrote was pretty convincingly demonstrated more than a dozen years ago by two very able scholars, the late Professor Barrett Wendell and Professor C. Alphonso Smith, in addresses delivered at the University of Virginia on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of Poe's birth.<sup>5</sup> In the present paper I shall endeavor to show how far and in what particulars he was related to his times.<sup>6</sup> I shall take up in order his poems, his tales, and his critical and miscellaneous essays.

In Poe's poems I can discover no passage that refers specifically to America or to the South, no landscape that may be identified as American, no theme that may be said to be distinctively American. His Americanism, in so far as it comes out in the poems, is reflected very vaguely,—in the remarkable purity of his art, as Professor Wendell maintained;<sup>7</sup> in his ardent discipleship of Coleridge, as Professor Smith holds;<sup>8</sup> and possibly (though not plausibly, I think) in the peculiar melody of some of his lyrics, as Stedman once suggested.<sup>9</sup> But while Poe reflects his Americanism only vaguely and impalpably in his poems, he betrays the influence of his times in virtually every poem that he wrote. Nothing is plainer than that Poe as a poet—and he is, to me, first of all a poet—belongs with the Romanticists of his time. And he belongs not only with Coleridge, whom Professor Woodberry has justly characterized as the “guiding genius of [his] early intellectual life,”<sup>10</sup> but with Byron also and with Moore and with Shelley. He began his career as poet by imitating Byron and Moore; he came later under the spell of Shelley; and both in his theorizing as to poetry and in his application of these theories in his own art, he proclaimed himself the disciple of Coleridge. In

<sup>5</sup> See *The Book of the Poe Centenary*, ed. Kent and Patton, pp. 117-158, 159-179.

<sup>6</sup> Both Professor Wendell and Professor Smith, it should be said, touch incidentally upon the subject of Poe's indebtedness to his times in the essays just mentioned, each of them taking the view that the present paper endeavors to establish (see Wendell, *l. c.*, pp. 136, 139, 147, and Smith, *l. c.*, pp. 163, 174); and Professor Smith returns to the matter in his *Poe: How to Know Him* (pp. 35, 46 f., 59).

<sup>7</sup> *L. c.*, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *L. c.*, pp. 173 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Poets of America*, p. 251.

<sup>10</sup> *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, I, p. 177.

"Tamerlane" and "Al Aaraaf" and "Israfel," he worked with Oriental materials; in "The Raven," "The Haunted Palace" and "Annabel Lee" he followed, even though afar off, in the footsteps of the balladists; in a dozen of his later lyrics—and notably in his rhapsodies to Mrs. Shew and Mrs. Whitman—he asserted his kinship with the sentimentalists; and there is an unmistakable Gothic strain both in his earlier and in his later verses.

In two of his poems, moreover,—“Politian” and “Eldorado,”—he dealt with contemporary happenings, albeit this fact does not lie on the surface. The plot of “Politian,” as Poe’s English biographer, Ingram, has shown,<sup>11</sup> was based on a sensational tragedy of ante-bellum Kentucky, the killing (in 1825) of Solomon P. Sharp, by Jeroboam O. Beauchamp, followed by the hanging of Beauchamp and the suicide of his wife; while his “Eldorado” owed its immediate origin to the excitement aroused late in the forties by the discovery of gold in California. His “Al Aaraaf” I like to think of as an early protest (though but poorly made out) against the “heresy of the didactic,” the poet’s first bugle blast in a battle that he was to wage all his life long in behalf of the beautiful. The “Sonnet To Science” was a protest against the notion (which had but lately been defended by Leigh Hunt in his memorable review of Keats’s volume of 1820)<sup>12</sup> that there is no essential incompatibility between poetry and science. One of the fragments—“A Campaign Song”—is said to have been improvised by the poet for use in General Harrison’s campaign for the Presidency. Three of the poems contain references to contemporary persons of note: to Napoleon in the early version of “A Dream within a Dream,” to Miss Letitia E. Landon (“L. E. L.”) in “An Acrostic,” and to Henry T. Tuckerman in the phrase *Tuckermanities* in “An Enigma.” And further confutation of the theory of a disseverance from things temporal and mundane is afforded by the poet’s frequent references to relatives and friends (to his wife and Mrs. Clemm, to his mother, to Miss Herring, Mrs. Whitman, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Shew, Mrs. Lewis, and Mrs. Richmond) and by his constant, though often veiled allusions to himself.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *The Southern Magazine*, xvii, pp. 588 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *The Indicator*, August 2 and 9, 1820.

<sup>13</sup> See the *New York Times Saturday Review*, March 4, 1899.

In his tales Poe's indebtedness to his times is even more palpable and more plainly visible than in his poems. 'No one can read the American newspapers of the thirties and forties of last century without observing how often the subjects of ballooning, of voyages into remote parts of the world, of premature burial, of mesmerism, of the pestilence, and of mystification of some sort recur there. Poe's interest in contemporary attempts at aerial navigation displays itself in no fewer than five of his stories: "Hans Pfaal," "The Man that was Used Up," "The Balloon Hoax," "The Angel of the Odd," and "Mellonta Tauta." Four of the tales ("MS. Found in a Bottle," "Hans Pfaal," "The Journal of Julius Rodman," and "The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym") have to do with miraculous or mysterious voyages into distant parts. Six of the tales—"Berenice," "Loss of Breath," "Ligeia," "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Premature Burial," and "Some Words with a Mummy"—deal with burial before death or with bringing the dead back to life. Two—"Mesmeric Revelation" and "The Strange Case of M. Valdemar"—are concerned with mesmerism. Four—"King Pest," "Shadow," "The Masque of the Red Death," and "The Sphinx"—have to do with the pestilence (cholera), which raged in the United States in the eighteen-thirties. Others—as "Hans Pfaal" and "The Balloon Hoax"—illustrate the contemporary fondness for mystification and hoaxing.

Some fifteen of the tales refer more or less specifically to Poe's own century. The extraordinary feat of "Mr. Monck Mason" and "Mr. Harrison Ainsworth" in crossing the Atlantic in a balloon—of which we have a minutely detailed account in "The Balloon Hoax"—is represented as having been accomplished on April 6, 7, and 8, 1844, a few days before the publication of the account in the *New York Sun*. The events recorded in "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" and in "Some Words with a Mummy" are associated with the year 1845. "The Sphinx" purports to record an incident that took place in New York in 1832. Arthur Gordon Pym sets out from New Bedford, for his fateful journey into the South Seas, in June, 1827. Other tales are assigned to the nineteenth century without explicit mention of the year; and still others are associated with the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Fully a dozen of the tales contain references to contemporary American notabilities,—among those who come in for mention being Jefferson, Van Buren, John Randolph of Roanoke, Commodore Maury, John Jacob Astor, Washington Irving, John Neal, George Denison Prentice, and the poets Longfellow and Emerson; and still other tales contain references to American periodicals of Poe's time,—including the *North American Review*, *The Knickerbocker*, the *Home Journal*, the *Brother Jonathan*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *New York Evening Post*. In five of the tales<sup>14</sup> Poe touches upon the form of government lately set up in America, referring facetiously (as I believe), in two of them, to difficulties and abuses that had already been encountered in guiding the ship of state.<sup>15</sup> In four of the tales he takes a fling at Transcendentalism.<sup>16</sup> In the tale "Never Bet the Devil your Head," for instance, he sneeringly says of Mr. Toby Dammit: "It is not impossible that he was affected with the transcendentalists," and adds sarcastically: "I am not well enough versed, however, in the diagnosis of this disease to speak with decision upon the point."<sup>17</sup> In "X-ing a Paragrab" he apparently endeavors to settle an old score with the city of Boston, which had dealt with him ungraciously, as he thought, on the occasion of his visit to that city in the fall of 1845.

Perhaps as many as half of Poe's tales were based, in whole or in part, on contemporary happenings or were suggested by contemporary publications. "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt" is confessedly an elaboration of a sensational murder mystery of the early forties. "Von Kempelen and his Discovery," like the poem "Eldorado," grew out of the gold-excitement of '49, being in this instance a quiz on the subject. "Diddling as one of the Fine Arts" was evidently suggested by James Kenney's farce, "Raising the Wind" (1803), a title which served as a sub-title for this story upon its first publication.<sup>18</sup> The "Narrative of Arthur Gordon

<sup>14</sup> "The Colloquy of Monos and Una," "Mellonta Tauta," "The Sphinx," "The Business Man," and "Some Words with a Mummy."

~~—~~ "How to Write a Blackwood Article," "Loss of Breath," "Some Words with a Mummy," and "The Life of Thingum Bob, Esq."

<sup>15</sup> *Poe's Works*, iv, p. 220.

<sup>16</sup> Philadelphia *Saturday Courier*, October 14, 1843.

"Pym" borrowed passages from Captain Morrell's account of his voyages into the South Seas (1832).<sup>19</sup> "The Journal of Julius Rodman," as Professor Woodberry has noted, was based in part on Irving's *Astoria* (1836).<sup>20</sup> The same distinguished authority has shown that "Metzengerstein" and "King Pest" were indebted to Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* (1826), that "The Masque of the Red Death" owed something to Ainsworth's *Old St. Paul's* (1841), and that "Shadow" and "Lionizing" were influenced by Bulwer.<sup>21</sup> "The Pit and the Pendulum," as was pointed out soon after Poe's death, was indebted to a tale from *Blackwood's* (1830).<sup>22</sup> "The Cask of Amontillado" appears to have been suggested by an episode in Balzac's "La Grande Bretèche" (1832).<sup>23</sup> "Some Words with a Mummy" owes one of its most grotesque situations to Robert Montgomery Bird's *Sheppard Lee* (1835).<sup>24</sup> Macaulay was levied on for passages that appear, only slightly altered, in "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains."<sup>25</sup> And several of the early tales have been traced in part to the stories of E. T. A. Hoffman.<sup>26</sup>

And that Poe's tales, despite a strain of realism here and there, were, like the poems, a product of the Romantic Movement, is so evident as scarcely to call for demonstration here. Suffice it to say that Poe makes use, in one or another of his tales, of very nearly all the conventional devices that distinguish the work of the Gothic romancer,—the machinery of trap-doors and subterranean chambers, of secret passages and decayed castles, of ghostly apparitions, of trances, of cataleptic attacks, of life after death; and that he exhibits virtually all the abstract qualities that we associate with Romanticism, including the elements of mystery and terror, the morbid, the grotesque, the strange, the remote, and the extravagant.

But if there were no other evidence of Poe's touch with his

<sup>19</sup> Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, I, p. 191; Robertson, J. W., *Poe: A Study*, pp. 258 f.

<sup>20</sup> *L. c.*, I, p. 191.

<sup>21</sup> *Poe's Works*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, IV, pp. 295, 296.

<sup>22</sup> *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXV, p. 163.

<sup>23</sup> The incident of the walled-up closet.

<sup>24</sup> See the *New York Nation*, XC, pp. 625 f.

<sup>25</sup> See Austin, Henry, *Literature*, August 4, 1899.

<sup>26</sup> See Cobb, P., *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffman on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe*.

times, we should still have most conclusive evidence of his closeness to his times in his critical and miscellaneous writings. These are mainly book-reviews, and hence are by their very nature as genuinely local and contemporary as are the pages of one of our literary weeklies of today.

In his book-reviews Poe passed judgment on very nearly every writer of importance belonging to his generation,—on Dickens and Bulwer and Disraeli, on Macaulay and Leigh Hunt and Southey, on Coleridge, on Mrs. Browning, on Tennyson, to mention but a few among his English contemporaries; on Irving and Bryant and Hawthorne and Lowell and Longfellow and Willis and Irving and Cooper and Kennedy and Simms and Margaret Fuller and Mrs. Osgood, to mention a few Americans. Here we have a painstaking review of Bulwer's *Night and Morning* or a bitterly satirical notice of Theodore S. Fay's *Norman Leslie*, there the famous essay on Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*; here a paper in which his fellow-critics are reprimanded for their dimness of vision in not recognizing the genius of Tennyson, there the famous advance notice of *Barnaby Rudge*, in which he astonished Dickens by forecasting the course which his plot was to take; here the very minute dissection of one of Mrs. Browning's volumes, which led Mrs. Browning to remark that he had "so obviously and thoroughly *read* [her] poems as to be a wonder among critics";<sup>27</sup> there the contemptuous notice of Dawes's *Damascus* or the slashing criticism of the long since forgotten poems of Ellery Channing.

Here, too, it was that Poe aired his views and vented his spleen on what he conceived to be the chief besetting literary evils of the day,—on literary puffery and log-rolling, on "slipshodiness"<sup>28</sup> in style, on imitation and didacticism, on a blind subservience to foreign critical opinion, and on an inordinate esteem of one's own things.

And here also—for his reviews dealt with all manner of men and things—he touches on a number of subjects that are not peculiarly literary in character. In three of his early papers he writes, with evident sincerity, in defense of negro slavery,<sup>29</sup> in

<sup>27</sup> See her letter of May 12, 1845, to R. H. Horne, reprinted by Harrison, *Poe's Works*, XVII, p. 387.

<sup>28</sup> Poe's spelling.

<sup>29</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, pp. 122-3, 337-9, 511.

one of them, dwelling on the happy relation that existed between the slave and his master;<sup>30</sup> in another, recording the opinion that most of the pictures that had been made of slavery were drawn "in red ochre."<sup>31</sup> In one of the latest of his reviews he makes a savage attack on Lowell for what he characterizes as his "fanaticism about slavery."<sup>32</sup> In other papers he deplores the unhappy feeling of antagonism that existed in his day between the North and the South, especially in the antipathy of New England toward the South.<sup>33</sup> In one of his papers published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* he reproaches the State of Virginia for its failure to establish a system of public schools, pointing out that the South lagged far behind New England in this particular;<sup>34</sup> in another, he takes occasion to condemn the Southern practice of "gander-pulling"—happily restricted, I believe, to the antebellum South;<sup>35</sup> in still another, he commends the Southerner for his chivalrous attitude to women.<sup>36</sup> In a review of one of Simms's novels he complains of the "Southern supineness and general want of tact in all matters relating to the making of money."<sup>37</sup> In a notice of Frances Anne Kemble's *Journal* he remarks on the "sensitiveness" felt by Americans "at the unfavorable opinions expressed by foreigners."<sup>38</sup> Elsewhere he complains of the American's "love of gain," and of the spirit of utilitarianism abroad in the land; or he boasts of the "mental elasticity" which "liberal institutions" have inspired in our people, pleading in this connection for an "enlightened liberality" that shall promote maritime commercial activities and "remunerate scientific research."<sup>39</sup>

In a somewhat less tangible way he exhibits his nearness to his times by his fondness for "cutting and slashing"—a weakness that he may have caught from Gifford and Jeffrey, but that had

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 338.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 122.

<sup>32</sup> *Southern Literary Magazine*, xv, p. 190.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 122; xv, p. 126.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 67.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 289.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 520 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, XIII, p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, I, p. 526.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 588 f.

already established itself pretty securely in the political and literary life of America.

In Poe's miscellaneous writings, finally,—his editorials, his "Marginalia," his "Autography" and similar papers, and his *Eureka*—we have a further body of matter that is prevailingly contemporary in nature. He treats here of such subjects as the pay of authors in his day, the best methods of street-paving, the law of copyright, early nineteenth-century movements in behalf of prohibition and temperance, Babbage's calculating machine, schemes for crossing the Atlantic in an airship, the growth in America of an "aristocracy of dollars," the want of keeping and the rage for "glitter" in American household decoration; or he caters to the contemporary interest in cyphers and cryptographs, offering in one of his papers to unravel any cypher that might be proposed to him; or he collects the autographs of distinguished living Americans, and with these as a text dilates audaciously upon their defects and their accomplishments; or he records the weekly gossip about plays and players in New York City; or he makes bold, in his *Eureka*, to wrestle with such questions as the origin of the universe and the evolution of matter, questions that were agitating the minds of more than one of the greatest of his contemporaries.<sup>40</sup>

And so I cannot bring myself to subscribe to the traditional view as to Poe's aloofness from his times. That he was not a product of his times in the same sense and the same degree that Whittier and Lowell and Simms were products of their times is beyond any gainsaying. But I question whether he was not as truly in touch with his times and as deeply influenced by his times as was Washington Irving. He was, I suspect, as genuinely interested in his age and in what was going on about him as was the average American of intelligence in his day, and certainly he relied in no small measure on the life and thought of his time for the suggestion of the materials with which he dealt.

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\* See Bond, F. D., "Poe as an Evolutionist," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXI, pp. 267 ff.

## A NOTE ON POE'S METHOD

BY PAUL ELMER MORE

In the Authors Club of New York there hangs a life-size portrait of Poe which engages my attention as often as I visit those chambers. It is a face that might well haunt the dreams of a man for its pathos. On it is stamped the mark of defeat; the very lines of the mouth, the pronounced asymmetry of the two sides, tell only too clearly the secret of broken self-control and the long unsuccessful struggle with insidious habits. In this it is typical, unfortunately, of a whole class of supersensitive, physically unbalanced artists, who have given some basis to the plausible, but I think now rather discredited, theory that would explain all the phenomena of genius by a morbid psychology. But in one thing the face is unlike the type to which it otherwise belongs: there is not the least sign here of that mental relaxation, that loosening of the mind's grasp and determination, which often goes with what must be called—though the phrase should not be wrongly interpreted in Poe's case—the breakdown of character. On the contrary, the eyes retain the look of intense concentration and logical grip.

And in these features the portrait is true to the original. For one of the distinguishing marks of Poe's work is just the combination of nervous irritability, running even into the morbid, with rigorous intellectual analysis. It is a combination not unknown in other writers of the ultra-romantic group; but it is the exception, and it is carried in Poe to an extreme for which it would be hard to find a parallel. Of his reasoning powers and his delight in the exercise of logical dissection, no proof is necessary; it is sufficient merely to mention his story of *The Gold Bug*, his ingenious detective tales, his uncanny skill in predicting the development of one of Dickens' novels while running as a serial, his uncovering of the automatic chess-player, his *Eureka*. There is no want here of intellectual fibre, but you will observe that the direction of his intelligence is not to ethical abstractions and does not work upon ideas, after the fashion of his great contemporaries in the North; it is rather analytical, and interested in the detection of facts and the dissection of sensations. The difference may be illustrated by

two stories in which Hawthorne and Poe have treated a similar theme. One of these is *Ethan Brand*, the most extraordinary and characteristic, in my judgment, of all Hawthorne's shorter works. It is the tale, you will remember, of a lime-burner who, in the long solitary watches by his furnace in the hills, meditates on the secret nature of the Unpardonable Sin, until his mind becomes possessed with this one idea, and he is driven to go down into the world and search among men for the key to the mystery. And he discovers it—discovers it in his own breast—and returns with this hideous knowledge to the lime-kiln. Yet he has committed no crime in the ordinary sense of the word; his wickedness lies in the mere search for the idea, and of his victims we hear only vaguely of a girl, "whom," as the account runs, "with such cold and remorseless purpose, (he) made the subject of a psychological experiment, and wasted, absorbed, and perhaps annihilated her soul, in the process." The effect of the story is ghostly, where Poe would have been ghastly. From *Ethan Brand* turn now to the tale of *The Man of the Crowd*, whom Poe pretends to see passing in the mob of a London street, and, fascinated by the singular countenance of the wretch, follows through the night and the day in his restless hurry from one thronged region of the city to another. "This old man," he exclaims at last, "is the type and genius of deep crime. He refuses to be alone. *He is the man of the crowd.* It will be in vain to follow; for I shall learn no more of him, nor of his deeds. The worst heart of the world is a grosser book than the *Hortulus Animae*, and perhaps it is but one of the great mercies of God that *er lässt sich nicht lesen.*" Poe's is a grim and unforgettable story, as original as Hawthorne's but different. Its power over our imagination depends on the analysis of the sensations connected with crime, whereas in *Ethan Brand* the interest is centered upon the search for the idea of evil in itself.

But if Poe differs from the ethical writers by avoiding what may be called the ideal use of the intellect, he differs also from the great mass of the romantic writers, with whom he is otherwise akin, by insistent use of the intellect in his own way. And this distinction comes out even more sharply in his criticism than in his practice. In three of his essays he has developed his critical theory elaborately and consistently, in *The Poetic Principle*, *The Rationale of Verse*, and *The Philosophy of Composition*, which

together form one of the few aesthetic treatises in English of real value. In the first of these, a lecture which was read, it will be remembered, in Boston, he lays down his definition of poetry as *The Rhythmical Creation of Beauty*. Its sole arbiter is taste. With the intellect or with Conscience, it has only collateral relations. Unless incidentally, it has no concern whatever with Duty or with Truth." Some allowance must be made in this definition for the fact that Poe was flaunting his flag resolutely in the face of the ethical folk of Boston, and we shall see in a moment that his "collateral relations" of the intellect, as he expresses it, need a pretty wide interpretation. The next step in his theory brings us to these significant words: "It is in Music, perhaps, that the soul most nearly attains the great end for which, when inspired by the Poetic Sentiment, it struggles—the creation of Supernal Beauty."

This position he repeats in *The Rationale of Verse*, where he maintains that verse "cannot be better designated than as an inferior or less capable Music." So far, of course, he is merely adopting one of the familiar commonplaces of the age. The conception of poetry as reaching its normal goal in music was constantly held forth by the early German theorists of the *Romantische Schule*. It is implied in Schleiermacher's declaration that the religious feeling should "accompany all the doings of a man as if it were a holy music; he should do all *with* religion, nothing *through* religion;" it is carried to its dogmatic extreme by Novalis, who sees the consummation of art in "poems which sound melodiously and are full of beautiful words, but without any sense or connection." The theory may appear absurd, in fact is absurd, when stated in this bald manner; but it is held nevertheless in scarcely less extravagant terms by some of the radical critics of the present day. Now in their practice the poets of this school ordinarily have sought to attain the effect of musical evocation by throwing the thinking part of us under a kind of hypnotic spell which leaves the emotional part of us free to float off in a state of vague reverie. Thus, *Kubla Khan*, the typical poem of the *genre*, was actually composed by Coleridge in his sleep, and its charm upon us is that of a dreamlike magic, beginning anywhere and ending anywhere, lifting us up on luxurious waves of indolent music. No doubt there is verse of this pure evocative quality in

our Poe, notably in *The Valley of Unrest* and *The City in the Sea*, and in these lulling cadences of *The Sleepers*:

At midnight in the month of June,  
I stand beneath the mystic moon.  
An opiate vapor, dewy, dim,  
Exhalts from out her golden rim,  
And, softly dripping, drop by drop,  
Upon the quiet mountain top,  
Steals drowsily and musically  
Into the universal valley.

There is, I maintain, an opiate magic in such lines as these equal in potency to anything ever produced by the rhapsodist of Highgate; but it is not, in my opinion, the most characteristic note of Poe. He is even more himself, not when he surrenders his genius to these flowing waves of reverie, but when his mind is concentrated and works with a logical precision, with a logical hardness one might almost say, which is the opposite of the ordinary romantic manner. Consider, for instance, the logical structure and completeness of *The Bells*: there, if anywhere in the English tongue, poetry does become pure music and pure beauty, almost to the exclusion of ideas, yet the thing is worked out and its effects calculated with the mathematical finish of a Bach or any other master of counterpoint who composed before spontaneity became identified with genius.

And Poe not only practised this logical concentration, but raised it to a principle of art. We come thus to the third of his aesthetical treatises, that on *The Philosophy of Composition*, in which he sets forth with ruthless frankness the whole method employed by him in composing *The Raven*. According to this extraordinary exhibition of genius at work, having determined to produce a great poem, he first considered what effect he should choose for treatment. As beauty in his view was "the sole legitimate province of the poem," his choice was so far decided for him. The "next question referred to the *tone* of its highest manifestation"; and here again his choice was fixed for him by his belief that "all experience has shown this" tone to be one "of sadness. Beauty of whatever kind, in its supreme development, invariably excites the sensitive soul to tears." To evoke this effect, or any poetical effect, he saw that the refrain is the most universally employed and the most cogent

instrument; he would therefore make a refrain the keynote of his poem, selecting for this purpose a word capable of protracted emphasis, melodious in itself, and in the fullest possible keeping with the tone of melancholy. These conditions led him immediately to the word "Nevermore" (suggested, probably, by Byron's famous use of it in *Don Juan*). The next step is the most curious of all. He felt the difficulty that "lay in the reconciliation of this monotony with the exercise of reason on the part of the creature repeating the word." It occurred to him that this difficulty might be obviated by putting the refrain into the mouth of a parrot, but changed to a raven, "as equally capable of speech, and infinitely more in keeping with the intended *tone*." He had now to consider what topic, "according to the *universal* understanding of mankind, is the *most* melancholy." Obviously this would be beauty associated with death, "the death, then, of a beautiful woman." This being determined, his task was to bring together his theme and the instrument of his refrain; but we need not pursue him through all the windings of his ingenious plot.

Now what shall be said of this cold-blooded piece of analysis? To most historians it has seemed to be a grand hoax or a bit of unparalleled effrontery. Or at least the whole thing must be taken as an *ex post facto* account, so to speak; for it is impossible that any poem deeply emotional and effective, or any true product of inspiration, should be thus put together like a piece of calculated machinery. And from the ordinary theory and practice of art such an opinion is right. But I am inclined to believe that *The Raven* was actually composed very much as the author explains, and that his essay is not only essentially true to facts but throws a remarkable light on one phase of his genius. I do not mean to say that in all details the reflection on the method to be adopted would precede by an appreciable moment of time the actual invention; the two processes may have gone on together in his mind. The point is that this *conscious* logical analysis was present with him throughout the whole work of composition to an abnormal degree, now preceding, now accompanying, now following the more inscrutable suggestions of the creative faculty. This, I take it, is Poe's original note, the quality which distinguishes his art from that of the other masters of unearthly revery. Here, too, lies the principal sphere of his influence on Baudelaire and the

whole line of foreign poets who have imitated him without reaching his supremacy—they could borrow his method, they could not steal his brains.

Judged thus by the achievement in accordance with his own canon of art, Poe must rank high, if not first, among our American poets, and measured by the extent of his influence he would take a prominent place among the poets of Europe. But when we consider the character of his canon in itself, I fear that certain deductions must be made to his fame. We are forced then to question the very validity of his doctrine of truth and beauty. There is no uncertainty as to the nature of his principles, nor, as is often the case with others, is there any discrepancy in him between theory and practice. To go back to the beginning, let me recall a few words from his criticism of Hawthorne, in which he gives precision to his theory by contrasting the provinces of the tale and the poem. "The tale," he there says, "has a point of superiority over the poem. In fact, while the *rhythm* of this latter is an essential aid in the development of the poem's highest idea—the idea of the Beautiful—the artificialities of this rhythm are an insuperable bar to the development of all points of thought and expression which have their basis in *Truth*." We have here merely the insistent application of the doctrine promulgated in the essay on *The Poetic Principle*, that poetry is "the rhythmical creation of beauty," and that "the demands of truth are severe; she has no sympathy with the myrtle; all *that* which is indispensable in Song, is precisely all *that* with which *she* has nothing to do."

Now just what did Poe mean by this distinction, amounting to an opposition, between truth and beauty, and how did he carry it out in execution? In one sense it is manifest that no poet ever was truer than Poe; all that intense concentration of his mind, that logical grip of his theme, was directed in a way to the attainment of truth—to the perfectly and relentlessly true attainment of the effect which he had chosen to produce. Wherein lies the contrast between truth and beauty to which he was always returning in theory? It lies not in any failure to deal truthfully with his material, but in the restriction of his material to a certain range of emotions and in the exclusion of what he brands as "the heresy of *The Didactic*." This he declares explicitly is the ground of his hostility to the contrary assumption that "the object of all

X Poetry is Truth." Had he confined his attack to didacticism as a mode of expression, it would have been well; but his unfortunate identification of didacticism with truth cut him off from a whole range of material, the highest and finest emotions of the human breast, which need not be didactical at all in form, but are connected with the intuition of moral truth. I mean that kind of emotion, to take an extreme case, which is stirred in Emerson's ethical epigrams. It is a question of values. Beautiful as is much of Poe's work, true as it is, I think an honest criticism must add that it leaves almost untouched the richest source of human feeling. Only perhaps one should except from this limitation the stanzas *To Helen*, in which Poe's distinctive sense of unearthly beauty lies close to the Platonic vision of the Ideal. If these stanzas were written, as tradition has it, when Poe was a mere boy (and they were certainly composed before he had reached his majority), they are one of the most astounding pieces of precocity in literary history—and that even though the two noblest lines stood originally in this comparatively flat form:

To the beauty of fair Greece  
And the grandeur of old Rome.

And there is this also to be said. Taking truth and beauty as Poe did and as Keats did, Poe, I hold, was the more honest and the less mischievous theorizer than Keats. For taking truth and beauty as they did, Poe was manly and clear-headed in opposing them one to the other; whereas Keats delivered a doctrine as dangerous as it was misleading when he threw out those memorable words,

Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

So much by way of extenuation. But we cannot forget, Poe himself never lets us forget, that he was a man to whom life in its outer circumstances was one of long unmerciful disaster, and that he had also to contend with an enemy in his own breast, the terrible physical taint whose ravages we see in his countenance. It is natural, but it is none the less unfortunate, that such a man should have developed an aesthetic theory which rejected from the province of poetry any claim of truth beyond that of fidelity to a chosen sensation, and which emphasized so strongly

the element of melancholy inherent in the perception of physical beauty. His theory thus, instead of correcting the inevitable trend of a nature like his, rather confirmed him in his temperamental weakness. And so we see him often looking for beauty, and indeed finding it, in a melancholy bordering on sickly despair and in the waste of disease and the ghastly secrets of the tomb. In this field of the abnormal Poe has wrought miracles, reaching his climax in that appalling song of madness which strikes the keynote of *The Fall of the House of Usher*. But we are merely darkening counsel if we set the class to which he belongs in competition with those normal poets who deal with the larger and more universal aspects of nature and create loveliness out of the more wholesome emotions of our common humanity. Health is above disease in art as it is in life. Poe remains chiefly the poet of unripe boys and unsound men.

So much must be granted. Yet it is to the honor of Poe and of the people for whom he wrote that in all his works you will come upon no single spot where the abnormal sinks to the unclean, or where there is an effort to intensify the effect of what is morbid emotionally by an appeal to what is morbid morally. The soul of this man was never tainted. How much that means, how great and near was the danger, can be known by turning to certain of his Continental disciples. The line between them is narrow, but it separates two worlds. Poe does not hesitate to descend for his effects into the very grave where beauty and decay come together; but if you wish to understand the perils he escaped, read after *The Sleeper* one of the poems in which Baudelaire, Poe's avowed imitator and sponsor to Europe, gropes with filthy hands among the mysteries of death.

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## QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE AESTHETIC OF POE<sup>1</sup>

By NORMAN FOERSTER

### I

#### OF QUANTITY OF PLEASURE

In the entire history of criticism since Aristotle, no one has insisted more constantly on the importance of unity than Poe the romanticist. Though he did not, like Aristotle and the great romantic critics Schlegel and Coleridge, establish its basis in another and larger doctrine, that of organic form, probably because his own art had a distinctly mechanical tendency, he perceived with exemplary clearness the service of unity in the production of aesthetic pleasure. He conceived of unity in both the classical and the romantic senses. With Aristotle, he demands the unity of plot or action, at least in all cases where plot forms a part of the contemplated interest. "Plot is very imperfectly understood," he writes, "and has never been rightly defined. Many persons regard it as mere complexity of incident. In its most rigorous acceptation, it is that from which no component atom can be removed, and in which none of the component atoms can be displaced, without ruin to the whole." Elsewhere, in his mechanical way, he likens it to a building, "so dependently constructed, that to change the position of a single brick is to overthrow the entire fabric." This is indeed a rigorous definition, as he goes on to acknowledge in both passages; a good tale, a good drama, will sometimes be found to depart widely from this gospel of perfection. Yet the true artist will keep his eyes directed to "that unattainable goal," even though it is for God alone to construct the perfect plot. He, only, sees the whole as a perfect web of causes and results entirely adapted to each other; He, only, has vision free of confusion and irrelevancy. "The plots of God are perfect. The Universe is a plot of God."

<sup>1</sup>This paper is part of a more extended critical exposition of Poe's literary theory. I have here omitted the section entitled "Of Truth and Morality in Art," an aspect of Poe's theory that Mr. More has touched upon in his paper "A Note on Poe's Method" in the present number of *Studies in Philology*.—N. F.

He is the master plot-maker, and the model of all true artists. We must not say of them, as we may say of mediocre tale-writers, that "they seem to begin their stories without knowing how they are to end; and their ends, generally,—like so many governments of Trinculo,—appear to have forgotten their beginnings." Sound artists will take a hint from the Chinese, who "*begin their books at the end,*" so that their plots may possess an "indispensable air of consequence, or causation," may have, as Poe says in the hoary phrasing of Aristotle, a beginning, middle, and end. Poe does not undervalue a good beginning—"At all risks, let there be a few vivid sentences *imprimis*"—nor good "points" in the development—but he holds that "of all literary foibles the most fatal, perhaps, is that of defective climax." Here, at the end, where all converges, is the height of interest; here is lost or achieved that pleasurable result which was the aim of the writer; here is the sum or degree of pleasure determined. It is true that Poe was aware of the architectonic or, as he terms it, sculptural aspect of unity of plot, the pleasure residing in "totality of beauty"; but this, he points out, is a pleasure for the few and not for the many, and consequently his emphasis falls, not on this intrinsic aesthetic value of unity of plot but on the value of the intense conclusion which it renders possible. He offers no idealistic explanations of our deep satisfaction in architectonic form, though they might be found inhering in his sentence "The plots of God are perfect"; he associates unity of plot, not with the poem, in which the supernal aim demands a high quality of pleasure, but with the short tale, where the dominant consideration is intensity or quantity of pleasure.

This same end, quantity of pleasure, is subserved by the romantic unity of effect or impression, which Poe exemplified in his many tales of horror, terror, and the like, as he exemplified unity of plot in his tales of ratiocination. Just as in the tale of ratiocination the writer must foresee the *dénouement*, so in the tale of effect he must select in advance the particular effect to be produced; "and no word should be then written which does not tend, or form a part of a sentence which tends to the development of the *dénouement*, or to the strengthening of the effect." As means for the attainment of the effect, the writer may rely upon incidents or tone, or both. If the incidents are to predominate, they must have a logical relationship—unity of plot will then serve unity of effect. If the

tone is to predominate, it must be a single tone—unity of tone will then serve unity of effect. Although Poe uses all these terms loosely at times, what seems to be his meaning may be indicated by saying that he would have regarded "The Purloined Letter" as an example of unity of plot, his "Murders in the Rue Morgue" as an example of unity of effect served by unity of plot, and his "Masque of the Red Death" as an example of the unity of effect served by unity of tone. Himself a master of unity in every sense, he seems to have given most attention to the unity of tone,—"tone, by means of which alone, an old subject, even when developed through hackneyed incidents, or thoughts, may be made to produce a fully original effect," as he writes when discussing a form, the drama, in which tone is relatively neglected. What most impressed Coleridge in the early work of Wordsworth was "the original gift of spreading the tone, the atmosphere, and with it the depth and height of the ideal world around forms, incidents, and situations . . . ;" this was what Poe sought to do, in his own way, in his poems, while in his prose, in which the ideal world seemed to him inappropriate, he constantly aimed at the creation of other tones, other atmospheres. Tone he apparently regarded—as the word itself suggests—as the equivalent in prose for the music in verse, an element in which the theme floats and is carried to the culminating effect. Sometimes, even, his "tale" is composed of little more than the tone. As Mr. Brownell says—and Mr. Brownell is caution itself in his praise of Poe—"He understood to perfection the value of tone in a composition, and tone is an element that is almost invaluable. In this respect he has no American and few foreign rivals."

If the reader's pleasure is to be intense, then, unity of some sort—some principle of concentration—is essential. The false note, the irrelevant incident, the pointless detail, the confusion of effects, are therefore to be guarded against with unremitting care. And for the same reason the artist must avoid excess of length.

For unity and magnitude are, Poe declared with emphasis, incompatible because of the nature of the human mind. Beginning with his early preface, in which he asserted that we do not really, whatever we may say, enjoy epics, Poe consistently maintained that brevity is the soul of art. A long poem does not exist; it is a contradiction in terms, for if it is long it is not a poem but a collection of poems linked with prose—at least half of *Paradise*

*Lost* is prose. The artist professes to produce a certain unique pleasure; an unique pleasure demands unity, totality; and unity is impossible if, as in the epic or the novel, the artist disregards the formidable fact that "through a psychal necessity" all excitements are transient. The feeling flags, a revulsion occurs, and every sort of unity is annihilated. Moreover, if the work is too long to be read at one sitting, the activities of our workaday life intervening between readings render impossible a unified impression. A single sitting is therefore an absolute limit, and within this, there is the further limit imposed by the aforesaid psychal necessity—in "The Poetic Principle" Poe allows a half hour at the utmost, in his review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* one hour. He reduces the matter to a definite law when he affirms that "the brevity must be in direct ratio of the intensity of the intended effect," adding, as a proviso, that, as there is a limit to magnitude, so there is a limit to brevity—a work may be so short as to prevent the formation of an intense and lasting impression. Poe's general position is thus precisely the same as Aristotle's when, in the *Poetics*, he requires "a certain magnitude," neither too great nor too small; but, curiously, while the classical theorist is generous, the romantic law-giver is rigid. It was well for Poe, whose powers could not compass the sustained flight, to accept his limits and perfect himself within them—if all artists did so, we should have vastly more supremely fine art. He deserves the fullest credit for seeing so clearly what he could do, and doing it with all his energy. At the same time, he gravely erred in carrying over into his theory of art the limits of his creative art, transforming his deficiencies into essential principles of art and rules for the guidance of other artists. In this matter of brevity, his wisdom as an artist was his fatuity as a critic.

So far as his own work was concerned, Poe was eminently right in believing that intensity demanded brevity. In the tale of rationalization, the reader is unable to retain all the complicated data from one reading to another. If his enjoyment is to be full—if all the evidence and points of relation are to be perceived as a perfect web woven by a master spider, the tale will lose with every extension beyond a certain length. If the reading must be broken off, some of the evidence, some of the points of relation, will inevitably be effaced or obscured, unless the design is exceptionally

simple. Again, in all the tales of effect in which the tone or mood is central, a cessation of reading will almost invariably injure or destroy the illusion. A psychological state of the "mood" type is by nature fragile and transitory, liable to annihilation at any moment if the artist errs ever so little or the reader suffers a slight interruption—the delicate illusion is snapped and can hardly be restored—the contagion is spent—the garish light of day floods the shadowy mood and either obliterates it (as the sun obliterates a bright fire) or subjects it to the alien criticism of practical life. In narrative that is more representative of human experience, in certain kinds of tales and novels that involve more of human nature than is involved in the mathematical tale of ratiocination and the lyrical tale of mood, the reader may return to the text, after an interruption, without serious loss—in a moment the old feeling revives, and he is again at the artist's command. But in the Poesque tale, this is not so: the author must say, "Let me have your undivided attention," and the reader must give it—that is, if the intensity at which the author aimed is to be realized. The narrator is telling his story, not in the market place at noon, but by the fire side on a dark and gusty night in November when an intruding visitor is expected: narrator and audience alike, knowing that the prosy everyday world will presently reassert itself, abandon themselves to the mood of the story in order to have it over before the intrusion occurs.

Intensity, then, is to be achieved by means of unity and brevity, as Poe uniformly states. It may be partly achieved, also, by the choice of a special kind of subject-matter,—horror, terror, and the like. Although Poe does not discuss this means as if it were coördinate in importance with the other two, does not in this regard legislate for all artists on the basis of his own experience, he plainly associates certain "effects" with his doctrine of intensity or quantity of pleasure. When he discusses effects, he is obviously not thinking of the intensity which Jane Austen, for instance, attained in her magical delineation of the commonplace; he is thinking of intensity won by the skilful use of the extraordinary—the terrible, the repulsive, the ghastly, the weird (a word to which he gave new life), the unaccountable, the unprecedented. He addresses, not the understanding of his readers, their common sense, their habitual moral sense, their instinct for the normal and representative in life, but the very opposite of these—their occasional feelings of mys-

tery, of dark powers at work in the universe, of inexplicable things that are neglected precisely because they seem inexplicable, of ugly and harrowing things from which men customarily avert their eyes, of the strange functioning of the senses, the nerves, the subconscious self. These things he sought to express, not with the relish of the sentimentalist, but with the artful deliberation of the melodramatist. He possessed the faculty, as Mrs. Browning said, "of making horrible improbabilities seem near and familiar"—near, at all events, if not quite familiar. Intensity to him implied thrills, and thrills implied the merely extraordinary, the merely strange. To the merely strange—the strange, that is, viewed in its strangeness rather than related to the meaning of life—he gave admirably complete and shapely expression, which is beauty. Nothing could be too strange, too rare, too ugly to bring into the realm of art. Assuredly, he believed in "the addition of strangeness to beauty."

## II

### OF QUALITY OF PLEASURE

While Poe, developing his theory of the short story, a relatively new form of art, was so engrossed in the means to a maximum intensity that he failed to provide for a qualitative beauty, he gave to quality the fullest recognition in his theory of the lyric poem. For the good poem, in his view, must produce not only a pronounced pleasure, but also a high pleasure, an elevated kind of pleasure; and of the two considerations, degree and kind, he elects to emphasize kind.

Truth and Passion, to which the writer gives pleasurable form in the tale, Poe expressly excludes from the domain of the poet. The concern of the poet is with Beauty alone, which satisfies the soul, and not with Truth, which satisfies the intellect, or with Passion, which satisfies the heart. Since the satisfaction of the soul is the supreme satisfaction, preëminence in literary art belongs to the poet, the creator of beauty. What Poe meant by beauty, as thus divorced from the mind and heart of man, is not very clear to us and seems not to have been very clear to him, though he repeatedly confronted the term with his dialectic.

He distinguishes three kinds of beauty. First and humblest is the beauty of the concrete, perceived through the senses, and the

beauty of human sentiments—"the manifold forms, and sounds, and odors, and sentiments" in the midst of which man has his being. At the close of "The Poetic Principle" Poe instances, in a kind of enthusiastic catalogue, some aspects of concrete beauty: the stars, the waving grain, far mountains, cloud groupings, gleaming rivers, quiet lakes, the songs of birds, the sighing night-wind, the scent of the violet, and the like. But the list is somewhat confused; among these physical beauties is included "the suggestive odor that comes to him, at eventide, from far-distant, undiscovered islands, over dim oceans, illimitable and unexplored," an odor whose existence, apart from its romantic percipient, may well be doubted. Continuing his catalogue, Poe avails himself of specifically ethical "beauties," such as "all noble thought," "all unworldly motives," "all holy impulses," "all chivalrous, generous, and self-sacrificing deeds." And finally, for the climax, he gives us a rhapsody, not without a tincture of sentimentalism, on the beauty of woman, partly physical, partly moral: "the grace of her step," "the lustre of her eye," "the melody of her voice," "her sigh," "the harmony of her rustling robes," "her winning endearments," "her burning enthusiasms," "her gentle charities," "her meek and devotional endurances,"—"but above all—ah, far above all—he kneels to it [beauty]—he worships it in the faith, in the purity, in the strength, in the altogether divine majesty—of her love." Perhaps three-quarters of all the items are physical, because, it would seem, they are indubitable examples of the existence of beauty outside the poetic consciousness. Merely to repeat these forms, sounds, colors, odors, and sentiments, and thus to yield a duplicate delight, is only the work of an accomplished realist. "This mere repetition is not poetry."

The function of this beauty of things and sentiments in the divine economy is to incite in us a desire to contemplate and to seize for our own the supernal Loveliness. The poet who is indeed a poet cannot content himself with the superficial beauties of the world in which he lives; he aspires, he struggles, he thirsts, for the Beauty above. "It is the desire of the moth for the star," The expression of this longing by those who have felt it keenly has given us all the true poetry that we possess. Man's soul is immortal; and the poet, through his perception of ideal beauty, renders us conscious of our eternal nature, satisfies the human soul, and so affords the highest pleasure that is possible in this present life.

In seeking to envisage the supernal, the poet creates a kind of beauty that is intermediate between the inferior beauty of things and sentiments and the superior beauty of the eternal. "Inspired by an ecstatic prescience of the glories beyond the grave, we struggle, by multiform combinations among the things and thoughts of Time, to attain a portion of that Loveliness whose very elements, perhaps, appertain to eternity alone." Since a vision of this arch loveliness is denied by "any existing collocation of earth's forms," the task which the true poet assays is to recombine these forms in such a manner as to adumbrate heavenly beauty—a task impossible of complete performance, but one which he makes a "wild effort" to achieve. All of his predecessors having failed, his hope lies in the novelty of his combinations, whether he is combining the existing earthly forms or is combining those combinations which his predecessors, "toiling in chase of the same phantom, have already set in order." It will be observed that Poe here provides, not only for the revolutionary artist who would discard tradition and build afresh, but also for the classical artist endeavoring by emulation to transcend the accomplishment of the art of the past.

The poetic principle, then, Poe defines as "the Human Aspiration for Supernal Beauty," and the kind of pleasure proper to the art of poetry as "an elevating excitement of the Soul," a pleasure in comparison with which all other human emotions are "vapid and insignificant." Passion, as he repeatedly insists, is not the proper effect of poetry, nor the vehicle of poetry. It is prosaic, homely; it is a cause of the poetic sentiment, but as the poetic sentiment grows, the cause surceases. Passionate grief, for instance, may lead to poetic feeling, but is not itself poetic feeling—it becomes poetic feeling only when it is subdued, chastened, transformed. When the poet's grief is no longer grief, when he has become not most passionate but most dispassionate, then first is his mood poetic. "A passionate poem is a contradiction in terms."<sup>2</sup> Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" Poe adduces as an example of a passionate composition that falls short of being a poem, while his "Enone," on the other hand, instead of stirring us to passion, elevates the soul by means of its image of ideal beauty. In his

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schiller: "An art concerned with passion there is; but passionate art is a contradiction, for the inevitable result of artistic beauty is freedom from passions." (*Über ästhetische Erziehung, Brief 22.*)

insistence on this distinction, Poe uses language that has a ring more ethical than aesthetic: "in regard to Passion," he writes, "alas! its tendency is to degrade, rather than to elevate the Soul," a conception reminiscent of the moralist Plato's condemnation of poetry because it exercises and waters the emotions.

Poe's entire conception of poetry, indeed, may seem, if superficially regarded, Platonic. Like Plato he averts his gaze from this life, this dream within a dream; like Plato he disparages those who would imitate the things and sentiments of the dream-world; like Plato he is ardent in the quest of ideal beauty. Is he a Platonist, or, like Shelley, a pseudo-Platonist?

From Plato and Aristotle he derived nothing of importance, perhaps nothing at all. Unlike nearly any great writer with whom one might compare him, he was void of enthusiasm for any artist or spiritual leader of the past; he had, as Professor Woodberry says, "in the narrowest sense, a contemporary mind." For the ideality of his creed, he was indebted, not to the Aristotelian doctrine of the universal, nor to the Platonic conception of ideas, nor to Emerson's curious combination of Platonism, Puritanism, and German Transcendentalism, but to the diffused romantic idealism of his time, especially in its English expressions in Byron, Moore, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Shelley. In one of his early reviews, in the course of his discussion of the faculty of ideality Poe quotes in a foot-note two entire stanzas from Shelley's "*Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*." They tell of an experience of illumination:

Sudden thy shadow fell on me—  
I shrieked and clasped my hands in ecstasy!

and of a consequent dedication, joined with an humanitarian purpose:

. . . . never joy illum'd my brow,  
Unlink'd with hope that thou wouldest free  
This world from its dark slavery,  
That thou, O awful *Loveliness*,  
Wouldest give whate'er these words cannot express.

Ignoring the humanitarian purpose,—he was not fond of what he liked to term the mob, the herd, the rabble,—Poe italicized the word Loveliness, and used it repeatedly later, along with Supernal Beauty. Its content in Poe's criticism is plainly not Platonic but Shelleyan; that is, its associations are not with the Platonic love

of reason and character, but with the Shelleyan emotional abandon. It implies, not a laborious dialectic transcended by insight into the highest Good, but an uncritical indulgence in expansive desire leading to an illusive (shall we say delusive?) vision of perfect happiness. A second foot-note on the same page indicates another source of Poe's conception of ideality. Echoing Coleridge, he writes: "Imagination is, possibly in man, a lesser degree of the creative power in God." This is the romantic equivalent for the classical doctrine of the imitation of the universal; emphasis falls no longer on what is broadly human, the ethos, an unchanging reality which the artist is humbly to imitate, but on an intoxicating sense of the artist's freedom to give expression to his individuality and in so doing to create a valid image of the ideal. The exaltation of the ego, in a sense reminiscent of the German romantic mingling of flesh and spirit, is an essential element, if not the dominant element, in the romantic idealism of Shelley, and Coleridge, and Poe.

Poe's entire discussion of the ideal is obviously remote from Platonic and Aristotelian modes of thought. As instances of the ideal he mentions, in an indiscriminating list, the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus, the *Inferno* of Dante, the *Destruction of Numantia* by Cervantes, the *Comus* of Milton, the *Ancient Mariner*, the *Christabel*, and the *Kubla Khan* of Coleridge, the *Nightingale* of Keats, the *Sensitive Plant* of Shelley, and the *Undine* of De La Motte Fouqué.<sup>8</sup> This is scarcely the list that Plato or Aristotle would have drawn up if they had had both the ancients and the moderns to choose from; they might have chosen one or two of these, at most. The selection of "Comus" instead of "Paradise Lost" is instructive; so is the emphasis on romantic examples, particularly the selection of three poems by Coleridge—all three as romantic, as un-classical, as possible. In a later essay, "The Poetic Principle," Poe can remember in the whole of English literature no poem "more profoundly—more weirdly *imaginative*, in the best sense, than the lines commencing—"I would I were by that dim lake,'—which are the composition of Thomas Moore." And a moment later he offers us, as "one of the truest poems ever written" Tom Hood's "Haunted House." "It is, moreover, powerfully ideal—imaginative."

<sup>8</sup> Poe uses this list, with slight modification, a second time.

The two last terms, "ideal" and "imaginative," are used almost interchangeably by Poe; and they are used almost interchangeably with other terms such as "the mystical" and "harmony." Imagination he seeks to define by contrasting it with fancy, availing himself of hints from Coleridge and Wordsworth, and involving himself, as they did, in inconsistencies and vaguenesses. The true distinction, he writes in his review of Moore's "*Alciphron*," though it is "still but a distinction of degree" has to do with the idea of the mystic. "The term *mystic* is here employed in the sense of Augustus William Schlegel, and of most other German critics. It is applied by them to that class of composition in which there lies beneath the transparent upper current of meaning, an under or *suggestive* one." This secondary meaning "*spiritualizes* the *fanciful* conception, and lifts it into the *ideal*." In the merely fanciful poem there is no under current. But in the imaginative poem, at every stroke of the lyre we hear a ghostly echo; in every glimpse of beauty "we catch, through long and wild vistas, dim bewildering visions of a far more ethereal beauty *beyond*." Through the magic casements of the Palace of Art we behold as in a dream the realms of faëry land forlorn. No view of art could be less classical than that.

Elsewhere, in an article on N. P. Willis, Poe approaches the definition of imagination from a different angle. Imagination, Fancy, Fantasy, and Humor, all alike involve combination and novelty. But they differ. Imagination selects elements that are harmonious, from either beauty or deformity, and by combining them creates something new. This will be beautiful according to the thoroughness of the harmony and the richness or force of the materials used. Fancy, on the other hand, relatively neglects the process of combination, and gives us, in addition to novelty, unexpectedness. Fantasy involves, not only novelty and unexpectedness of combination, but also a positive avoidance of proportion, and, while the novelty gives pleasure, the incoherence gives pain. Humor goes a step beyond, seeking incongruous or antagonistic elements, and, doing so palpably, gives pleasure—humor being "a merry effort of Truth to shake from her that which is no property of hers."

Imagination, so distinguished, is the instrument by which the poet creates visions of harmony. His visions satisfy the soul because of their harmony, and satisfy in proportion as they give order to

rich materials. When the imagination is most vigorous and is employed in its highest tasks, earthly passion quite melts away and is replaced with a divine serenity—the lofty ardor, perhaps, of the angel Israfel. Then come to his song “the golden, easeful, crowning moments” (in the phrase of another critic), when the poet seems indeed to dwell where Israfel hath dwelt, in a skiey region where are none of the discords of our world of sweets and sours, where all is harmony, order,—a harmony, an order, so rich in content, so intense with force, that it is one with ecstasy.

The two conceptions of the imagination, though as Poe leaves them they seem to clash, are not incompatible. Had he brought them together, he might have said that the principle of harmony or order is a divine principle, and that consequently every step toward a complete harmony is in so far a step toward supernal harmony. By means of imagination, the poet creates a harmony; but his harmony does not satisfy him—beyond it he glimpses, again by means of the imagination, a more ethereal harmony which he cannot express but which he can indicate through suggestion, an under current of meaning, an ideal “tone” or echo. Thus he brings us to the gates of the supernal not only by his creation of a high harmony, but also—in the language of Coleridge—by “spreading the tone, the atmosphere, and with it the depth and height of the ideal world around the forms, incidents, and situations” that constitute this harmony.

In this conception of the workings of imagination there is much that may be accepted without hesitation, at least by those of the ideal persuasion. But if it is regarded in the light of Poe's own practice,—as the unity of Poe's criticism and his creation gives us a right to regard it,—it will be found to contain implications that reveal its inadequacy. Poe understood well enough the advantages of intensity, both as relating to “the force of the matters combined” and to the unifying energy that shaped them into harmony; but he did not understand the differences of quality in the matters combined—he wanted what he himself terms “the facility of discovering combinable novelties worth combining.” Wonderful as was his power of expressing forcibly the order that he created in each of his best tales, wonderful as was his power of achieving harmony in each of his best poems, so that, in tale and poem alike, every word counted toward the production of an intense effect, we cannot avoid feeling that in his tales the order is aimless and that

in his poems the harmony is premature. Only too well did he describe, in one of his tales, his own use of the imagination in prose fiction: "Imagination," he wrote, "feeling herself for once unshackled, roamed at will among the ever-changing wonders of a shadowy and unstable land." If his intensity holds us as we read, it does not hold us afterward: we have scarcely turned the last page of the tale when the order begins to appear arbitrary and fanciful, the illusion of unreality rather than the illusion of a higher reality. And in his poems—yield ourselves as we may to the spell of harmoniously combined images and of haunting music—we cannot escape, in retrospect, the feeling that their exquisite harmony is fragile, bodiless, premature.

Our dissatisfaction with the quality of Poe's ideality is in large measure owing to his adoption of the romantic doctrine of the indefinite, which appears in his first preface and persists thereafter as a major law of his criticism. He apparently derived it—like so much else—from Coleridge, who in his lectures on the drama distinguished, as Schlegel had done before him, between the ancients and the moderns by asserting that the Greeks idolized the finite, which may be expressed by definite forms or thoughts, and the moderns revere the infinite, which demands an indefinite vehicle. It is a pretty contrast, and an unsound one, as pretty contrasts are liable to be; but Poe accepted it in his literal way and applied it with his customary deliberate directness.

Inseparably associated with this doctrine of the indefinite, in Poe as in the romantics generally, is its corollary doctrine of the supremacy of music over all the other arts. "It is in Music, perhaps, that the soul most nearly attains the great end for which, when inspired by the Poetic Sentiment, it struggles—the creation of supernal Beauty. It *may* be, indeed, that here this sublime end is, now and then, attained *in fact*. We are often made to feel, with a shivering delight, that from an earthly harp are stricken notes which *cannot* have been unfamiliar to the angels." This perfect harmony, this vision—this very experience—of supernal loveliness, music may attain because of its freedom from earthly things, its indefiniteness, its vagueness. Poe seems never to have suspected that music, instead of offering the purest spiritual experience, may often be merely a refuge for the dreamer from the realities of life, an evasion of life rather than a transcendence. Severing the art from the artist, he assumed that the art was divine, infinite,

while the artist might be a plain mortal much like the rest of us. It did not occur to him that what he took to be the language of the angels might be the fevers of the flesh.<sup>4</sup> He affirmed that a passionate poem was a contradiction, but not that a passionate musical composition was a contradiction—the composer's excitement he assumed to be of the soul. His test, so far as he applied any, was apparently quantitative: if the music invaded his whole being, stormed the citadel of sovereign reason, and made him yield in an ecstasy of passiveness, it was supernal. He exerted no effort to distinguish, as the Greeks had done, between music that is relaxing and music that is tonic. He did not urge a re-examination of musical experience in retrospect, a criticism of its effect, a determination of its quality. If it offered a ravishing harmony in place of the discords of actual life, he was satisfied without questioning the contents of that harmony, the elements of experience that were successfully shaped into unity. If it profoundly satisfied his desires, he did not ask *what* desires.

One infers that he agreed with the German romanticists, and with Pater, that all the arts constantly aspire to the condition of music: at least, he held this to be true of poetry. "The vagueness of exaltation," he wrote to Lowell, "aroused by a sweet air (which should be strictly indefinite and never too strongly suggestive) is precisely what we should aim at in poetry,"—an assertion of which his own poems are an illustration, together with those poems of the ideal that he listed, most notably, perhaps, "Christabel" and "Kubla Khan." Music, he believed, has powers of expression beyond words, of which poetry seeks to avail itself in being a rhythmical creation of beauty. In rhythm, the divine mathematics of music is organically united with the mental images that are the stuff of poetry—rhythm, the basis of which is time, "the inviolable

"An art that came out of the old world two centuries ago with a few chants, love songs, and dances, that a century ago was still tied to the words of a mass or opera, or threading little dance movements together in a 'suite,' became, in the last century, this extraordinary debauch, in which the man who has never seen a battle, loved a woman, or worshipped a god may not only ideally, but through the response of his nerves and pulses to immediate rhythmical attack, enjoy the ghosts of struggle, rapture, and exaltation with a volume and intricacy, an anguish, a triumph, an irresponsibility unheard of." (D. S. MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art.*)

principle of all music." Verse he thought of an "as inferior and less capable Music." But at the same time—as in his conception of the poetic and the didactic—he provided for a mechanical, collateral relation of the two elements. He believed in the combination of the poem and the song, looking back regretfully to the age of bards and minnesingers, and approving Thomas Moore, who, "singing his own songs, was, in the most legitimate manner, perfecting them as poems."<sup>5</sup> He failed to observe that a true marriage of the two, rather than a mere combination, is impossible, for although sound may be wedded to image, it is not in the full sense musical sound, music being properly free of limiting images. When music ceases to be abstract, it is no longer fully music, as Poe well understood in his objections to "programme music."

In making music supreme among the arts, Poe, along with many other romanticists, may have been entirely right—the hierarchy of the arts, if there be such a thing, is anything but self-evident. Certainly it is plausible to assert that the expressiveness of music begins where the expressiveness of words leaves off, that the indefiniteness of pure sound offers the best sensuous medium for the externalization of spiritual experience. If this is so, music provides not only a maximum intensity of beauty, but also the highest kind of beauty, and through a synthesis of maximum quantity and highest quality attains a position foremost among the arts. Such, one may admit, is its power, potentially; but it does not follow that it actually exerts this power in such music as the world now possesses. In the ancient world, the art was in its infancy; in the Middle Ages, it was in its childhood, so that another art, architecture, became the vehicle for the concrete expression of the infinite; only toward the close of the modern "classical" age did it develop rapidly, and only under romantic auspices did it attain the exuberance of youth. It must be remembered, when we compare music with other arts, that it is to this day still in its youth, and that the vast majority of so-called classics of music are a product of the romantic spirit. To appraise it is to appraise

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wordsworth in his list of the molds into which the materials of poetry may be cast: "3rdly, The Lyrical,—containing the Hymn, the Ode, the Elegy, the Song, and the Ballad; in all which, for the production of their *full* effect, an accompaniment of music is indispensable." (Preface to the poems of 1815.)

romanticism itself: a task beyond our scope here. We can only sketch the argument, with constant reference to Poe.

The main point at issue is perhaps the content of that indeterminateness, or indefiniteness, which is characteristic of music and of other arts insofar as they are musical. By the infinite, which is perforce indefinite in finite experience, Poe means the spiritual principle active in human life. Does it follow that, since the infinite is indefinite, the indefinite is also the infinite, the spiritual? To argue so is to commit one of the grossest of logical blunders, as Poe, with his analytical mind, might have been expected to demonstrate. But he did not; it was, at bottom, his own argument. In the verbal song as in music itself, we must have, he declares, "a certain wild license and *indefiniteness*—an indefiniteness recognized by every musician who is not a mere fiddler, as an important point in the philosophy of his science—as the *soul*, indeed, of the sensations derivable from its practice—sensations which bewilder while they enthrall—and which would *not* so enthrall if they did not so bewilder." There is every suggestion, here, of an irresponsible indefiniteness. After suggesting, in the next sentence, that the feelings produced by sweet sound may have no loftier origin than the "merely mathematical recognition" of equality as the root of all beauty, he sets down as a certainty that "the *sentimental* pleasure derivable from music, is nearly in the ratio of its indefiniteness." Give it a determinate tone and you deprive it of its essential character, its ethereal, its ideal character. Then, in an illuminating sentence, he indicates only too clearly his conception of the ideal: "You dispel its dream-like luxury:—you dissolve the atmosphere of the mystic in which its whole nature is bound up:—you exhaust it of its breath of faëry." What in other passages professed to be a spiritual exaltation now turns out to be a dream-like luxury. The voices of the angels have become the breath of faëry.

To this land of faëry we are transported bodily in "The Island of the Fay." Beginning with a comment on "la musique," to the effect that those who love it for its own sake and for its "spiritual" uses may appreciate it to the full only when they listen in solitude, he remarks that solitude is even more essential to the contemplation of nature. Then he tells how, in his wanderings in a remote region of mountains, sad rivers, and melancholy tarns "writhing or sleeping within all," he came by chance upon a certain rivulet and

island, and reclined beneath an odorous shrub "that I might doze as I contemplated the scene." One end of the island was "all one radiant harem of garden beauties"; the other, sombre, gloomy, mournful, sad, solemn, spectral, unsightly. "I lost myself forthwith in reverie"; and while in this state, with half-shut eyes, he beholds a Fay proceeding slowly from the light end to the dark end of the island, standing erect, "in a singularly fragile canoe." This she does repeatedly, circuiting the island, till he beholds her magical figure no more, and returns, presumably, to real life.

Nor is this all. The aspiration for the infinite, or highest reality, turns out to be not merely the fascination of an unreal fairyland, a land of idle dreams; it reduces itself, at length, to an insatiable thirst for rather material luxury. Mr. Ellison, of "The Landscape Garden," one of Poe's several studies of private paradeses, is obviously an "idealized" version of Poe himself. To him the laws of Bliss are four: exercise in the open air, the love of woman (*by* woman, he means, and of course the loveliest of the sex), the contempt of ambition, and an object of unceasing pursuit. The last two being difficult of attainment in this world of necessities and distractions, Poe provides Mr. Ellison with a fortune, inherited at the age of twenty-one, amounting to *four hundred and fifty millions of dollars* (the italics are the author's), a very tidy sum in the first half of the last century.\* Having the poetic sentiment, this person so admirably equipped in external goods was enabled to express himself in the "creation of novel forms of Beauty." Since his mind chanced to be tinged, as Poe says, with materialism, he became neither poet nor musician—"although no man lived more profoundly enamored both of Music and the Muse"—but aimed at a "purely physical loveliness." This he attained, along with an incidental and somewhat obscure spirituality, in the construction of a landscape garden surpassing even the dreams of twentieth century millionaires. In a longer form of this study, "The Domain of Arnheim," Poe composed a detailed description of this landscape garden, lavishing upon it his rare dexterity in selection, emphasis, tone, and the like.

\* With his usual artistic "intensity" and his American love of statistics, Poe computes that at 3% the annual income amounted to \$13,500,000 —\$1,125,000 per month, or \$36,986. per day, or \$1,541. per hour, or \$26. per minute.

Here, then,—in the island of the fay and the domain of Arnheim,—is the indefinite at last made definite, its content disclosed. Here is the tendency of the mystic, the ideal, the supernal, revealed. “Here, indeed, was the fairest field for the display of imagination in the endless combining of forms of novel beauty.” The novelty of beauty no one will be disposed to deny, but there are, of course novelties and novelties; there is, for example, not only the novelty of “The Domain of Arnheim,” “The Haunted Palace,” and “Kubla Khan,” but the novelty of “Paradise Lost” and “King Lear.”

From “King Lear” a writer in the London *Times* some time ago quoted the lines beginning

We two alone will sing like birds i' the cage

as an instance of those moments when the play ceases for us and we are transported by the magical music of the lines to the universal, the absolute. These moments occur, we must agree, in all the greatest literature; but when the writer of the article goes on to quote the first stanza of “To Helen,” and to remark, “They are like music rising at the wave of a great conductor’s wand . . . ; it is an expression of the passion for the absolute,” one cannot but feel that he has unconsciously changed the subject—that the absolute of Poe’s poem is not the same as the absolute of Shakespeare’s. The harmony Poe has attained is as complete as Shakespeare’s, but, as in so much of romantic poetry and romantic music, it is a premature harmony, it does not contain enough, it does not rise above the normal experience of life but sinks beneath it. It is the harmony of the *tour d’ivoire*, of the Palace of Art, as Stedman says, “a lordly pleasure-house, where taste and love should have their fill, regardless of the outer world.” The ideality implied by his cult of beauty was more or less delusive because of his ethical and spiritual shortcomings. Life to him was not a dream, but a nightmare, in which he was rarely the actor, but was acted upon by impulse, sensitiveness, pride, and morbid melancholy.<sup>1</sup>

One more qualitative aspect of Poe’s aesthetic remains to be considered: his dictum, which appears early and late in his criticism,

<sup>1</sup> “My life has been *whim*—impulse—passion—a longing for solitude—a scorn of all things present in an earnest desire for the future.” (From Poe’s “spiritual autobiography,” Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, II, 93.)

that "a species of melancholy is inseparably connected with the higher manifestations of the beautiful." The species of melancholy that he has in mind is clearly enough not that of Greek tragedy, with its awful sense of moral powers related with but transcending the moral consciousness of man, nor that of Shakespearean tragedy, in which nobility and falsity meet in a fatal combat whose significance must remain perpetually indeterminate. It is, rather, that which was fashionable in Poe's time,—the romantic nostalgia, the quest of the Blue Flower, the satisfaction of the heart yearning infinitely for an unethical perfection. In the lectures of Schlegel, which may have been Poe's "source," this melancholy of the North is contrasted with the joy of the Greeks, and is explained as a relic of the Middle Ages, when the sentiment of the infinite drew the spirit of man away from this fleeting world to an eternal in which alone lay happiness. "When the soul," says Schlegel, "resting as it were under the willows of exile, breathes out its longing for its distant home, what else but melancholy can be the key-note of its songs?" With the abysmal differences between this ethical, ascetic, impersonal type of melancholy and the aesthetic, indulgent, egotistic type of melancholy characteristic, with whatever modifications, of the romantics, Poe, no more than Schlegel, concerns himself. "And thus when by Poetry—or when by Music, the most entrancing of the Poetic moods—we find ourselves melted into tears—we weep then—not as the Abbate Gravina supposes—through excess of pleasure, but through a certain, petulant, impatient sorrow at our inability to grasp *now*, wholly, here on earth, at once and for ever, those divine and rapturous joys, of which *through* the poem, or *through* the music, we attain to but brief and indeterminate glimpses." On the meaning of this sentence, it will suffice to ask two questions: Is the true mystic "petulant"? What kinds of poems and music has Poe in mind as suggesting divine and rapturous joys? The answers are not doubtful. Does not Poe himself say, in "The Philosophy of Composition," that beauty of *whatever kind*, in its highest development, brings the sensitive soul to tears?

Of this association of beauty and melancholy Poe avails himself with an erring literalness. Explicitly does he add the latter to the former, almost as an embellishment, as in his portrait of the Marchesa Aphrodite, in which he bluntly tells us that in the expression of her face, "which was beaming all over with smiles,

there still lurked (incomprehensible anomaly!) that fitful stain of melancholy which will ever be found inseparable from the perfection of the beautiful." Since perfection demands melancholy, Poe gives it to us, not perceiving that (incomprehensible anomaly!) the melancholy is essentially in the beholder of beauty and not in the object itself—that it is inseparably related with beauty as the ultimate sentiment evoked by perfect beauty, and that the quality of the melancholy varies with the quality of the beauty. With the same literalness, the same dependence on "mere logic," Poe reaches the conclusion that of all topics death is the most melancholy, and that death is most melancholy when it is the death of a beautiful woman. That death is the most melancholy fact in life is sufficiently indicated by the history of the human spirit, but that death is most melancholy when it is the death of a beautiful woman by no means follows. If "beautiful woman" means, as in Poe it seems to mean, a woman of extreme physical charm, Poe's conclusion is palpably unsound. Incomparably more melancholy is the death of a Hamlet or Lear, because it is in man's nature to give the highest place in life to moral grandeur.

From the melancholy fact of death Poe passes, by a transition easy in that day of grave-yard literature, to the triumphs of the Conqueror Worm. In "The Poetic Principle," for example, he quotes Bryant's not very remarkable poem "June," and subjoins these observations: "The poem has always affected me in a remarkable manner. The intense melancholy which seems to well up, perforce, to the surface of all the poet's cheerful sayings about the grave, we find thrilling us to the soul—while there is the truest poetic elevation in the thrill. The impression left is one of a pleasurable sadness." The term pleasurable sadness, in this connection, is certainly a synonym of sentimentalism, with which Poe's ideality is often visibly tinged. He indulged not only the luxury of dreams, but also the luxury of melancholy. Yet in the main, with his fine sense of the strength of restraint, which makes his later work seem objective in comparison with the tendency to insincere vaporizing in his first poems, he avoided the unashamed confidences of many of the romantic brotherhood, giving us, in place of sentimentalism and an excess of self-expression, an artful creation of the strange. The tone of melancholy remains, but emphasis falls, not on the expression of melancholy feeling but on the strange

conceived as a kind of externalization or objectification of melancholy.

Long before Pater defined romanticism as the addition of strangeness to beauty, Poe availed himself of this collocation of ideas in his discussion of romantic art. Thus he writes of Shelley, "the author of 'The Sensitive Plant'": "His quaintness arose from intuitive perception of that truth to which Bacon alone has given distinct utterance:—'There is no exquisite Beauty which has not some strangeness in its proportions' [sic]." Ignoring the ethical aspect of this sentence in its context in Bacon's essay "Of Beauty," Poe used it again and again, in both his critical and his creative work, in support of *bizarrie*, quaintness, grotesqueness, fantasticality, as an effective addition to the kind of harmony that he contemplated. The quaint in phrasing and the grotesque in rhythm, for instance, if deliberate and not accidental, he holds to be "very admissible adjuncts to Ideality." Thus he commends Mrs. Browning for her use of unexpected repetitions in her verse, which produce "a fantastic effect," a phrase that would here seem to be synonymous with ideality. Illustrations occur everywhere, of course, in his own prose and poetry. The features of Ligeia, for example, were wanting in that regularity which is falsely insisted upon "in the classical labors of the heathen"; whereupon he quotes Lord Verulam and speculates at full length upon the elusive strangeness in the face, concluding that the cause resided in the black eyes, which in moments of excitement gave her "the beauty of beings either above or apart from the earth, the beauty of the fabulous Houri of the Turk." Of such is the kingdom of Ideality—a kingdom surely "apart from the earth" rather than above it. Strangeness is added, again, to the beauty of the domain of Arnheim, that very explicit vision of loveliness to which we must return for a moment. In the funereal gloom of the chasm, as the reader may recall, "the windings became more frequent and intricate, and seemed often as if returning in upon themselves, so that the voyager had long lost all idea of direction. He was, moreover, enwrapt in an exquisite sense of the strange." Nature's works take on "a weird symmetry, a thrilling uniformity, a wizard propriety." The gloom deepens apace, until suddenly the voyager gazes upon a vision of pure beauty—rich, warm, soft, dainty, voluptuous, with "a miraculous extremeness of culture that suggested dreams of a new race of fairies." Now the visitor quits his

vessel and enters a canoe of ivory "stained with arabesque devices in vivid scarlet." Of itself, this "fairy bark" swings round and advances, producing mysteriously a "soothing yet melancholy music." New beauties and new wonders disclose themselves, till at length "the whole paradise of Arnheim bursts upon the view":

There is a gush of entrancing melody; there is an oppressive sense of strange, sweet odor; there is a dream-like intermingling to the eye of tall, slender Eastern trees, bosky shrubberies, flocks of golden and crimson birds, lily-fringed lakes, meadows of violets, tulips, poppies, hyacinths, and tuberoses, long, intertwisted lines of silver streamlets, and, upspringing confusedly from amid all, a mass of semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic architecture, sustaining itself by miracle in mid-air; glittering in the red sunlight with a hundred oriel, minarets, and pinnacles; and seeming the phantom handiwork, conjointly, of the sylphs, of the fairies, of the genii, and of the gnomes.

Although it must be said that such a vision of paradise is exceptional in Poe's prose, as "*Israfel*" is exceptional in his verse, it must also be said that in lieu of the strangely supernal he creates the strangely infernal. According to his own theory, this is proper enough so far as his prose is concerned—"The Fall of the House of Usher" is a masterpiece in the construction of an infernal harmony—but it is a violation of his own conception of poetry. His constant theme, as Mr. Woodberry says, is ruin: death, melancholy, strangeness. Seeking to add strangeness to beauty, Poe really adds beauty to strangeness. And it is an inferior kind of strangeness that he aimed at: never awe, but wonder, and wonder of the superstitious sort, arising from a disorganization of the nervous system. His characteristic theme is never spiritual intuition, but instinctive premonition; and though we may yield to him—at his best, with his amazingly dexterous art, he makes us willing instruments—we retain only briefly the "effect" upon which he expended all his pains. It melts away like an evil dream, or, if it is idyllic, like a castle in the air. His charnel house offers no real terrors, his paradise no real satisfaction. If the aesthetic experience that he gives us is intense, it is also relatively devoid of meaning. Poe was one of those, perhaps the greatest of those, who

. . . . . make  
Strange combinations out of common things,  
Like human babes in their brief innocence.

The school of the melancholy poets became, as Chateaubriand observed, a school of poets of despair. Poe was one of them, and with far more reason than can be alleged by most singers of

Infinite passion and the pain of finite hearts that yearn.

His very entry into the world was ominous: with a temperament and nervous organization portending disaster, he found himself almost from the start without parental sympathy and guidance, in a land averse from if not positively hostile to the aesthetic vision of life; and not far ahead lay poverty, confusion, frustrated ambition, repeated nervous collapse, and a few hours of happiness to heighten the contrast—the whole welter to be brought to a conclusion so tragic that one may not call it premature. “So have I wondered,” wrote Stedman, “at seeing a delicate forest-bird, leagues from the shore, keep itself on the wing above relentless waters into which it was sure to fall at last.” If life as he knew it—he could know it no other way, he was so introspective—was life as it is, it could yield only despair. Bitterly he concluded: “To be thoroughly conversant with Man’s heart, is to take our final lesson in the iron-clasped volume of Despair.” Brooding over a little book that might be entitled *My Heart Laid Bare*—a book more honest, perhaps, than Rousseau’s *Confessions*—he shrank from the terrible thought. “No man ever will dare write it. No man *could* write it, even if he dared. The paper would shrivel and blaze at every touch of the fiery pen.” Instead of laying open to the public gaze his inner experience, he expressed life, expressed despair, objectively, by a deliberate creation of the hideous, the perverted, the ruined, to which he gave an impressive beauty—that is, shape and order and definiteness (with ever a magical residue of the indefinite) by means of his masterly technique.

This technique was the conscious application of reason to art, not the organic expression affected by romanticism. Shelley’s is of the latter type, according to Poe, the poet’s soul being Law itself, but in his own theory and practice reason is always regnant. To be natural meant to him, as it meant to the Augustan age of English literature, to be reasonable. Rousseau’s natural man he rejects, or rather Hellenizes: “Man’s chief idiosyncracy being reason, it follows that his savage condition—his condition of action *without* reason—is his *unnatural state*.” Conceding that *Poeta nascitur* is indisputably true as regards the poetic sentiment, he

avers that it is absurd as regards the practical result, the concrete poem. If the poetic sentiment or intuition is to be conveyed to others, the poet should possess in high degree the powers of causality, i. e., a perception of the causes needful to produce a desired effect. Similarly, Poe maintains that "the *truly* imaginative mind is never otherwise than analytic," a comment that brings into relation the two aspects of his own art; and again, that originality is not "a mere matter of impulse or inspiration," as the romantic spirit conceives it, but rather a matter of purposeful construction: "To originate, is carefully, patiently, and understandingly to combine." Thus while the majority of our romanticists, including the greatest, have delighted in casting aspersions on man's logical faculty,—of which some of them have had, indeed, a quite aspernable quantity,—Poe, having a large endowment of it and finding it very useful, was quite as friendly to it as to the "mystic" and the "ideal," ulterior qualities that he could produce at will through his formulae. It would not be fanciful to say that his whole view of art was mathematical. A certain result—*x*—unknown to the reader but predetermined by the artist—was to be attained. For this result, a long series of causes was then devised. These were given an order and coherence depending on their nature. By division of the subject, by subtraction of the irrelevant elements, by enumeration of details patiently added to yield a sum or climax, by a multiplication of subordinate sums leading to the ultimate effect, the artist's logical powers could so arrange the data of the senses as to provoke in the reader that "*x*," or sentiment or intuition, which was in the artist's consciousness at the beginning. Poe's interest in mathematics is, of course, well known; in many tales he employed it or discussed its nature, as in his literary criticism he used its terminology ("repetend" being a good example); and his absorption in problems and puzzles of all kinds, from cryptography to plagiarism, is notorious. The new *genre* that he brought into vogue, the detective story, was precisely the contribution to be expected of him. So far did he carry this exploitation of his logical faculty "for its own sake," as he might have said, so innocent was he of all serious endeavor to understand what he liked to term, with Goethe and Carlyle, the open secret of life, that the activity of his reason became aimless, irresponsible, and unmeaning.

For the rational principle in Poe, unaided by moral imagination, became the accomplice of the senses, or appetitive principle, and so enabled him to produce only an inferior range of harmonies—shuddering harmonies of the murky subconscious, and roseate harmonies of sensuous longing posing as spirituality. His vision oscillated not between the earthly and the supernal, but between the infernal and the Arcadian. Denying Bryant a rank with “the spiritual Shelleys, or Coleridges, or Wordsworths, or with Keats, or even Tennyson, or Wilson,” on the ground that “the objects in the moral or physical universe coming within the periphery of his vision” are too limited, Poe sets down as a critical canon this assertion: “the relative extent of these peripheries of poetical vision must ever be a primary consideration in our classification of poets.” This is surely a sound canon, if properly understood; it explains why Chaucer, for example, great as he is, is not among the greatest—his periphery is short. But Poe forgets that precisely what makes Chaucer great despite his restricted periphery, is his extraordinary truth and completeness of vision within his limits, and that the spiritual Shelleys (along with the Wilsons) are inferior to him because, with all their reach of vision, they are wanting in this truth and completeness. Reality, it would seem, whether the reality of concrete things or of the human spirit, is irrelevant in Poe’s conception of art. If a man has but an ample reach of vision, an extensive periphery, if he can look over—or even overlook—a vast number of objects in the physical or moral universe, and can express his vision, it matters not that his picture is a fair mirage, fascinating in its fluid harmony, rather than an illusion of a higher reality that speaks to all of man’s nature. In Shakespeare, in Milton, “even in Tennyson,” we feel that we are moving toward a superior truth and beauty, a unity perceived by them, not arbitrarily created. In them, as in Poe, reason is supreme; but it is reason aided by the senses and the will, as in Plato’s figure of the charioteer and the two horses endeavoring to mount toward the heavens. Reason in Poe, wanting moral support, must rely upon but one of the horses, the rebellious one who is black, “a large misshapen animal . . . , gray-eyed and blood-shot.” Seeking the celestial harmonies, he can make no progress thither—the true “awful Loveliness” is never in sight. The senses, goaded onward, bring him to a spurious loveliness, a beau-

tiful limbo where the "sweets" of life lie spread in an ordered profusion, or, more often, they plunge to a nether region where the "sours" of life are made horribly perfect. "The fact is," as Poe himself tells us, "that in efforts to soar above our nature, we invariably fall below it"—unless we rise, as the great have ever risen, in life itself and its reflection, literature, with the aid of the other winged horse, he whom Plato describes as white and as "a lover of honor and modesty and temperance, and the follower of true glory."

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## A NOTE ON WHITMAN'S PROSODY

BY JOHN ERSKINE

It has long been a conventional thing to say of Whitman's verse that it is metrically unintelligible, a barbaric yawp, as he called it himself. But this phrase of his was not so modest at it sounds, and he knew that his metre contained no novelties; we need but read his lines for their sense, he told us, and the metrical pattern will be disclosed along with the meaning. Advice not unlike this Tennyson gave to his son, commenting on "Paradise Lost"; the opening line of it, he said, with its bold rhythm, would be quite spoiled unless the reader understood that the story dealt with man's first disobedience, as distinguished from his later sins,—

Of Man's *first* disobedience, and the fruit, etc.

There is good reason to think that Whitman was as surprised as Milton could have been, when the readers, who had only to follow the sense in order to find the rhythm, reported no difficulty in the sense, yet confessed to have missed the rhythm altogether. We are beginning to see now that he was quite reasonable and his readers were befuddled; his rhythms are clear enough, and they are none of them new,—they could all be found in Milton, who was much more of an innovator. We might also see that the reader who cannot make out Whitman's rhythms, from line to line, is very unlikely to follow Milton's. For after all allowances for Whitman's individual genius and for the cadences peculiar to him and to his time, it remains true that his originality is more for the eye than for the ear—his poems seem difficult metrically only because he printed them without the traditional line-end. He thought he was helping us, and at the same time rendering the art of verse more simple and sincere, by printing his verse as he knew we would read it if it were printed the traditional way. He knew we had ceased to observe the line-ends in oral reading, perhaps because we no longer understood them; he therefore made bold to mark no line-ends in the printing, but only phrases, clauses and sentences. But, as it turned out, though we do not observe line-ends in reading, we are lost if they are not there on the page for us to disregard. Whitman has therefore been a difficult metrist for the average reader.

The problem that he tried to solve for us still remains to bother the inexperienced—just how to come at the rhythmic pattern the poet may have wished us to hear, and yet be true to the pre-conceived pattern we should like to impose on his verse. The romantic school in England as elsewhere had a tendency to break down the art of versification, to confuse the reader's ear by forcing the accent, to dull it by weak stretches in the monotony of conversation, with no accent at all. The harm that Wordsworth, for instance, did to the art of English prosody will not be realized for many a day—not until we are sated with the dreary sound of modern verse, avoiding high rhythms and rhythmic patterns in the effort to perpetuate the evenness of man's natural talk. But the breaking down of our skill to follow rhythms was not accompanied, unfortunately, by the abandonment of ancient methods of "scansion," so-called; however ignorant of Latin or Greek the average reader is today, and however incompetent to read verse rhythmically, he is liable still to believe that all famous poetry (except Whitman's) was composed by manipulating the unwilling language into a pattern that does not fit it; if you ask him to scan a line, he will try to force it back once more into the awkward mold; if, however, you ask him to read the line, he will deliver it as free from all pattern, as much like prose as possible. If you ask him, that is, to scan the opening line of *Paradise Lost*, he will announce it as

Of Mán's first disobedience, and the fruit  
Of that forbidden trée. . . .

for he will remember that "Paradise Lost" is in blank verse, and he has been told that a blank-verse line has ten syllables, with accents on the five even syllables. He will look somewhat distressed as he scans; he knows how absurd sounds this tortured way of reading, but he understands that here is one of the mysteries of the art, as practised by the older poets, an outrageous whim of theirs that has to be humored. He likes the modern poets because their free verse cannot be scanned. It never occurs to him that the "scansion" of the text-books would have appeared utter humbug to the older poets—that Ben Jonson or Milton or Dryden would have withered him with contempt for such vile reading of a line. But if you ask the same modern reader to *read* the line, as distinguished from scanning it, he will begin "Paradise Lost" somewhat in this fashion—

Of man's first disobedience,  
And the fruit of that forbidden tree,  
Whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe,  
With loss of Eden,  
Till one greater Man restore us and regain the blissful seat,  
Sing, heavenly Muse.

This is somewhat the way that Whitman would have printed the lines; but so printed, the average reader would find them metrically incomprehensible.

The difference between our conventional printing and our conventional reading of verse, is that on the page we mark a regular line-end, but with the voice we never or rarely mark it. Yet the art of verse is for the ear, not for the eye, and so long as we had an ear for such things, we followed the design of the rhythm by the pauses, slight or considerable, at the end of each line. To the ear, it is the pause at the end, not the capital at the beginning, which gives form to verse. In English poetry especially, the line-end is essential to any real distinction between the rhythms of prose and of verse, for only the line-end is invariable, or even approximately so; our line is not made up of a prescribed number of "feet," nor must we have an unchanging number of accents in each line; and since the rhythm of the phrases in the line is made by the natural accents of the words and in the phrase, there is no difference in English between the rhythm of verse and the rhythm of prose, except for the pause at the end of the line. The effect of this pause in our classical poets, is to set up a normal time-beat, against which the wide variety in the lines can be measured and appreciated; it is the one fixed mark in what otherwise would be a riot of variation, and to forget or misunderstand its use is to miss entirely the secret of English verse.

We began to miss this secret at the end of the eighteenth century, in the reaction against the rimed couplet. The new poets of the day had had enough of strongly marked line-ends, and they turned most often, by way of protest, to the writing of blank verse. But having a protest in mind, and wishing to avoid as far as possible the effect of regularity which had become wooden to their ears, they cultivated a blank verse not at all like that of Shakespeare or Milton, not a sounding line, but rather a conversational stretch that ran over easily and imperceptibly from verse to verse. It became the fashion to note that the older poets at their best prac-

ticed the run-on line, and we began to have contempt for the end-stopt verse—without observing the rhythmical principles by which the older poets ran on their lines, or by which they determined whether to run them on or to stop them. Even today, we hear supposed experts in these matters, themselves writers of verse, say that Shakespeare's sonnets all belong to his youth, because the end-stopt lines predominate in them, and he out-grew end-stopt lines as he approached middle age; and most writers of sonnets today run on their lines in defiance of the strong emphasis with which the rime marks off the verses in that form.

The sonnet and indeed all kinds of rimed verse have complicated the question of the line-end, for the rime emphasizes the final sound, and the line-end of which we are speaking is rather the pause after the final sound. For the two ways of ending a line there are two techniques, the rime technique, if it may be called that, an importation into English verse from Romance poetry, and the line-end technique, which is implicit in the old English stave. The technique for rime is comparatively simple; the chime of sounds produces a high relief in the rhythm, and the poet has only to put his emphatic thought or emotion in the emphatic rime-word. When we are accustomed to this harmony of emphasis, it is always possible for an innovator to surprise us by putting the emphasis of thought not in the rime but elsewhere, leaving the rime to sound a hollow decoration. Rossetti was fond of that effect, even in the sonnet, where it should have been least permissible. But obviously, if too many poets surprise us with the unemphatic rime, making "love" and "above" chime with "dreaming of," we shall get used to the surprise and forget the older tradition. The sonnet was originally a "sound-poem," but the pleasure it was intended to give came not only from the complicated chime of final words, but from the felicity with which the emphasis of the thought fell in with those expected sounds. It is the merit of the sonnet to play up the rimes, as though the chimer were striking successive bells.

When, in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,  
I all alone beweep my outcast state,  
And trouble deaf heaven with my broken cries,  
And look upon myself and curse my fate,  
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope.  
Featured like him, like him with friends possesst,

Desiring this man's art and that man's scope,  
With what I most enjoy contented least, etc.

This is the whole principle of rimed verse; even if the lines run on and the phrasing is elaborated to the most magnificent scale, the rimes should still coincide with the subject matter, as they beautifully do in Milton's early poems. To write rimed verse as though one were ashamed of the rimes or were trying to ignore their presence, is an absurdity in art; if they are not to match the sense sincerely, they should not be there at all.

In blank verse the line-end plays a part different from that of rime; it has nothing or little to do with the sense, but a great deal to do with the rhythm. "Read for the sense and the rhythm will appear," is a good rule provided we know how to observe line-ends. The line in blank-verse has usually five beats, but it often has four and even as few as three, and it may have as many as ten, one for each syllable. If these beats are allowed to set up the tempo of the verse, it will be found that at the end of any line having an unequal number of beats—three, five or seven—there is a natural pause or rest, what we call here the line-end; but if the number of beats is even—four, six, or eight—there is no such pause, and the line runs on naturally into the next. The reason is a simple one; when any accent recurs regularly, we tend to hear it as recurring in groups, usually of two or three. When we listen on a train to the wheels hitting the joints in the rails, we group the sounds as two, three or four to the measure, if we have musical notation in mind. If we had some special training we might group them as five to the measure, but though this grouping would present no difficulty to the musician, it is quite beyond the rhythmic instincts of the average person. In the five-accent line, therefore, we tend to hear the beats in groups of twos, stressing the first, third and fifth; the line already quoted from Shakespeare's sonnet

Whén in dis/grace with / fōrtune and / mén's / éyes,  
becomes

Whén in disgrace with / fōrtune and men's / éyes,

But obviously the last rhythmic unit, as we now have it in the line, is somewhat short. We piece it out with a rest, holding up the intonation of the voice until the equivalent of another beat has gone by. These line-ends, recurring almost constantly, give the

tempo of the whole rhythm and mark out the length of the phrases; they must be so frequent as to dominate the verse. But if they were invariable, they would soon prove monotonous, like any other rhythm repeated too regularly. The poet, therefore, omits the line-end from time-to-time, by limiting the beats in the line to four or some other even number, so that when we hear the beats in groups of two, there will be no gap at the end of the line, but we shall read on steadily. In Tennyson's "Oenone," the beautiful line describing Aphrodite's coming is evidently conceived as an integral part of the line following:

Between the shadows of the vine-bunches  
Floated the glowing shadows.

The reader asked to scan this passage might torture it into

Between the shadows of the vine-bunches,

and if he has been told that every line in blank verse has five feet or five accents, he must do something of the sort; but if he reads for the sense, respecting the proper pronunciation of the words, he will find he has a true run-on line—that is, a line with an even number of beats—

Between the shadows of the vine-bunches  
Floated the glowing shadows.

There are of course plenty of five-beat lines of which the sense is run on, though the rhythm pauses; in such cases the pause often gives suspense and helps build up a climax, as in the famous lines from Milton,

Nor love thy life, nor hate, but what thou livest  
Live well.

In blank verse, then, the poet has at his choice three general types of line—that in which the beats are uneven, and the sense ends with the pause, that in which the beats are uneven and the sense runs on over the pause into the next line, and that in which the beats are even and both rhythm and sense flow without a break into the line following. There is also, of course, the line with even beats, in which the verse comes to a period, but this type is rarely used for a final line, and when used is rarely successful.

Illustrations are easily found in the masters. The five-beat line with the line-end occurs frequently in "As You Like It."

You foolish shépherd, whérefore dō you follow her,  
 Like foggy sōuth, puffing with wind and rain?  
 You are a thóusand times a prōperer man  
 Than shé a wóman; 'Tis such fóols as yóu,  
 That make the wórd full of ill-favored chldren.

In this passage every line has five beats, and there is a rhythmic pause after each; the variety is secured in the line itself. Later in the same play occurs this less regular passage, with one instance of a six-beat line running without break into the line following:

So hóly and so pérfect is my lóve,  
 And I in stch a póverty of gráce,  
 That I shall think it a móst plénteous cróp  
 To gleán the bróken eárs after the man  
 That the man hárest reáps; loóse nów and thén  
 A scátttered smile, and thát I'll live upon.

The last line is of four beats, the least usual type to close on; it is a matter of taste, perhaps, whether we find it somewhat weak and tapering.

The first of these passages from "As You Like It" would offer little difficulty to the average reader; the lines are so close to his general idea of blank verse that he could get the accents almost right, without violence to the sense. In the second passages he would have trouble, for the sense obviously runs on in two cases, though in one there is a line-end and in the other there is no pause. His tendency would be to omit the pause in both cases, not because the sense demands it, but because all line-ends seem a bit artificial and he is glad to get on. Is it not considered good elocution, among a certain class of pulpit orators, to take a sort of flying start whenever they see a rime blocking their path in a quotation, and sweep over it triumphantly as though it had never been there? I was once told of a minister who quoted verse with art so natural that he often got to the end before you realized it was not a passage of prose. This skill is much like the ability to sing so that one can not recognize the tune. And if rime fares so badly, what better fate can we expect for the line-ends in blank verse? The average reader goes to pieces completely when he tries his voice on some really subtle verse-rhythm, such as the well-known speech of Lady Macbeth.—

When Dúncan is asléep,  
 (Whéreto the ráther shall his day's hard joúrney

Soundly invite him,) his two chamberlains  
 Will I with wine and wassel so convince,  
 That memory, the warder of the brain,  
 Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason  
 A limbeck only. When in swinish sleep  
 Their drenched natures lie, as in a death,  
 What cannot you and I perform upon  
 The unguarded Duncan? What not put upon  
 His spongy officers, who shall bear the guilt  
 Of our great quell?

Most of these lines have but four beats, and run on breathlessly; the three-beat line and those with five beats precipitate in each case a magnificent line-end, too liable to be overlooked. The average reader (and nowadays the average actor and actress too) converts this passage into an unrhythymical series of clauses.—

When Duncan is asleep,  
 Whereto the rather shall his day's hard journey soundly invite him,  
 His two chamberlains will I with wine and wassel so convince,  
 That memory, the warder of the brain, shall be a fume,  
 And the receipt of reason a limbeck only.  
 When in swinish sleep their drenched natures lie, as in a death,  
 What cannot you and I perform upon the unguarded Duncan?  
 What not put upon his spongy officers,  
 Who shall bear the guilt of our great quell!

It is important to realize how ignorant we are of English verse-music, and to prove to ourselves by experiment what havoc even educated people make of poetry, when they read it aloud, if we are to give Whitman credit for his shrewd innovation in prosody. Since we no longer understood the line-end and almost always omitted it, he wrote verse without line-ends. With respect to line-ends, his verse was to be fool-proof. To give up the subtle art of the end-pause was to give up a characteristic charm of English verse, and many poets have hesitated to imitate Whitman's method, but it is only fair to remember that not he, but the general public, gave up the line-ends first; he merely composed as people in this country read. And if you take from Shakespeare or Milton the essential pauses at the close of the lines, their verse is pale beside the best of Whitman's, which has its rhythm only from the accent of the words. Lady Macbeth's speech, as we now murder it, has little rhythmic beauty in comparison with such a rolling music as—

On the beach, at night,  
Stands a child, with her father,  
Watching the east, the autumn sky.  
Up through the darkness,  
While ravening clouds, the burial clouds, in black masses spreading,  
Lower, sullen and fast, athwart and down the sky,  
Amid a transparent clear belt of ether yet left in the east,  
Ascends, large and calm, the lord star—Jupiter;  
And nigh at hand, only a little above,  
Swim the delicate brothers, the Pleiades.

The people who still complain that they cannot understand Whitman's rhythm would have no difficulty if it were printed as though there were line-ends in it for them to neglect. The verse would then look like what they are accustomed to, and by misreading it, they would produce the effect he had in mind. I have sometimes wondered whether his fame might grow among the still unconverted if we could get out an edition arranged somewhat like this:

On the beach, at night  
Stands a child with her father, watching the east,  
The autumn sky. Up through the darkness, while ravening  
Clouds, the burial clouds, in black masses  
Spreading, lower, sullen and fast, athwart  
And down the sky, amid a transparent clear  
Belt of ether, yet left in the east,  
Ascends, large and calm, the lord-star Jupiter.  
And nigh at hand, only a little above,  
Swim the delicate brothers, the Pleiades.

*Columbia University.*

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## WHITMAN AS CRITIC OF AMERICA

BY EMORY HOLLOWAY

The only reason this paper is not captioned "Walt Whitman: Satirist" is that, though the poet possessed satirical traits, he was a satirist in no very typical sense. Certain qualities he shared, it is true, with Rabelais, Cervantes, Swift, Carlyle, Nietzsche, and Mark Twain; but he could never enter the fraternity of the scoffers on equal terms because he lacked one essential of satirical genius and because he possessed an element of temper incompatible with it. He had the wrong sort of humor and too much mystical humanitarianism to be a typical satirist. Instead of being detached from his subject as a satirist must be, he was "both in and out of the game" of life, a state which plays havoc with satire. It is rare that he observes the imperfections of the world as at a distance, and then he is silent:

I sit and look out upon all the sorrows of the world,  
and upon all oppression and shame;  
· · · · ·  
All these— All the meanness and agony without end, I  
sitting, look out upon,  
See, hear, and am silent.

At other times he is moved to cry out in righteous indignation or scorn, but seldom does he evince that humor, genial or sardonic, wherewith the satirist not only detaches himself from the object of his attack but which he employs as a weapon in the attack itself. Here the satirist stops, with criticism. He is what he is because of his inability effectually to express or to construct the beauty of which he dreams. But in Whitman the very quality which denies him this sort of humor drives him on to constructive work, in an effort to make good, so far as words of his can, the defects in the world he criticises. A startling, impudent, barbaric yawp he causes to reverberate, as if from the tower of Teufelsdröckh, over the roofs of the world; but, not being a dyspeptic but a man in superb health and of kindly spirit, he must come down into the democratic Open Road, hooking the average man about the waist and imparting to him the stamina of the poet's own highly vitalized nature. Unlike Carlyle, he had (to quote

his own vigorous manner of putting it) "an intuition of the absolute balance, in time and space, of the whole of this multifarious, mad chaos of fraud, frivolity, hoggishness—this revel of fools, and incredible make-believe and general unsettledness, we call *the world*; a soul-sight of that divine clue and unseen thread which holds the whole congeries of things, all history and time, and all events, however trivial, however momentous, like a leash'd dog in the hand of the hunter." Such implicit faith in the divine event of evolution does not normally inspire satire. Much there is in the world that falls short of his dream of it, and yet he is most typically himself when he declares

I keep no account with lamentation.

Jeremiah is swallowed up in Isaiah, and he in the patient, comprehending love of the Nazarene. It is therefore difficult to think of him as a satirist; and yet to discover in him a more or less inarticulate satirist will, I believe, help to make clear certain of his oddities and extravagances, whether of personal affectation or of his published criticism of America.

At one time criticism thought to dispose effectually of Whitman's poetic claims by pointing to the fact that the "average man," meaning the man in the street, though given ample opportunity to acquaint himself with the verse of democracy's new champion, continued to pass by his robust individualism for the soporific "piano tunes" of Longfellow and the cloying harmonies of Tennyson. Forgetting that a mystic's imagination plays like a lambent flame over language, and that Whitman's "divine average" was employed more as a symbol useful in a sentiment-inspired generalization than as a scientific description of a type, criticism asserted the failure of Whitman as a prophet on the ground that the average American failed to recognize himself in the poet's lines, as, let us say, the Scotchman sees himself in Robert Burns or the New England rustic catches his reflection in the verse of Robert Frost. All that may logically be inferred from these facts, however, is that Whitman was only in a qualified sense the spokesman for the America of his day. This much he himself admitted. His was the voice of one crying in our cultural wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Modern Man"; but he was unabashed if admirers chose to identify the forerunner with the messiah he her-

alded. However, he looked for justification to the future, expecting a hearing commensurate with the significance of what he was trying to say only when his country should have absorbed him as affectionately as he had absorbed it. Satire, likewise, is commonly first enjoyed only by the intellectual, the sophisticated, the imaginative, who live far in advance of the average man, and it is caviar to the general until society can look in complacent retrospect upon the vices pilloried. It is his appeal to the future that relates Whitman to the satirical temper. For a satirist may be defined as an idealist who, compellingly conscious of an ideal superior to that whereby his age is actually living, sets out, whether in the bitterness of disillusion or in the patience of cheerful optimism, to make ridiculous the shortcomings of that age. This he does by applying, directly or indirectly, to the conduct of his fellows the footrule of his own vision. In the case of Whitman, who identified his book with his own personality, this reduced itself to a measuring of mid-nineteenth-century Americans by himself. Just as Gulliver is Swift's conception of his own spiritual and intellectual superiority to the Lilliputians in the midst of whom he moved in Dublin or London, so *Leaves of Grass* becomes a book of arrogant egotism which sets out, for reasons that are irrelevant here, to make diminutive the personality of the average American reader by challenging him to a comparative measurement with that of "Walt Whitman, a cosmos." Making the very growth whereby he will one day be appreciated, he hopes that his influence will ultimately be responsible for men and artists who can "spread a wider breast" than his own; but he is well assured that among the poetic "insects" or the "little plentiful mannikins skipping around in collars and tail'd coats" few will welcome the challenge. Whitman, like Emerson and Lowell, boasts of equality of opportunity in America, but in him is no rant about the actual equality of mankind through indifference in creation. He speaks the password of democracy, namely,

I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms,

but he realizes from the start that few can meet those terms as he has met them. The only apology for his egotism is his willingness to help others to climb to the same Nietzschean height.

I know perfectly well my own egotism;  
I know my omnivorous lines, and will not write any less;  
And would fetch you, whoever you are, flush with myself.

Whitman was not a very social person; he was not adaptable; others might share his society but only on his terms, as Swift was met: and yet all the service which he sought to do the world, whether through his books of prose and verse, through his attendance upon the wounded in the hospitals, or in his numerous epistolary contacts, was to be a very personal kind of service—the help that a strong personality dispenses to those less strong. And this conception of his mission began and ended in the notion that his was, essentially, the stronger, healthier, wiser, and more sympathetic personality. This feeling of personal worth and identity, this un-Puritan faith in the indestructibility of the soul, that rendered him immune against the slings of fortune and the fears of death—this it was that gave him the artistic detachment from the social *milieu* he set out to criticise and improve. So strong is it in him that he feels that he can lay bare his personal imperfections as no other American poet has done. And whenever he is for the time doubtful of himself, the first thing he does, as an honest writer, is to abstain from satire of others. Once, when he had fallen into an undignified and futile “pursuit” of some woman who did not reciprocate his affection, and when he had under the spell of her fascination probably done something which called for explanations and yet which no explanations could adjust, he imposed upon himself, as a penance, this:

No more puns or smart sayings, or scornful criticisms, or harsh comments on persons or actions, or private or public affairs.

And when candor requires him to identify himself with the “endless trains of the faithless” in the “cities filled with the foolish,” until he asks in a moment of depression, “What good amid these, O me, O life?” the only answer that satisfies him is one that brings him back, despite his failures, to a sense of his own significance and identity.

That you are here—that life exists, and identity—  
That the powerful play goes on, and you will contribute a verse.

This indestructible egotism may be looked upon as a natural, if not a necessary, stage in the development of a man who en-

countered uncommon handicaps in his slow climb from obscurity to fame, from humiliation to power, from conventionality to timeless greatness. It is easy to decry the artist's egotism as abnormal, but it is more profitable to observe how, though immediately unwelcome to society, it was nature's means of making Whitman more serviceable to society, and it was likewise nature's normal method of correcting a hurtful and destructive prior abnormality. Elsewhere I have pointed out that Whitman's Narcissian love of himself was a mechanism of self-protection against the despair of a tender, passionate, and ambitious nature that somehow felt itself strangely misunderstood and found its affection unreturned. In Whitman's earlier years and in his earlier editions there is, however we must qualify it, an element of boasting, nature's substitute for the approval and appreciation of others, designed to keep the world's cruel opinion and crueler neglect at bay until he could cultivate his powers to the point where the world's approval or apathy should become matters of relative indifference. When, through enlarging experience, growing personal charm, and an increasing power of artistic expression, Whitman found in individuals and in the world at large a responsive object for his affections, he came to prate less of his own egotism, personal or representative. Witness his correspondence with Dr. Bucke and that with Mrs. Gilchrist. Even in his first edition the two attitudes appear side by side, a fact which indicates something of the length of the psychological foreground over which he advanced to its composition. On one page he avows his egotism, in a passage already quoted; in another he proclaims his indifference to the reception he is to receive from his contemporaries:

I exist as I am—that is enough;  
If no other in the world be aware, I sit content;  
And if each and all be aware, I sit content.  
One world is aware, and by far the largest to me, and  
that is myself;  
And whether I come to my own today, or in ten thousand  
or ten million years,  
I can cheerfully take it now, or with equal cheerfulness  
I can wait.

The "brave and free thought" which Emerson praised in this edition made of it, in preface and poetical text, a criticism, if not indeed an indirect indictment, of life and letters in America in

1855. But what elements of satire it exhibited to the few who exposed themselves to it were not sporadic expressions of Whitman's feeling. From twenty to thirty he had been a passionate reformer. Much of this passion was but the instinctive reaction of a generous nature to the Transcendental *Zeitgeist*, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the ignorance and inexperience of youth. He himself later attributed it largely to bigotry. And yet it was a protest, as Transcendentalism was, against defects and sordidness and selfishness in the spirit and life of the nation. One smiles today at his puerile philippics against the habits of coffee drinking and smoking, or possibly at those against capital punishment; but one must take a little more seriously his castigation of America's sycophantic literature, her imitative dramatics, her imported music, her arid journalism, her inefficient and uninspiring education. And when political cowardice or compromise inspired his earliest published free verse—in "Blood Money," "Song for Certain Congressmen," "A Boston Ballad," etc.—there is a ring of indignation that clears the air, even if the sarcastic humor of the last mentioned poem falls flat for other reasons than that it fails to remind the reader instantly of the occasion which provoked it, as do the "Biglow Papers." As yet, however, he hardly can be said to have been certain of himself as a superior type of man, much less as a man with a mission. He even wore, for a time, conventional dress, including a cane and a boutonnière. When he began to cry in the wilderness, he signalized his detachment from other poets, if not from average men, by the raiment of camel's hair that he affected. Some progress was made toward this detachment from the world in which he had grown up by his impulsive visit to the South, in whose sense-satisfying atmosphere was drawn off some of the nervous energy which had previously vented itself in tirades of reform. He even imitated Addisonian satire to the extent of writing slipshod "characters" in his "Sketches of the Sidewalks and Levees." But a mystical experience or experiences delivered the final blow both to his tendency to attract attention through fruitless attacks on petty evils and to the youthful inferiority complex whence his boasting originally grew, a complex that was none the weaker for having perhaps never been admitted or understood by himself. This experience, affording him a vision of the world in God and causing him to feel unforgettably his own

kinship with the immanent divinity, at the same time enabled him, as it were, to speak to his country as one having authority, not only to encourage but to chide. But as he came to see intimations of a similar divinity, however undeveloped, in other men, he gradually lost his motive and his right to criticise others by celebrating himself. His later books are far from egotistical.

With this illumination came a new power of putting things in their true places. While writing *Leaves of Grass* he declared:

One grand faculty we want—and that is the power to pierce fine clothing and thick-coated shams, and settle for sure what the reality of things clothed and disguised is, and what it weighs stark naked; the power of slipping like an eel through all blandishments and graspings of convention.

The phraseology of this early passage suggests *Sartor Resartus*, and the possession of the faculty prayed for was a point of similarity between Whitman and the great Scotch satirist. It enabled him to observe, sometime before 1855:

Our country seems to be threatened with a sort of ossification of the spirit. Amid all the advanced grandeurs of these times beyond any other of which we know—amid the never enough praised spread of common education and common newspapers and books—amid the universal accessibility of riches and personal comforts—the wonderful inventions—the cheap swift travel bringing far nations together—amid all the extreme reforms and benevolent societies—the current that bears us is broadly and deeply materialistic and infidel. It is the very worst kind of infidelity because it suspects not itself but proceeds complacently onward and abounds in churches and all the days of its life solves never the simple riddle why it has not a good time.—For I do not believe the people of these days are happy. The public countenance lacks its bloom of love and its freshness of faith. For want of these, it is cadaverous as a corpse.

#### What is the remedy?

Ah, who shall soothe these feverish children?  
Who justify these restless explorations?

A higher type of man, beside whom the average man of the street or mart will shrivel in his meanness, or be inspired to normal growth to greatness.

Finally shall come the Poet, worthy that name;  
The true Son of God shall come, singing his songs.

Those lines were written after the Civil War, but before Whitman

first felt the anointing of the divine afflatus, he longed for such a heroic leader for his country, too great to be a mere satirist:

Why cannot we see beings [a being] who by the manliness and the transparency of their natures [his nature] disarm[s] the entire world and brings one and all to his side, as friends and believers! . . . Can no father beget nor mother conceive a man child so entire and so elastic that whatever action he do or whatever syllable he speak, it shall be melodious to all creatures and none shall be an exception to the universal and affectionate Yes of the earth? The first inspiration of real wisdom in our soul[s] lets us know that the self-will and wickedness and malignity we thought so unsightly in our race are by no means what we were told, but something far different, and not amiss except to spirits of the feeble and shorn—as the freckles and bristly beard of Jupiter, to be removed by washes and razors, under the judgment of genteel squirts, but in the sight of the great master, proportionate and essential and sublime.

That was a dream of mystical elevation, and when it was on Whitman, evil lost something of its darkness and, in its place and proportion, seemed to have at least as much sublimity as the bristly beard of Jupiter. But when he had identified himself with this hero-savior of humanity until the rôle had established a certain prerogative in his conception of himself, he not infrequently launched himself a Jovial thunderbolt at "self-will and wickedness and malignity." This side of Whitman's comment on the America of his day we shall now examine in a little more detail.

From what has been said it will be expected that Whitman's fundamental criticism of America should be that it was not producing heroic, homeric men. "Produce great persons," he said; "the rest follows." No praise that he or his writings ever received seemed to please him more than Lincoln's remark, emphatic in its suggested simplicity, "Well, he looks like a MAN." Emerson had predicted that the democracy could survive only through the domestication of the idea of culture, the production of self-reliant individuals; and Emerson was himself such an individual as to justify any civilization that could produce him. But, aside from his ideas, Emerson was far from the type that Whitman longed to see common in America. In 1882 he wrote: "Emerson possesses a singularly dandified theory of manners. . . . Suppose these books [of Emerson] becoming absorb'd, the permanent chyle of American general and particular character—what a well-wash'd

and grammatical, but bloodless and helpless, race we should turn out." Lowell was as little to his liking. Whitman might have endorsed his sentiment that "in a democracy manners are the only effective weapons against the bowie-knife, the only thing that will save us from barbarism"; but he would have specified that the manners should have been those of the West rather than those of Boston—Lincoln's, say, rather than Lowell's. Curiously, both Emerson and Lowell also pointed to Lincoln as a proof that democracy was justified of her children.

In celebrating "natural and nonchalant persons," great individuals, Whitman had two methods: he ridiculed the "mannikins" and he lovingly described the full-sized man. Biblical language itself cannot go beyond the picture of debased personality Whitman sketches, in that poem of caustic realism, "*A Hand Mirror*":

Hold it up sternly! See this it sends back! (Who is it?  
It is you?)  
Outside fair costume—within ashes and filth,  
No more a flashing eye—no more a sonorous voice or springy  
step;  
Now some slave's eye, voice, hands, step,  
A drunkard's breath, unwholesome eater's face, venerealee's  
flesh,  
Lungs rotting away piecemeal, stomach sour and cankerous,  
Joints rheumatic, bowels clogged with abomination,  
Blood circulating dark and poisonous streams,  
Words, babble, hearing and touch callous,  
No brain, no heart left—no magnetism of sex;  
Such, from one look in this looking-glass ere you go hence,  
Such a result so soon—and from such a beginning.

The dry-rot at the heart of all such decay does not deceive him by its carefully groomed exterior, or a conventional manner of life:

Inside of dresses and ornaments, inside of those wash'd and  
trimm'd faces,  
Behold a secret silent loathing and despair.  
No husband, no wife, no friend, trusted to hear the confession;  
Another self, a duplicate of every one, skulking and hiding  
it goes,  
Formless and wordless through the streets of the cities,  
polite and bland in the parlors,  
In the cars of the rail-roads, in steamboats, in the public  
assembly,

Home to the houses of men and women, at the table, in the  
 bed-room, everywhere,  
 Smartly attired, countenance smiling, form upright, death  
 under the breast-bones, hell under the skull-bones,  
 Under the broadcloth and gloves, under the ribbons and  
 artificial flowers,  
 Keeping fair with the customs, speaking not a syllable of itself,  
 Speaking of anything else, but never of itself.

Believing that "nothing endures but personal qualities," he would revitalize such hollow and fainting souls, from the plenitude of his own power:

You there, impotent, loose in the knees!  
 Open your scarf'd chops till I blow grit within you.

This is the gist of his complaint, that the American has too little grit and is not, as the poet once described himself, "self poised on himself alone." He has so little good that he dare not acknowledge and rid himself of the evil which, concealed and disguised, rots the character. He has so little soul that he must deny his body. Such debased humanity so disgusts Whitman that he declares a preference for "the friendly and flowing savage," with Rousseau, or even the "placid and self-contain'd" animals. Of course, this is a manner of putting things, a sarcastic manner, as was Jesus's satirical remark to the human failures of his day concerning the deglution of gnats and camels. Emerson had said that all nature is a stage eternally set for the man who acts a noble part. In their ways the savage and the animal belong on that stage, but what of the man whose acting is unnatural and ignoble? Whitman, too, believed that in self-trust all the virtues are comprehended, but the self he trusted included body as well as soul, emotions as well as intellect, instincts as well as intuitions. Only thus might a man hope to keep nature in its place as setting:

I swear I will not be out-faced by irrational things!  
 I will penetrate what is in them that is sarcastic upon me.  
 . . . . .  
 I will confront these shows of the day and night!  
 I will know if I am to be less than they!

When Americans appear to advantage in the setting of American nature they will have become a new species, as different from the

products of the conventional culture and stereotyped education and "fossil etiquette" of his day as was Whitman himself.

A new race, dominating previous ones, and grander far—with new contests,  
New politics, new literatures and religions, new inventions and arts.

Carlyle contemptuously dismissed Whitman's democratic chants by saying, "He's the fellow who thinks he must be a big man because he lives in a big country." Rather, it was Whitman's point that only big men could escape being ridiculous in a big country. As he sauntered along amid the crowds of Broadway, a two-hundred-pound man who had never known sickness or acknowledged shame or inferiority, it must have occurred to him that the independence of spirit he felt and the dreams of Great Companions he fed upon might have some more than accidental connection with bodily athleticism and health.

The spirit receives from the body just as much as it gives to the body, if not more.

In celebrating the Modern Man, therefore, as in celebrating the Modern Woman, Whitman begins with the body, whether his utterances be studied logically or chronologically. His first edition was designed, he long after wrote,

to loosen the mind of still-to-be-form'd America from the folds, the superstitions, and all the long, tenacious and stifling anti-democratic authorities of Asiatic and European past—my enclosing purport being to express, above all artificial regulation and aid, the eternal Bodily Character of One's-self.

A later volume, never written on the same scale, was planned to celebrate the soul as master of the body.

Before the Civil War, colleges had done little or nothing to develop the body of the student in any systematic or scientific way, either on athletic field or in gymnasium. Even the class room laid no emphasis upon the study of the human organism, and the laws of eugenics, so far from being taught, can scarcely be said to have been investigated. Least of all was woman expected to be athletic. If she rode it was at the risk of curvature of the spine. If she walked—she never "hiked"—she was handicapped by such a burden of skirts as to destroy both her freedom and her joy.

The best part of athletics she missed—a chance to forget that she was a woman, in the tom-boy delight of girlhood. If she danced, she did so encased in stays so tight as to be hurtful to carriage and to health. She must speak of her physical nature and its needs only *in camera*. Indeed, Whitman as an editor found it necessary, in 1846, to urge that women be given a chance to learn about their own bodies as a cure for the anaemic race he saw about him.

Let anyone bethink him a moment how rare is the sight of a well-developed, healthy, *naturally* beautiful woman; let him reflect how widely the customs of our artificial life, joined with ignorance of physiological facts, are increasing the rarity (if we may be allowed such an approach to a bull)—and he will hardly dispute the necessity of such publications as this [a book being reviewed].

Margaret Fuller was preaching for, and Hawthorne was soon to dream of, self-reliant and dynamic women, but even they would have hesitated, perhaps, before the modern athletic girl whom Whitman heralded. We are likely to forget how far-sighted was Whitman's prophecy through our too great familiarity with its fulfilment. Today schools and colleges, the army and sporting clubs, the public playground and the churches, the Y. M. C. A. and the Boy Scouts, are all urging boys and girls to grow into physically sound men and women. Science is gradually tracing the relation of mind and body, of fatigue and nerves, of glands and personality. And most modern fiction is based upon behavioristic psychology. Eugenic societies and college courses in biology are impressing upon young minds the idea which Whitman used as a master argument against the bodily insult of African slavery, namely, that a woman is not an individual, short-lived woman merely, but the "teeming mother of mothers." And fatherhood experiences a new sense of dignity, when, accepting the responsibilities with the privileges of marriage, man can say

In you I wrap a thousand onward years.

For the development of perfect physical men and women there is no gymnasium like the out-of-doors. Whitman himself was not very athletic, for all his pride in physique. He was a good walker and he was fond of swimming. But nature bestowed upon him her "primal sanities" most often through the pores of his skin. Loafing, he invited his soul. But he feared houses and loved the

sunshine. "Heroic deeds were all conceived in the open air," he asserts, and heroic poems. His verses were not only commonly written in the presence of nature but were tested by her own rhythmic motion. This element of Whitman's criticism was intended, of course, for city dwellers—for these business men who, "demented with the mania of owning things," even in his day risked their lives rather than miss a ferry boat. And now, when more than half the population of the country is to be found in cities, the insistence upon fresh air and the Open Road is still more appropriate.

But the heroic life is not all loafing and sport; there must be Carlyle's work that is a kind of praying. Whitman was not only a worker himself, at times a hard worker, but he delighted in watching men at work. He celebrates creative occupations far more at length than he does idling or amusements. He makes room for but one leisure class, and that is the poets, who are the greatest workers of them all. The kind of work he admired was picturesque, outdoor toil that permitted the worker a large amount of self-direction and initiative. As Woodrow Wilson dreamed of a nation of small farmers, so Whitman's ideal race was to be composed, one infers, of mechanics, farmers, boatmen, drivers of busses, stockraisers, lumbermen, etc. His America at work was almost as picturesque and idyllic as Brook Farm itself. No doubt something depressingly sooty settled upon the spirit of the poet as he saw the country change, as Lowell put it, "from an agricultural to a proletary population." Unwillingly would he have sacrificed the homeric detachment of his heroes by teaching them to keep step with others in an army or in machinery-ridden factory or mine. Not even for the purpose of demanding greater freedom for the individual, as through labor unions, was he eager to socialize his Modern Man at work.

To match this well-formed, athletic man Whitman dreamed of a type of woman fit to be the mother of other such men. The heroines of Cooper never gave birth to a Leatherstocking, nor the daughters of metropolitan fashion to a Grant or Lincoln or Whitman. The women to come, he says,

are not one jot less than I am,  
They are tann'd in the face by shining suns and blowing winds,  
Their flesh has the old divine suppleness and strength,

They know how to swim, row, ride, wrestle, shoot, run, strike,  
retreat, advance, resist, defend themselves,  
They are ultimate in their own right—they are calm, clear,  
well-possess'd of themselves.

Everything, in a word, that Puritan bigotry and Eastern dilettante conventionality had taught the women of 1855 not to be, and everything that the writers of our Western fiction represent contemporary heroines as being. These are the women to mate with the men who are beings like the prairie grass,

of the open atmosphere, coarse, sunlit, fresh, nutritious,  
Those that go their own gait, erect, stepping with freedom and  
command—leading, not following,  
Those with a never-quell'd audacity—those with sweet and lusty  
flesh, clear of taint,  
Those that look carelessly in the faces of Presidents and  
Governors, as to say, *Who are you?*  
Those of earth-born passion, simple, never-constrain'd, never  
obedient,  
Those of inland America.

Unless one make allowance, in reading this, for an element of exaggeration due to satirical protest, one is liable to find Whitman championing a reversion to type, the simple, undifferentiated and undisciplined type of childhood, as Mr. Santayana finds, just as Thoreau found in *Enfans d'Adam* language such as animals might be supposed to employ. The point, however, is not important just here, for we are still examining Whitman's celebration of physique. Given such men and such women for mates, he promises, in his dream of what may come to pass,

I will make the most splendid race the sun yet shone upon.

This brings us to Whitman's caustic satire on sex as understood, or as he would say misunderstood, in mid-nineteenth-century America. Henry Adams, a more disillusioned satirist of the country, found Whitman to be the only poet of America who had ever insisted "on the power of sex, as every classic had always done." "All the rest," he added, "had used sex for restraint, never for force." Whitman makes it a dominating power in civilization; Puritanism had regarded it as something not for privacy merely but for darkness, not for intimacy but for shame, not for power but only for propagation. To him this appears unsound æsthetic-

ally, eugenically, and morally. To him "sex contains all" that is dynamic in life. In his first edition he announces his program of reform:

Through me forbidden voices;  
Voices of sexes and lusts—voices veil'd, and I remove the veil;  
Voices indecent, by me clarified and transfigur'd.

Criticism is sure to miss the point of Whitman's satire if it contents itself with the easy objection that he does not differentiate "sexes" and "lusts." For it was his purpose here less to write poetry of romance and mating, making beautiful, even in his own virile manner, the joys of honeymoons and homes (he wrote only of what he knew, and these joys were largely denied him), than to write satire pointed against the fatal defect in all such poetry as produced in America up to that time. Lowell says, in the preface to the First Series of the "Biglow Papers":

The aim of the true satirist is not to be severe upon persons, but only upon Falsehood, and, as Truth and Falsehood start from the same point, and sometimes even go along together for a little way, his business is to follow the path of the latter after it diverges, and to show her foundering in the bog at the end of it.

It would be absurd to suppose that a nature like Whitman's did not feel most sensitively the subtle æsthetic and moral connection between the senses and the soul, least of all where they most beautifully and vitally meet. One has but to read "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," "I Heard You, Solemn Sweet Pipes of the Organ," or "Out of the Rolling Ocean the Crowd" to realize that he was not without a romantic nature. Had his own romances been more normally happy, and had circumstances not laid a ban of silence upon him concerning them, we should have expected, in view of his whole poetic equipment, to hear him sing the most exalted and adequate epithalamia of the Modern Man. Apparently there were two reasons why in many of his realistic poems of sex Whitman separated the emotional moment from the moral and sentimental aspects of the experience. The first was a matter of temperament, later largely outgrown, and the second was a matter of satirical theory. As a mystic of the sensuous type and as an artist of the realistic type, Whitman sought to find, even in the realm of bodily experience, a "present that is eternal"

in preference to a future that is finite, thus carrying a Transcendental doctrine much farther than it was ever carried in Boston or Concord. Especially in his early manhood, he was committed to the celebration of life as good in itself. So well assured was he of the divinity of the ultimate event that he could see it not as a long-hoped-for eventuation, but as a timeless manifestation of the great I Am. Without doubt there was a purpose in life, and a purpose in human passion and the institution of marriage; but life achieves its deepest purposes through human emotion, and emotion is in itself incompatible with teleological contriving. Somewhere Thoreau, rebelling against the Puritan's tendency to defer all happiness to the future, declares that man should love woman for herself and not because he can guess the purpose of life in implanting the passion. Similarly Arnold Bennett declared that all decent men chose their wives out of downright selfishness—trusting that the God that makes a man to crave a woman will see to it that the event is as natural as the cause, precisely as a child grows into manhood not by imitating men but by being a child. Is a marriage not a success until it has been justified by its children? Such is not the lesson the poet learns from evolution. Science at last gives the artist leave to pause, content with the beauty and the promise of the eternal, instant creation and recreation of life.

I have heard what the talkers were talking, the talk of the  
beginning and the end;  
But I do not talk of the beginning or the end,  
There was never any more inception than there is now,  
Nor any more youth or age than there is now;  
And never will be any more perfection than there is now,  
Nor any more heaven or hell than there is now.

Strange as it may seem to the "bat-eyed and materialistic priests" whom he scorns for their lack of vital faith in life, this is not to abandon the end of evolution, but to advance it by intense, trustful living. Will nothing come of itself, as Wordsworth said, that we must be always seeking? Granted wholesome individuals, to whom an evil conscience would spoil the integrating experience of passion (and poetry may celebrate that experience in itself as being as wholesome, at least, as the purely sense gratification recorded in songs of libation or of the chase or of exhilaration in the presence

of nature. These passages of Whitman are written, of course, for those who should know what they are about—for the married, in short; and if these find them indecent, then the point of the satire but goes the deeper, as Thoreau pointed out. There is an occasional lack of taste, due to Whitman's unfamiliarity with the weapons of satire, but who looks primarily for taste in satire?

Furthermore, for publishing, if not for writing, the poems of sex, when it was so inimical to his popularity to do so, Whitman had a very practical purpose in view. Most of these poems first appeared in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. In 1857 he wrote a number of editorials in the Brooklyn *Times* on the subject of prostitution and free-love which make it clear that his object was to throw a healing light of frankness on social corruption.

Why is marriage getting less and less in repute—a weaker and weaker tie?—And why is the sneaking and filthy practice of men of means supporting kept-women for themselves becoming more and more common?

For what earthly good are all the facts, physiological, &c., that should most thoroughly be understood by young persons, and that are most vital to every healthy human being?—Why are these so resolutely taboo'd by "respectable people?"

Why not a candid and courageous course pursued by writers and speakers, upon the subject of sexuality? How shall we escape coming to that at last?

Is not every young man, every girl—every person of any age—desirous of having a powerful, agreeable, clear-fleshed, sweet-blooded body? And through this universal wish, could not human pollution in all its forms be best attacked, and put down?

If Whitman can establish his point that the full and sweet intoxication of "moments of madness and joy" are possible only to those who have such bodies, he shall have won over to cleaner living even the epicures and the sensualists by appealing to the only motive that they can respond to. This does not prevent his insisting elsewhere on the charm of romance, the debt the spirit owes to the body, or the function played in the evolution of the race by eugenically sound mating. And I think the critic largely misses the point of these poems if he sees only that Whitman has urged men to be the very animals that civilization is all too fearful that they will be without any urging. It is not that Whitman urges men and women to be passionate, but to cease defiling themselves with their impure thoughts of passion. Read as epithalamia, these poems might

sound like a celebration of man's degradation into an irresponsible animal; read as satire, they "make us ashamed of our shame," as Mr. John Macy has put it. Whitman goes so far in pressing his point that, as often happens in the case of satire, many readers miss the point. But for his justification there seems to be growing up a whole new body of thought concerning the function of sex in personal and racial growth that may, under his pioneer leadership, one day make of the stone which the builders of American morality rejected the very head of the corner. Certainly in fiction, in college courses, in art, in a whole library of books like Havelock Ellis's "Little Essays on Love and Marriage," in psychology, and even in some modifications of religious teaching we are coming around, more or less, to Whitman's attitude. The measure of the opposition, always allowing for imperfections in the poet's tact and technique, is the measure of the very repressions which, carried too far, Whitman diagnosed as the cause of the production of such imperfect individuals in America. Love without worship and sacrifice sinks the individual in dissipation and despair; but worship and sacrifice without love arrives at the same destination by an even less comfortable route.

Built upon such wholesome animality America must have a soul fit to dominate it. The spirit must be the artist of living, whose "very flesh shall be a poem, and have the richest fluency, not only in its words, but in the silent lines of its lips and face, and between the lashes of [its] . . . eyes, and in every motion and joint of [its] . . . body." The spirit of the Modern Man will not only register itself in his powerful and persuasive body, but will create for itself a new politics, a new art, a new religion. Here the scope of Whitman's criticism of America broadens and, it must be admitted, becomes at times hazy with mystical emotion and unsystematic thinking. The limits of the present article require that we content ourselves with suggesting a few of his satirical implications along these lines.

To comprehend how great was Whitman's love of his own country, one should note how quickly he resented criticism of her institutions or ideals by Carlyle or Matthew Arnold, his proud declaration that the imported writers she was so fond of reading—Scott, Shakespeare, Tennyson—were not really sufficient for her, and his prediction that the American idea of democracy would

extend over the whole earth, her greatness lying in her being only a step in "the eternal process of creative thought"; and then one should turn to the unsparing pictures of actual life in America whereby he confesses how far short she falls as yet of his "rapt vision." From the beginning, though a party man in his youth, Whitman laid more emphasis on principles and personalities than on the machinery of government, just as, being a Quaker, he had always a latent fear of too stiff an institutionalizing of religion. But it was in the spirit of the government and in the personnel of the governing class that he was most disappointed. His poem "To the States," identifying what he grandiloquently—or is it satirically?—calls the "10th, 17th, or 18th Presidentiad," is as scornful as Carlyle himself:

Why reclining, interrogating? Why myself and all drowsing?  
What deepening twilight! scum floating atop of the waters!  
Who are they, as bats and night-dogs, askant in the Capitol?  
What a filthy Presidentiad! (O south, your torrid suns! O  
    north, your arctic freezings!)  
Are those really Congressmen? are those the great Judges? is that  
    the President?  
Then I will sleep awhile yet—for I see that These States sleep,  
    for reasons;  
(With gathering murk—with muttering thunder and lambent  
    shoots, we all duly awake,  
South, north, east, west, inland and seaboard, we will surely awake.)

That was written in 1860. Within a year the satire had proved the veriest prophecy. And long afterwards, when the war had awakened and all but destroyed the nation, Whitman traced its cause to the very vileness and incompetence in its political life which he here bewails. Take this, from his description of a typical political convention in 1840-60:

The members who composed it were, seven-eighths of them, the meanest of bawling and blowing office-holders, office-seekers, pimps, malignants, conspirators, murderers, fancy-men, custom-house clerks, contractors, kept-editors, spaniels well-train'd to carry and fetch, jobbers, infidels, disunionists, terrorists, mail-riflers, slave-catchers, pushers of slavery, creatures of the President, creatures of would-be Presidents, spies, bribers, compromisers, lobbyists, sponges, ruin'd sports, expell'd gamblers, policy-backers, monte-dealers, duellists, carriers of conceal'd weapons, deaf men, pimped men, scarr'd inside with vile disease, gaudy outside with gold chains made from the people's money and harlot's money twisted together; crawling, serpentine men, the lousy combings and born freedom-sellers of the earth.

Not a word about the system of party conventions, but only an indictment of those who disgraced the spirit of democracy. No one, not even Lincoln, was ever more entitled, by his love and faith, to berate American materialism:

It is acknowledged that we of the States are the most materialistic and money-making people ever known. My own theory, while fully accepting this, is that we are the most emotional, spiritualistic, and poetry-loving people also.

And believing this, he dreamed for a time of "the institution of the dear love of comrades," whose community of spirit should bind men together into a nation as firmly as the romantic attachment unites man and woman in the family. The conception was largely born of war-time emotion, and in time of war it is fairly comprehensible; but even he seemed to outgrow his enthusiasm for it with advancing age, as, with the loss of bodily vigor, he had outgrown his strident encomiums upon the romantic passion.

Our national defect, then, is a defect of religious culture. Whitman realized this from the start, in making his own work so fully religious in spirit and intent. As in his literary method, he was careful to avoid quotations and references to other books, so in his religious method he eschewed cant and theology, and even calmly disregarded a large part of institutionalized Christianity in America. Even preaching seemed futile:

Logic and sermons never convince;  
The damp of the night drives deeper into my soul.

It was enough to cause consternation among the priesthood, always reverenced in America, to be told condescendingly by an ex-editor of ordinary political journals, a writer of what seemed to them meaningless if not vulgar verse,

I do not despise you, priests;  
My faith is the greatest of faiths, and the least of faiths.

Emerson, with all his tact and decorum, had run afoul of that stronghold of nineteenth-century respectability and culture, conventionalized Puritan theology; and Whitman, with his inclination stubbornly to carry the war into the enemy's country, was certain to encounter opposition. Was it naïveté or a sly humor that prompted the defense,

I hear that it was charged against me that I sought to destroy  
institutions;  
But really I am neither for nor against institutions;  
(What indeed have I in common with them?—Or what with  
the destruction of them?)

For nobody knew better than he that if there be new wine, the old wineskins are endangered. And it was hard to put a man in the wrong, on the score of impiety, who declared:

I say no man has ever been half devout enough;  
None has ever yet adored or worship't half enough.

But ceremonialism, creeds, slavish fear are not worship to him, because they do not result in great souls:

All religion, all solid things, arts, governments,—all that was or is apparent upon this globe or any globe, falls into niches and corners before the procession of Souls along the grand roads of the universe.

*Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* did on the scale of a boy's mind and a Mississippi valley town what Whitman had earlier done in his irreverent treatment of pretentious but devitalized religion.

Whitman struck at the root tyranny of Puritanism when he attacked the emphasis it placed upon fear for the soul and disgust with earthly life. With a few lines he brushes from his mind as incomprehensible even to a child that terrible, useless devil where-with men were frightened into conformity:

Silent and amazed, even when a boy,  
I remember I heard the preacher every Sunday put God in his  
statements,  
As contending against some being or influence.

The bigotry that would facilely and rigidly divide the world into the elect and the non-elect, the saved and the lost, the good and the evil, he takes by surprise with a paradox:

I am the poet of sin, for I do not believe in sin.

I have quoted at sufficient length in the preceding pages to show Whitman's realization of the power of what men call sin, but to him sin is relative, and may even prove the soil of good to come. It is the fear of sin that he attacks. This fear is rooted in the conscience; but to an evolutionist like Whitman the conscience

itself is in perpetual danger of a sinful crystallization. Conscience is aroused only through the application to present conduct of an achieved ideal or inherited standard; and as Professor Robinson emphasizes in his *Mind in the Making*, progress is made only as the human intelligence willingly feeds upon ideas which may alter its past standards and ideals to fit new conditions. In an early poem, which he did not publish, he applies his monism to religion:

But now a third religion I give. . . . I include the antique two.  
. . . I include the divine Jew, and the Greek sage. . . .  
More still—that which is not conscience, but against it—  
that which is not the soul, I include,  
These, and whatever exists, I include—I surround all, and dare  
not make a single exception.

This, of course, solves the problem of human conduct no more than calling a disease by a scientific term cures the disease; but it at least takes away some of the fear which paralyzes conduct in either case. The conception of religion as an intricate system of prohibitions and self-denials is a form of fear and distrust—more, it is a form of doubting the essential goodness of nature, the effectiveness of an immanent God.

*I give nothing as duties;  
What others give as duties, I give as living impulses.*

This makes religion attractive, joyous. And here Whitman puts his finger on a characteristic of Americans when once they become serious—they become melancholy. And the fearful, reverential attitude toward the past merely because it is the past Whitman likewise attacks. Emerson's "Divinity School Address" he compresses into one of the most truly Christian poems ever written—"My Spirit to Yours, Dear Brother." With the unsatisfying intricacies of theology he will have naught to do. "With the mystery of God I dare not dally," and yet he announces the broad outlines of a theology appropriate to a generation familiar with modern science, a generation that has grown accustomed to thinking of human personality as itself an evolution from the simple to the complex, from the more animal to the more angelic. In "Chanting the Square Deific" Whitman puts something of life's ironies and contradictions into the godhead, seeking thus the

"weakness in strength" that Browning hungered for, making God the master of life and also of what seems to be death. "More than any priest we believe in God," he declares, prophesying that "there will shortly be no more priests." I believe it safe to say that since that was written, the priest has considerably given way, even within the church in America, to the teacher, the prophet, the leader. It is no wonder, then, that Whitman should seem to entrenched and stand-pat orthodoxy as the very spirit of Anti-Christ. Those who may wish to trace this issue at length may turn to the chapter on Whitman in *American Poets and Their Theology*, 1916, (the title itself would have amused Whitman), by the president emeritus of the Rochester Theological Seminary, Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., LL. D., Lit. D., whose position entitles him to speak for the class under discussion.

As with politics and religion, so with art. Ideas like Whitman's would have been more ludicrous than the things his satire sought to make ridiculous, had they been couched in heroic couplets or Shakespearean verse. How could he challenge America to a greater freedom of the spirit while writing in molds whose every line must remind him of his own slavery—not to the laws of rhythm but to the artificial customs of English verse? Seldom does he display more bumptious humor than in the "Song of the Exposition" :

I say, I see, my friends, if you do not, the Animus of all that World,  
Escaped, bequeath'd, vital, fugacious as ever, leaving those dead remains, and now this spot approaching, filling;  
—And I can hear what maybe you do not—a terrible æsthetical commotion,  
With howling desperate gulp of "flower" and "bower."  
With "Sonnet to Mathilda's Eyebrow" quite, quite frantic;  
With gushing, sentimental reading circles turn'd to ice or stone;  
With many a squeak, (in metre choice,) from Boston, New York,  
Philadelphia, London;  
As she, the illustrious Emigré, (having, it is true, in her day, although the same, changed, journey'd considerable,) Making directly for this rendezvous—vigorously clearing a path for herself, striding through the confusion,  
By thud of machinery and shrill steam-whistle undismay'd,  
Bluff'd not a bit by drain-pipe, gasometers, artificial fertilizers,  
Smiling and pleased, with palpable intent to stay,  
She's here, install'd amid the kitchen ware!

In this parody on his own style Whitman seems to suggest that even crude experimenting in self-expression, if genuine, is better for a nation than the most polished imitation. "The stamp of entire and finish'd greatness to any nation . . . must be sternly withheld till it has put what it stands for in the blossom of original, first-class poems." For the useless products of useless and undemocratic culture, however, imitative American poetry is good enough —"embroiders" will do.

We see, in every polite circle, a class of accomplish'd, good-natured persons, ("society," in fact, could not get on without them,) fully eligible for certain problems, times, and duties—to mix egg-nog, to mend the broken spectacles, to decide whether the stew'd eels shall precede the sherry or the sherry the stew'd eels, to eke out Mrs. A. B.'s parlor-tableau with monk, Jew, lover, Puck, Prospero, Caliban, or what not, and to generally contribute and gracefully adapt their flexibilities and talents, in those ranges, to the world's service. But for real crises, great needs and pulls, moral or physical, they might as well never have been born.

No scorn is too cutting for such parlor poets, when Whitman is dreaming of a race of bards able to inspire, to comfort and direct the Modern Man:

How dare such insects as we see to write poems for America?  
For our victorious armies, and the offspring following the armies?

He is no more under illusion concerning our literature than concerning our politics, and quotes with approval the caution of Margaret Fuller: "It does not follow that because the United States print and read more books, magazines, and newspapers than all the rest of the world, that they have, therefore a literature." But he looks for deliverance from the body of this national death, this sluggish spiritual imagination, this slumbering national soul, to a race of poets who "are not followers of beauty but the august masters of beauty." Probably the most searching and candid examination ever made of the state of American literature by a contemporary is to be found in "Democratic Vistas," the whole purport of which was to show that until democracy produces great persons and great poems it is no better than aristocracy, and that the poems must produce the persons. The details of Whitman's reform here, including his championship of a more autochthonic language for America, may not be discussed in this place. But it may be said that free verse, like so much in Whitman's matter, was at once a satire and a prophecy.

If one will read "Respondez," written in a moment of disgust in 1855 or 1856, a poem in which the young poet permits himself a Carlylian flow of savage denunciation of the whole of American society, and will then turn to his "So Long," written a few years later, full of his faith in a coming breed of poets who, first living deeply themselves, would so incorporate their very personalities in what they should write that readers would respond to their books less as to literature than as to life itself—if one will compare these two poems, it will be clear that America lost a great satirist in Whitman less because he was deficient in penetration, courage, language, or even humor, than because of his faith that "the power to destroy or remold is freely used by the greatest poet, but seldom the power of attack." He might chide his country, but he preferred to spend his great strength in her service; and thus, though not a satirist in any strict sense, he remains the most discerning, the most courageous, the most loving critic America has ever had.

*Adelphi College.*

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## RECENT STUDIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

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*Edgar A. Poe, a Psychopathic Study.* By John W. Robertson, M. D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. 8vo., xvi + 331 + 5 pp. 4 pl.

It is always good to have a difficult biographical problem cleared up, and in the book described we may welcome what we hope will be the final word on the puzzling circumstances of Poe's mysterious death at Baltimore. Dr. Robertson handles ably the confused and conflicting statements of Dr. Moran, who attended Poe, and wrote two accounts of his death, and we have the conclusion that an experienced physician, acquainted with the symptoms of illness recorded of Poe's last years, would find nothing surprising in the poet's sudden end. We need assume no thugs, no strange accident—merely an attack similar to others previously suffered, and the absence of immediate medical assistance.

The discussion of Poe's death is incidental to a study of Poe from the viewpoint of an alienist and bibliophile (for Dr. Robertson is both) who sees in the poet a man like some of his patients, in no way mad, but in need of medical care, on account of inherited nervous weaknesses, such as may accompany remarkable mental powers. The study is not a psychoanalytical parade of "crimes heteroclital" based on supposed suppressed desires revealed in the author's work, but in the main follows the standard biographies, from the conclusions of which Dr. Robertson does not differ materially in his belief that Poe's weaknesses were not the cause of his talents, although both may have been equally unavoidable. The attack on Lauvrière's big book on Poe does good service, for many, especially in Europe, have taken very seriously that highly imaginative piece of higher criticism, which is really curious reading where it attempts to fasten on Poe the emotions of particular characters, without proof of any sort beyond the author's use of "I" or the critic's desire to prove his case.

A few random comments on the book before us are perhaps in order. The title Edgar A. Poe conforms to the poet's customary use during his life-time. The Appendices, of articles relating to Poe, may make the book more valuable to those who have not Garrison's edition, but most of the articles are reprinted therein also, and Griswold's long assault in his edition of Poe is perhaps too easily found elsewhere. The fragment of a letter from Longfellow to Poe shows that the letter sent differed slightly from the draft as printed in Samuel Longfellow's *Life of H. W. Longfellow* (Boston 1891, I, 390)—but the MS. in the Robertson collection evidently lacks a long paragraph, probably torn off for the use of Graham, to whom it refers.

In conclusion, the book has, of course, the defects of its qualities. Dr. Robertson will not believe that Poe served in the army as Edgar A. Perry, and his views of many great poets are not of a kind to please the admirers, say, of Milton and Keats. The subject of Poe's personal failings has at all times been given more attention than it deserves from students of literature, but a doctor of medicine has an excuse in the matter. Whether or not the reviewer finds much to disagree with, he is still grateful for a modern medical opinion on Poe's death, to which future biographers can go, and since "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind" he must also rejoice in the author's tribute to Poe's friend—the aunt to whom the poet wrote those warmest and most heartfelt lines, the *Sonnet—to my Mother, Mrs. Clemm.*

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A Concise Bibliography of Walt Whitman. Carolyn Wells and Alfred F. Goldsmith. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. Edition limited to five hundred fifty numbered copies. \$5.00.

It is hard for the uninitiated to appreciate the immense difficulties encountered by the bibliographer of Whitman. Patience and ingenuity in covering an immense field, skill in detecting and recording elusive variations and baffling deceptions, and a willingness to face the fact that relatively few will ever appreciate the work more or less gratuitously performed and the more disheartening fact that before the book is off the press it will have begun to be out of date—with these heroic qualities alone can he be armed with triple brass. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to please all those who are now demanding a comprehensive and serviceable bibliography of this poet, for what the collector wants is not what the student wants, and in some cases neither of these wants precisely what the librarian demands. And even if these conflicting claims could be harmonized, the publisher would yet have his say, and publishers, in determining the size and format of bibliographies, remember that such books are not best-sellers. In the case of Whitman, the result has always been a compromise of one sort or another. Limitations of space, expense of publication, or want of adequate information on the part of the bibliographer has invariably caused the omission of some of the features which an ideal Whitman bibliography should have. All bibliographies in this field have had to content themselves with a selection from the great mass of articles and even books about Whitman or to omit them altogether. Some have given inadequate descriptions of the baffling variations in Whitman's editions, a serious defect from the collector's point of view. No bibliography does justice to Whitman's foreign influence, and no important bibliography has been published of Whitman music.

The collaborators who have given us the latest bibliography of the poet are Carolyn Wells, who for a number of years has been an enthusiastic collector of Whitmaniana, and Alfred F. Goldsmith, a dealer in rare books who admires Whitman enough to specialize in the sale of Whitman books. It is natural that their aim should have been, in the first place, to satisfy the requirements of the collector. The descriptions of the poet's works do not always include an accurate and complete transcription of the colophon, and do not mention the number of pages in the various editions; but comments of value in identifying the items listed, and of interest in other ways, are included, sometimes at length. The more exacting student, therefore, while finding "*A Concise Bibliography*" as convenient as will the collector and the librarian, and useful as far as it goes, will at times have to have recourse to older bibliographies, particularly if he be interested in Whitman's influence abroad or in the growth of his ideas or his art, or the evolution of particular poems.

The book is "concise" in the sense that it deliberately omits some descriptive details, in that it does not pretend to be exhaustive except in Part I, devoted to Whitman's own works, in that foreign editions or works are not included except certain English ones. In the Foreword the collaborators refer to the book as a check-list rather than a regular bibliography. Within this definitely limited, if not always clearly defined, field the work is one to be welcomed as a valuable help to student, librarian and collector. And as for the collector, it need not prove a mere tool, but, being handsomely printed in a limited edition, it may, as a piece of bookcraft, take its place beside his rarer treasures. The only serious defect, from the artistic point of view, lies in the proofreading, which was so careless as to necessitate more than a page of errata, and even this page omitted to correct a confusing repetition of dates on p. 99 and errors in several proper names. Probably these errors were incident to the method of collaboration and do not signify as to the accuracy of the information in the book.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is the most important, containing all the separate works of Whitman published in America or England. Here there are, so far as the present reviewer is aware, no omissions worth mentioning. In the second section, composed of selections from Whitman's works, there was more occasion to exercise judgment, inasmuch as the compilers did not set out to include all anthologies that had ever reprinted a Whitman poem. Here their method is not absolutely consistent. Two books seem certainly to belong in this section which are not included, one of which is placed in Section III and the other is omitted entirely. These are "*The Gathering of the Forces*," in two volumes, edited by Cleveland Rodgers and John Black, and "*The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*," also in two volumes, collected and edited by myself. It is true that these books overlap, and for that reason one (the former) may have been omitted from the limited list of books about Whitman. But neither belongs in the list of books about Whitman, though both contain biographical and critical matter, for the student looking

for a complete list of Whitman's writings would naturally turn to Sections I and II. And both books should be given, for they are by no means coextensive, though they overlap; and since they are source-books, the student needs to know of both. Part III is a list of fifty books about Whitman. Here there was more opportunity still for the display of critical judgment and taste. On the whole, the selection has justified the judgment. Practically all important critical and biographical works in English have been included (along with some, it is true, that are negligible). But one omission should be noted. If O'Connor's "Three Tales," in which Whitman first appeared as a character of fiction should be included, then certainly, *pari passu*, should be included Grant Overton's "The Answerer," which for the first time draws his portrait at full length as the hero of a novel.

Nothing is easier than to pick flaws in a Whitman bibliography, because as I began by saying, such a work can hardly please all those who are likely to need the book. The suggestions noted above are made rather as emendations than as criticisms, for the present reviewer finds this book a most helpful and in nearly every way a reliable bibliography. It contains a considerable number of items that no other published bibliography contains, and it gives a great deal of valuable information concerning works already known to students.

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EMORY HOLLOWAY.

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*Nature in American Literature: Studies in the Modern View of Nature.* By Norman Foerster. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.

Careful observers of contemporary criticism have noted the appearance from time to time of papers from Professor Foerster's pen on the treatment of nature in our American writers of the nineteenth century. Their attention was arrested by two obvious qualifications in the critic: an abundant first-hand knowledge of outdoor life, and the possession of an admirable style. These were sufficient to make it desirable that the essays should be made available in permanent form; and it is a matter for congratulation that we now have them, with expansions and additions, in the present volume. Thus arranged and amplified they are more than a collection of scattered papers; they make, or almost make, a book.

The authors treated are Bryant, Whittier, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Whitman, Lanier, Muir, and Burroughs. The fact that this list, chosen on account of the prominence of nature in the works of the writers who compose it, contains three-fourths of the names of prime importance in American literature, shows how large a part nature has played in the lives of our men of letters. American literature, we are made to realize, in its first great epoch, was country born and country bred. Will the city atmosphere, one wonders, in which our modern writers shelter, produce as much of permanent value?

The impression produced by the sporadic appearance of Mr. Foerster's papers is strengthened by their collection. On the side of a knowledge of the birds and flowers of the countryside there is no question of the critic's competence. Here, indeed, one could have wished that he had taken his own authority more for granted, and had expected us to take his judgment on many points of detail without supporting his opinion with so many actual counts of twenty-three mentions of the oak against twenty-five of the pine. Such quantitative reckonings are of little value in any case, and they intrude into passages of mature writing a curious suggestion of academic task work. For the style is in general on a high level, apt in phrase without preciousity, and often flowing in charming cadences. It reaches its highest point in the chapter on John Muir, where, while retaining its precision, it gains a vigor, fire and speed not elsewhere attained in the volume.

Mr. Foerster attempts more than a mere account of the range and accuracy of observation of his subjects. He is concerned also with the place nature "held in their hearts and thoughts," and with passing judgment on the soundness of their philosophy of nature. Here he appears as a disciple of Professor Irving Babbitt, whose familiar phrases are echoed in chapter after chapter, whenever Mr. Foerster attempts a critical assessment of the spiritual values of the writings under review. The main thesis is typically set forth in such a passage as the following:

"Perhaps it is not too much to say that the unpardonable sin of our era is precisely this delusive insistence on the indissoluble unity of the human constitution, this denial, not of the Holy Ghost, but of the distinction between an impersonal pure reason or spirit in man and the personal life of the temperament, this denial of the dualism of man's nature of which the evidence is the experience of every man who confronts his consciousness in all candor and the testimony of the sages from Socrates, Plato, Sophocles, Aristotle, Jesus, and Buddha, through St. Francis, Dante, and Milton down to Emerson himself."

This test of the recognition of the dualism in human nature is applied to each author in turn, and determines whether he is damned or saved. I do not wish to dispute the doctrine, though I cannot pretend to find the denial of it so persistently and perniciously pervasive as do Mr. Babbitt and Mr. Foerster; but confess I am haunted by the feeling that there is a risk that these gentlemen may come to be plagued by an obsession which will parallel in the field of letters those other obsessions of the fear of Bolshevism, or of Popery, or the yellow peril, which do so much to spoil life for their victims and to mar the peace of the rest of us.

But this motif, though recurrent, must not be supposed to spoil Mr. Foerster's book. It is a sound and scholarly performance, full of acute perceptions delightfully expressed, a noteworthy contribution to the understanding and appraisal of a group of our American classics.

W. A. NEILSON.

*Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography.*

By Meade Minnigerode. New York: The Brick Row Book Shop, 1922.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the growing popularity of the Melville cult lies in this book by Meade Minnigerode. Frankly a volume of miscellanea, it nevertheless definitely extends the limits of knowledge reached in previous discussions of the mystic of Pittsfield. Letters never before published, passages restored from first editions, fleeting glimpses of Melville as a critic and reviewer, estimates of contemporaries, ephemeral verses, and the most complete bibliography of Melville so far assembled,—these are the items which the editor has brought together in this first volume to be published by The Brick Row Book Shop.

Letters written to Evert Duyckinck, then editor of *The Literary World*, constitute what is, probably, the most interesting of this new Melville material. These letters, some twenty in number, show the earlier and more genial Melville,—the Melville of the years 1846-60. Written usually from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, they show us the transcendental whaler pacing his piazza at "Arrowhead" "once more with frosted beard" imagining that he is on the sleety deck and "weathering Cape Horn." Too, they give us fleeting estimates of such men as Hawthorne and Emerson,—Hawthorne who didn't "patronise the butcher," who needed more "roast-beef, done rare," and Emerson whose "belly is in his chest" and whose "brains descend down into his neck, and offer an obstacle to a draughtful of ale or a mouthful of cake." If one is to judge by a letter accompanying the return of a book which Duyckinck had asked him to review for *The Literary World*, Melville, even in these genial years, seems to have been the very devil as a reviewer. In literary criticism he had scarcely advanced beyond his contemporaries: what he writes is of a piece with the bias and vituperation which filled so many of the "reviews" by Poe, Griswold, and others of the period. In his letter to the New York editor he asks: "What great national sin have we committed to deserve this infliction? . . . The book deserves to be burnt in a fire of asafetida, and by the hand that wrote it . . . the book is an abortion, the mere trunk of a book, minus head, arm or leg. Take it back, I beseech, and get some one to cart it back to the author."

Every one who to-day reads *Typee*, *Omoo*, *Mardi*, and *Moby Dick* will, I suppose, account for the renewed interest in Melville by the recent enthusiasm for literature of the South Seas. A happy chance, we say, that he was brought back to us by Masefield and Weaver. But the reader of Minnigerode's book will find philosophic pause in those excerpts which he restores to *Typee*—excisions made when the second edition was prepared for a squeamish and missionary-worshipping nineteenth century America. The very *dolce far niente* (and more!) of Tahiti life, which seems to account for the popularity of Gauguin, O'Brien, and their ilk,

shocked the conventionally orthodox of 1846 to the point where a revised, and emasculated, edition was demanded. Yet to-day Melville is revived by a demand for the very sort of thing which 1846 rejected!

But it is the last half of the book which is most valuable to the student of Melville. Making no claims to completeness, Minnigerode does bring together a mass of worth while information on each of the author's fourteen volumes. Since Melville "firsts" are somewhat of a rarity (thanks to a fire which destroyed much of Harpers' stock) the completeness of the descriptions is enlightening. Title pages, collation, binding are given complete—together with publisher's announcements and a history of the different editions. For each of the volumes Minnigerode presents excerpts from contemporary reviews, favorable and unfavorable.

The growing Melville interest is perhaps best indicated by the advance this editor makes on previous bibliographies of Melville's magazine contributions. The *Cambridge History* lists only nine, Weaver's biography twenty-four, while Minnigerode has traced thirty-three stories and articles. True, he has done it erroneously in at least two citations,—mistakes which are somewhat offset, however, by his corrections of Weaver's errors in this same field.<sup>1</sup> Again, he corrects Weaver's mathematics in the figures showing the receipts from Melville's lecture junkettings.

Deliberately a book of miscellaneous facts, the volume is most worth while when regarded as a foot-note to present knowledge of Melville. When the ultimate biography is written, Minnigerode will be found to have performed a valuable service.

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<sup>1</sup> The twelfth item in the bibliography is listed as a "contribution" to Putnam's Magazine but the article is, in fact, a critical estimate of Melville's writing. If Minnigerode is right, Melville is placed in the unusual position of having written a highly favorable appreciation of himself! The article is not signed. The second error is in placing "The Fiddler" in Putnam's Monthly Magazine for September, 1854. There is no such article in that issue.

Minnigerode's corrections properly place three poems of Melville's in Harper's New Monthly Magazine; Weaver had listed them as in Putnam's Monthly Magazine.

# Studies in Philology

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## THE MAGI IN FLORENCE: AN ASPECT OF THE RENAISSANCE

BY MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD

The visitor in Florence, studying sculpture and painting, is impressed by the recurrence of representations of the Wise Men come to worship the Christ Child. This *motif*, interpreted with variations devised by each artist's individual conception, expresses in characteristic fashion the spirit of the early Italian Renaissance. Isolating the pictures that deal with the subject, one finds in them a vivid introduction to the history of Florentine culture, and can trace in them the development of a theme already suggested in the middle ages but not given full attention until the Renaissance artists perceived its absorbing possibilities. Why was this subject so popular? Why did the epoch of pride in intellectual liberty delight in picturing wisdom prostrate before a child?

The number of these scenes of the Epiphany is notable outside of Florence; the Pisani and their school gave many renderings in marble. In Florence almost every artist of prominence seems to have tried the subject. Illuminated manuscripts in the Laurentian library have small miniatures of the scene; it occurs in many predellas; Paolo Uccello interpreted it in stained glass for one of the windows of the Duomo; the north Ghiberti Gates of the Baptistry give it in bronze; Orcagna chose it as one of the reliefs for his marble tabernacle in Or San Michele; Andrea del Sarto painted it in fresco in the vestibule of Santa Maria Annunziata; an Adoration by Ghirlandajo is in the Foundling Hospital; Fra Angelico made of the scene a very beautiful picture for the wall, in San Marco, of cell thirty eight, which was much frequented by

Cosimo dei Medici, during the last years of his life; it was blazoned by Benozzo Gozzoli on the walls of the private chapel of the Medici palace. In the Uffizi, in the Pitti, in the Academy are paintings by Gentile da Fabriano, Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Mantegna, Lorenzo Monaco, Albert Dürer, Hugo van der Goes, and Leonardo da Vinci. Not all these painters are Tuscans, but it is significant that Florence is the city in which these paintings have remained to charm centuries of observers.

The conventional plan includes a procession winding its way with pomp and splendor to the hut where Mary, the Christ Child, Joseph, the ox, the ass, and an angelic figure or two receive the Wise Men. The most important illustration of this, historically, is probably the picture by Gentile da Fabriano (1370-1428), now hanging in the Uffizi gallery. This work is glowing with deep color, red, blue, green, heavily embossed after the Sienese tradition with gold, giving sumptuous richness and display. The procession, stiffly crowded into the frame, winds down Italian hills, set with Gothic castles, to a foreground where the kings and their crowding retinue of men and horses are in the presence of the Child and Mary, attended by gentlewomen of the Renaissance whose stiff brocades and gorgeous head-dresses throw into striking relief the Madonna's robe of clear, beautiful blue. The impression is one of pageantry, where mediæval chivalry, oriental splendor, and Christian poverty are met together. The age's love of display is satisfied in the cloth of gold, the gaily caparisoned horses, the splendid young squires who give a military note to the picture, the dogs, the apes, and the falcons; charming suggestions of green, flowery landscape are painted with fidelity to material detail, while the star in the East shines as a sun. Ox and ass, given due honor as associates of the humble Child, are benevolent witnesses of the homage paid him. The oldest, grayest of the Wise Men kneeling, kisses the foot of Christ who places a hand in blessing upon the old man's head. The other two Magi are essentially kings, whose sophistication seems to hesitate a bit before doing fealty to so unpretending a monarch. The individualized courtiers are frankly curious, though essentially reverent. It is a picture inexhaustible in its interest, before which there seems always to be a crowd, not attracted wholly by the lavish gold and crimson, but by the naive sentiment portrayed.

The challenge to technical skill, in which Gentile delighted, is the same challenge which each artist met. He sought to overcome problems of perspective in a composition presenting a procession which reaches from a remote background to a foreground where the figures must by pose and glance interpret the central idea. Moreover, increasing pleasure in realistic detail demanded that textures of all sorts be rendered with great nicety, that glimpses of picturesque landscape be made natural, that color must be so managed as to create essential harmony. Through all, the artist sought to impress upon onlookers the depth of meaning in the gorgeous spectacle.

These are, perhaps, the more obvious reasons why the painters found inspiration in the subject, but deeper are the causes which focussed attention upon a theme so essentially suited to the mood of the fifteenth century, so full of implications for that eagerly thoughtful epoch which was beginning to regard Bible story with something more than credulous assent.

Special attraction must have existed in the central conception of the Magi, not as magicians but as wise men, seers and dreamers, who, in the height of their achievement, had come from a remote land in quest of knowledge, dimly apprehended but eagerly sought. Intellectual zeal, the willingness to adventure for the sake of finding truth is manifest in the progress of these travellers. Florence in the late fifteenth century was throbbing with a passion for scholarship, for inquiry into knowledge. The Magi were searchers who had attained knowledge, who possessed some magical secret whereby they saw more intimately into the mysteries of life than did other men. And in the tradition of the day the Wise Men were also kings, potentates of great wealth whose temporal power was a sign royal of their scholarly prestige. "Gaspar, Melchior, Balthazar," brought gifts of occult meaning,—gold, frankincense, and myrrh,—kingship, power and martyrdom.

Florence stood for majesty of mind, energetic interrogation of existence for the secrets of meaning. Inevitably her citizens must have delighted in the conception of these masters, animated by intellectual conviction, who had traversed far spaces, guided by the star which shone for their heaven-searching eyes. To the imagination of the Florentines the search was attended by delightful experiences on route, constant enjoyment of new landscapes, constant

stimulus from companionship, and a cumulative sense of the significance of their imminent discovery. They had no doubt of arrival at the desired end. The weariness and doubt known by earlier generations was not characteristic of the age of humanism when everything was bright with the light of hopeful, confident idealism. Achievement, then, was possible, results were gained, minds progressed, the Magi reached their destination.

The painters, however, would doubtless say at once that the pictures are misunderstood unless they are seen not as secular but as expressing a theme of the supernatural. It was a spiritual not a mundane ruler sought by the Magi. They were eager to find the ultimate answer to their queries, an answer which would give indubitable proof of a divine order in the universe and of a divine revelation to the longing heart of man. In these scenes was the expression of the faith distinguishing that day, very different indeed from the mood of the mediæval world. Religion had come to be interpreted not as dogma nor authority but as reasonable faith. These Magi are less Catholic worshippers kneeling before a member of the Trinity than Thinkers bowing before the potential might of personality. There is something very significant in this prostration before the Child. Wisdom, wealth, pomp, age, kneel gladly before "a simple child that lightly draws its breath," for in him are indescribable possibilities for the future. Divine gifts, latent in the human being, will develop into majestic significance. The glory of unencompassed youth, the immanence of hope, the promise of ever-expanding power are the endowment of childhood, before which teachers and students should make obeisance. Such idea of the supernatural was, perhaps, in the thoughts of the Florentines who found here something intensely appealing to their critical intelligence. The most combative rationalist may accept such a conception of worship. Both theology and sentiment had undergone a change, developing in the more educated citizens a reaction from the conventional formulae of faith. Dogmatic assertion was no longer acceptable to free citizens.

Moreover the sensibility of the Renaissance was turning away from the older art which, with all its scenes of beatification and of noble story, had a very intense asceticism. The mediæval feeling for martyrdom, sacrifice, suffering, and sorrow was shown in pictures of the expulsion from Eden, the sacrifice of Isaac, the

Crucifixion, the *Pieta*, the beheading of John the Baptist, the Triumph of Death, and similar scenes. The Renaissance painters chose a pleasant though not new theme. Christ upon the cross, surrounded by mourning women, had taught lessons of Atonement and Redemption through pain; the pictures of the Adoration of the Magi suggested Redemption through humility, love, companionship, the pleasantness of life. The *Pieta* was exchanged for the Nativity, the commencement of life not its tragic conclusion. The Magi scenes had no horror, no suffering, only the most happy suggestions of physical well-being. Pity for the known future of the Child was almost entirely submerged by deep pleasure in the charm of his childhood. The passionate Italian love of children found expression here, where every person in the pictures is doing homage to innocence and endearing helplessness.

The general intention of the scenes is, frankly, to make human nature paramount. Here are no groups of angels or of saints circled in adoration, but exceedingly mundane people, whose worldly supremacy is clearly indicated. Since they have inherited the earth they feel their power, and in heterogeneous assembly they pay their conventional devotion. They were thoroughly sympathetic with the subject, it satisfied their desire for the easy, domestic familiarities of life, and it also dignified their humanity by reminding them of unknown origins and mysterious destinies.

A *motif* which had so many ways of appeal to the spectacular would inevitably be the subject of many paintings. Three may be selected as indicative of the way in which art progressed, in interpreting the late fifteenth century.

Benozzo Gozzoli painted in 1459, on the walls of the chapel of the Medici palace, a Magi scene which is unsurpassed for brilliancy of color, minute detail, and its apotheosis of worldliness. Although Benozzo was the pupil of Fra Angelico he shows little of the sweet sanctity of his master. These frescoes are splendidly impressive in their sweep and movement; the figures are stately, the costumes rich, the whole scene as one follows it from wall to wall is intensely vivid. Benozzo was painting for the Medici, and inevitably in that day of homage to patrons he paid them the compliment of life-like portraits. Cosimo, Piero, Giovanni, Giuliano (perhaps), and three daughters of the house are members of the procession, while Lorenzo, it is supposed, appears as one of the Magi. The other

two Magi are Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, and John Paleologus, Greek Emperor. These two personages are included in honor of their presence in Florence at the Council of the Church, in 1440, when was discussed the question of fusing Eastern and Western divisions. Among the cavalcade are Benozzo himself, Castruccio Castracane, lord of Lucea, who rides in superb show with a leopard seated by him; beyond is a highly interesting group of the great humanists,—Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Guido Cavalcanti. The faces are painted with vigor and a seeming truthfulness of portraiture. The expressions of all the pilgrims are a most interesting study, for they have the typical Renaissance alertness and individuality, indicative of overflowing energy, of shrewd judgment and intense enjoyment, responsive to the world about them.

With equal fidelity Benozzo painted the costumes, the trappings, the fashionable paraphernalia of the day, whose sumptuous richness of color and gorgeousness of gold thread gleam out in the dark chapel. The background is a romantic triumph. Here one sees how the love of nature is becoming a part of life, and how the various details are dwelt upon with affection and discernment, although the technique is often faulty. Sky, hills, cliffs, valleys, a flowing stream are rendered with a certain stiff effect, akin to bronze relief; the flowers and the birds are more persuasively real. Delicate dark cypress trees with sharp spires, umbrella pines, olives shimmering with touches of gold upon their gray-green leaves grow up from soft grass. Brightly colored flowers discover themselves at judicious intervals. Wild birds and tamed falcons appear, also a motley number of animals show their importance in the artist's conception of suitable Renaissance accompaniment,—camels, horses, dogs, hares, leopards, and apes are there.

The procession winding up hill and down, across fertile country has many cognates: Petrarch's *Triumph of Fame*, the holiday procession of wealthy pilgrims *en route* for a shrine, the Bacchic processions as we see them depicted on early sarcophagi showing the elephant and the leopard met together. The cavalcade is thoroughly of its own age and place, where cloth of gold, jeweled ornaments, and richest display were bestowed upon man and horse.

Finally, lest the scene should prove too mundane, Benozzo painted a group of angels, both celestial, leaning from the clouds,

and terrestrial, standing or kneeling upon earth. The kneeling figures are especially radiant, for they wear gorgeously subdued robes of blue or old rose, and have wonderful peacock's-plume wings which shine in blue and green and gold against the flower-starred turf. There is ironic significance in the fact that the Nativity scene, by Filippo Lippo probably, a picture of a monarch throned in poverty, lowliness, and simplicity, to which Benozzo's cavalcade led, was long ago removed, and the great procession has now no finale, no significance beyond descriptive beauty.

The cosmopolitan culture of the times, the love of strange exotic stuffs and animals, the delight in nature, the profound enjoyment of human types and variations, the restless excited pleasure of social comradeship in groups whose tumultuous life throbs with a thousand diverse interests are embodied in this picture. So multifarious are the details, that there is no singleness of effect. One has only to think of Orcagna's *Paradise*, on the wall of Santa Maria Novella, to realize the difference between concentration upon one emotion and the diffusion of interest apparent in Benozzo's work. Versatility, skill in craftsmanship, insight into the joyous drama of the human spectacle, and exuberance of inspiration mark him as a child of that time, whose quick sensibility was quickly pleased with signs of temporal attractiveness. He is less thoughtful than the other two painters to be considered, and far more spectacular. Yet his love for nature, his happiness in all the fair aspects of the world, his affectionate rendering of minute particulars make him beloved. He shows us gaily the glamor and the brilliancy of that civilization.

Botticelli painted five Magi scenes, two of which are in London, two in Florence, and one in Petrograd. One in Florence is unfinished and rather gloomy; the other, much praised by Vasari, is that painted perhaps in 1478 for Lorenzo dei Medici, a picture to be hung in Santa Maria Novella as a thankoffering for Lorenzo's escape from the Pazzi conspiracy in which Giuliano dei Medici was murdered. This painting, now in the Uffizi, differs from Benozzo's in size, motif, and spirit, although there is a similar exaltation of the Medici family. It is a decided advance in the art of centralization. The procession has arrived, the *cortége* is grouped around the Madonna and child, there is intent interest in the scene of worship, the eyes of the spectators following with

various degrees of sympathy the gifts of the Magi. Cosimo and his two sons, Piero and Giovanni, are the kneeling kings; at the right of Giovanni stands Giuliano the martyr; at the extreme left of the picture is young Lorenzo, against whom leans Poliziano in an attitude of relief after fear. To the extreme right is Botticelli, himself, with face turned toward the spectator. Twenty-nine figures are present, most of them with faces rendered somewhat indistinct by distance, yet all share in the animation of the scene. The grouping is natural, not the flat almost military row of some paintings such as Perugino's where the saints who should worship the Virgin squarely face the inquiring tourist.

The characterization is arresting. Cosimo is kindly yet keen, scrutinizing, dominant, but his son Piero has the weak, doubting look of one unable to make decisions. Lorenzo, with head held high has strong, ugly features, expressive of resource, contemptuous pride, and youthful arrogance. His pose indicates both physical and mental vigor, his glance suggests a certain aloofness of pagan mood. Botticelli looks out, inquiring, ironic, expressing, in his strongly determined chin and resolute eyes,—power, intellectual mastery, and controlled sensibility. Poliziano leans against his patron, Lorenzo, devotedly, but Botticelli seems to defy any charge of personal subservience. He stands as the individual, the independent artist, self-reliant, beauty-loving, critical, on the edge of the spectacle. The other faces range from devout attention, to casual waiting for a formal ceremony to be concluded. Here is the courtly, tolerant, gregarious Renaissance, with its critical mentality, its willingness to see any new thing, and its pleasure in a spectacle. From a classical portico, in the rear, several small figures are watching the scene with the detached air of those observing only. All is dignified, urbane, protective, with a certain questioning, companionable worship, not ecstatic but generous and gracious.

One charm of the picture is its soft coloring. A very carefully graduated unity of color is evident, there are no sharply brilliant colors but rather simple ones, repeated, like a *motif* in music, to give harmony. The bright golden brown of Botticelli's robe and hair recurs at intervals in the costumes of other persons and culminates in the robe of Joseph who stands behind the Madonna. Blue, of a clear light tone, is used very subtly. There are no angels,

neither are there any animals; the distant landscape is merely a suggestion for the sake of perspective. The sweetness of Botticelli's other Madonna pictures is scarcely suggested here; he seems to hide her beauty from the eyes of these cavaliers. A characteristically ironic note appears in the peacock that is prying curiously into the rays of divine light surmounting the scene. This bird, which appears often in early Christian art as an emblem of immortality is here a somewhat sophisticated symbol of the Renaissance, which in its gorgeous robes is endeavoring to judge the supernatural by observation.

Although there are faces which express reverence and indulgent faith, the picture is essentially objective, lacking the spiritual restfulness of Botticelli's other works yet thoroughly significant of his estimate of his age and its surroundings. Patronage has seldom had a more charming presentation. The picture is absorbingly interesting to the humanist, because of the portraits of the three young friends: Botticelli born in 1444; Lorenzo born in 1449; Poliziano, born in 1451. Poliziano, author of the *Orfeo*, in 1471, was tutor to Lorenzo's children and already a distinguished scholar; Botticelli was, perhaps, Lorenzo's favorite painter and a familiar of the Medici household where the classics, art, and letters were supreme.

From Poliziano's poems *La Giostra* and *Rusticus* Botticelli had drawn inspiration for his *Spring*; from *La Giostra*, in part, were derived *The Birth of Venus* and *Mars and Venus*. Strong influences, also, from Lorenzo's lyrics have been suggested in these paintings. The three men were most representative spirits of the Renaissance, all imbued with Platonism, all ingenious students of the classics, all gifted with individual power of creative expression. Here they stand in their youth, calmly aware of their powers and awaiting the future which has brought each one an earthly immortality.

It is perhaps the portraiture that makes this picture so impressive. The identity of the individual is shown here, very gently, very quietly but with all the distinction he could wish even in a period when individualism was rapidly becoming one of the rights of man. The attractiveness, the variety, the expressiveness of the human countenance and figure are represented in persons that do not offer themselves consciously for scrutiny, but stand in very

natural postures, in a group where some faces are half hidden, others are seen in profile, all remaining entirely engrossed with the memorable spectacle of the Medici upon their knees.

About 1481, according to some critics and 1495 according to others, Leonardo da Vinci began a picture of the Magi for which he made several preliminary drawings. The unfinished composition, now hanging in the Uffizi, is a beautiful sketch. Leonardo, in his picture, is engaged with the inner meaning, giving to the scene a wonderful significance. The pale brown coloring, the indistinct background of worn cliffs, dimly seen ruined arches and a symbolic staircase, the spirited forms of horses mounted by fighting men; nearer, some trees, a palm and a laurel, and a group of visionary faces, all arouse a questioning interest in the spectator.

There is little picturing of individuals, the host is suggested with vague indistinctness, everything centers in the foreground where a few figures are more clearly seen. The Madonna is one of the most charming of Leonardo's subtly pictured women; she is not a peasant, nor a shy, abashed girl, but a graceful, beautiful woman, whose face looks out; sensitive, delicate, expressive of worship, of motherly love, and of meditative wonder. Her attitude and posture are attractive, her glance has significant depth. Christ is a radiant, unaffectedly real child, bending to finger, curiously, the wise men's offering. The Magi are old, bearded, wrinkled with thought and perplexity. Their wisdom is manifest, their speculative search evident. One has been convinced, for he has fallen upon his knees with head bowed in reverence; a second, kneeling holds up his offering to the child and gazes with tremendous intensity into the child's face; the third, younger, kneels, but his head is upright, in most earnest scrutiny. Among the bystanders is an aged man whose hand is held over his eyes as if to protect him from the overwhelming glory of divinity. These men are those, presumably, who have pored over science, metaphysics, theology, who have sought to reconcile Platonism with Christianity. They usher in the High Renaissance of profounder thought and feeling.

The picture in spite of its incompleteness is masterly. Leonardo's incomparable skill in rendering the beauty of curving lines, his animation, his delicate grace, are here, and also his power of embodying the speculative doubts that beset men. The divinity of Christ, the attitude of state to church, men's relation to earth,

the existence of soul, all these problems he presents here. But unsatisfied with his work, doubtful perhaps of his own conclusion he left the picture as it is, a haunting suggestive question.

The pictures by the other artists mentioned above are full of points of interest deserving continued study. All of them show a blithe zest in the subject; all of them are executed with a certain pride in management of details. The theme gave unusual opportunity for enjoyment to Florentines who desired in art a rounded satisfaction. The pictures of the Epiphany are charming in their employment of color, in their portrayal of the new impulse to delight in the beauty of nature. There was felt a certain release from the shackles of asceticism which had denied the senses. Now, men rejoiced at being alive, in body as in mind, and "their looks went everywhere." Greater, however, than the pleasure in externals was the pleasure in the human interest of differentiated individuals portrayed, men shown as self-directing, free, adventuresome. The anachronisms palpable in the pictures were thoroughly acceptable, for there is a certain stimulus in seeing that Bethlehem was near mediæval Gothic fortifications, that the train of the Wise Men wore costumes of the fifteenth century, and that actual persons of Florentine fame were given parts as the chief *dramatis personae* in a scene where sacred and profane, Biblical and Italian, Medici and Magi were joined together, triumphant witnesses of the fact that life belongs to man, that he is free to enjoy, to be self-confident, to wander without barriers ecclesiastical or feudal, and to search diligently for a new spiritual hope.

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## MUSIC AND METRICS: A RECONSIDERATION

BY MORRIS W. CROLL

### I

In 1881 Sidney Lanier published the *Science of English Verse*, in which he tried to show—we may now certainly say *showed*—that the rhythmic principle for verse is the same as that of song, and of music in general; or, in other words, that its rhythm is due to the quality of *time* occupied in the utterance of the measures. The full implications of this idea were not seen by Lanier himself; they are frequently disregarded by more recent metrists who acknowledge the general validity of the principle; but it was in fact revolutionary in two particulars. First, it implies that rhythm is not dependent upon the number of syllables, which may vary greatly in different measures of the same line. Secondly, it implies that the old distinction between iambic and trochaic (rising and falling) rhythm was unreal. In music there is no such distinction; there it is understood and has always been recognized that rhythm merely moves from one stressed point to another, in waves, not in a series of sudden falls or rises, abruptly begun or abruptly ended. The musical theory of verse requires us to recognize in verse the same indifference to the old distinction between rising and falling movements.

This second point of difference was not understood by Lanier, and is still less clearly recognized than the first; but it has gradually worked itself to the foreground of controversy, and is now probably the chief difficulty that stands in the way of a reconciliation of the old and the new scansion. In fact there is no difference in the importance of the one and the other; they are inseparable, and must equally be taken into account in any attempt to show how the time-principle of music is related to the rules concerning number and arrangement of syllables that were accepted, until forty or fifty years ago, as an adequate description of our verse.

It is extremely discreditable to our scholarship that almost no attempt of this kind has yet been made. I shall hardly need to call attention to the situation at which we have arrived after all the controversy aroused by Lanier and his successors: it is apparent

in nearly all the prosodic treatises issued for general and popular use, during the last fifteen years, and in many addressed to the more critical attention of scholars. These manuals, almost uniformly, begin with a statement of the time-principle of the new scansion which they accept as sound and of universal application. Some of them proceed to show that this principle destroys the old rules of syllable-counting and the old distinction of rising and falling rhythm. Yet in later pages, or wherever description takes the place of theory, the old terms and the old ideas reappear, without apology made or reason given, and all that has formerly been said is disregarded and implicitly denied. I will not characterize this method of procedure except by saying that it is exactly characteristic of the undetermined state of mind in which most of us have been content to linger. Without being quite aware of it, we seem to be holding two contradictory opinions at once concerning the same set of facts. There is something in the new scansion, of course; there is something, however, in the old also. But what it is that is in either of them, and what the relation between them may be, we cannot particularly say, and apparently we do not particularly care.

This confusion of ideas is the cause, I am convinced, of the suspension of progress which has been so noticeable in metrical study of late years, after the vigorous forward impulse which it received from the first clear statements of the time-principle; and the purpose of my paper is to state, in terms of the barest simplicity, what I think the relation between the old and the new scansion is.

## II

It frequently happens in controversy that two statements are set against each other in an artificial opposition which conceals their true relations. Both are true; there is no real conflict between them because they apply to different kinds of facts or apply in a different way. But in the midst of a quarrel such adjustments and discriminations are not likely to be made. Two sets of phenomena come to be regarded as mutually exclusive though they are not really so, and whatever credit is given to one is written in as a debit against the other. Many useless controversies have arisen, in short, from an unwillingness to acknowledge that in any important subject of discussion the facts arrange themselves in different planes of truth.

The controversy which is now delaying the progress of metrical inquiry is of this kind. The new, or musical, interpretation of our verse-form is the correct statement of its rhythmical law. Moreover, it is a complete statement and needs no supplementation by any statements drawn from the old syllabic system. Syllable-counting is *not* a rhythmic phenomenon; the difference described by the terms iambic and trochaic, and daetylic and anapestic (in short, by the terms *rising* and *falling*) is not a *rhythmic* difference. The facts described by these terms and by all the others of the old scansion are real facts of course; but they are not facts of rhythm. They may and frequently do occur without causing rhythm, as, for example, in passages of verse written by beginners or by writers lacking a musical ear. On the other hand, they may and do fail to occur in the verse which is still correctly, regularly, and beautifully rhythmical,<sup>1</sup> as for example, in *Christabel*, the later blank-verse of Shakespeare, and passages of *Samson Agonistes*, none of which can be correctly described either by the number or the arrangement of the syllables.

If these are not facts of rhythm, then what kind of facts are they? In brief they belong to a certain system of verse-rhetoric which has been found wholesome and useful in the writing of some poetry. They should not be stated as parts of the fundamental law of verse-form; strictly speaking, they cannot be stated as laws of any kind; for they are merely optional modes of procedure, customs that may be observed or not at pleasure. This does not mean of course that they are less important in certain kinds of poetry and as means to a desired effect than the laws of rhythm themselves; but they operate in a different way and on a different plane from these laws; and the error of the older prosodists,—in, as far as they were in error,—consisted in assuming, if they ever did really assume this, that they cause the rhythm of verse or involve a rhythmical principle.

<sup>1</sup> The reference here is not to song-verse and lyric, in which of course the rules of the old scansion have always been freely disregarded, but to "spoken verse" (epic, dramatic, philosophical, etc.) alone. The distinction between these two kinds is extremely important in the study of verse-form. The limits of this paper do not permit the discussion of it; but it may be taken for granted that whatever is said here of spoken verse is still more plainly true of lyric.

## III

I do not offer this distinction as if it were a discovery. It is unavoidable, I think; and the reason that it has not been mentioned by the metrists of the last forty years, beginning with Lanier, must be that they have taken it for granted. Yet I cannot but think that this avoidance has been the cause of our present confusions and controversies, and is now the chief hindrance to the progress of inquiry; and at all events it must be my excuse for entering into a little further explanation of the relations between the old and the new scansion.

The desire of rhythm within us is very strong, because it is primary, instinctive, physical. It is the way in which our hampered and fretted energies seek release in free and ideal activity. And for this reason, when it has found some pattern to set it free, it is likely to expand and exhaust itself quickly in excessive exercise, just as a spirited horse will run itself out when it is turned loose in a field. The tendency of rhythm, in short, is to rush to the height of energy and speed. Now in a song or a song-like lyric there is no reason why it should not be allowed to waste itself in this way, because the purpose of such a poem is to express an emotion as fully as it can in a short time and be done with it. But, on the contrary, the writer of a long poem must always conserve the energy of his reader, as the rider of a spirited horse must restrain his paces if he is to bring him in unwearied after a day's travel. He must be sure that the desire for rhythm is never allowed its full freedom, because a height of energy must be followed by a corresponding fall to lassitude and dulness. He secures continuity of power only by a constant moderation of it; and the chief purpose of his versifying must be, not to heighten the rhythmic impulses of his verse, but always to curb and check them.

It is in the principle of *resistance* to rhythm, then, that I think the regular rhetoric described in the old prosody has its explanation and justification. Let us consider the rule of syllable-regularity first. It is evident that the occurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables in mathematical alternation is not a procedure that derives its validity from the nature of the rhythmic impulse. The analogy of music tends to show rather that the rhythmic instinct is best satisfied by a variation in the number of notes that

fill the prescribed measure of time; and, in fact, the history of our verse itself shows that it tends to syllabic freedom whenever the curb of artificial restrictions is taken off. To control this tendency by conventional limits conventionally imposed has been one of the first considerations in all those periods in which the need of a level and continuous rhetoric for long poetic discourse has been most strongly felt, as, for example, in the time of Chaucer, again in the third quarter of the sixteenth century (when Gascoigne first stated the rules of the syllabic scansion), and once more in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the licenses of Shakespeare's successors had dissolved these rules in the drama, and they were beginning to dissolve in other *genres*. At all of these points in our literary history the natural tendency of our verse toward syllabic freedom had destroyed the rhetorical firmness which is appropriate to spoken verse; and in each case a two-syllable convention imposed itself upon verse of this kind as a means to its recovery. In the latter part of the seventeenth century a three-syllable convention, complementary to this, first established itself; but in practise this confined itself almost solely to lyrical verse, and seems to have been gradually disappearing since the end of the eighteenth century. Nothing more need be said of it here.

The other feature of the old scansion, the distinction between so-called rising and falling movements, presents a more interesting subject of discussion. If it is true, and most prosodists, I believe, now admit the fact, that there is no difference of rhythm between the two kinds, what actuality of verse-composition is represented by the traditional terms iambic and anapestic, on the one hand, and trochaic and dactylic, on the other? The answer is again made clear by comparison with music. The rhythm of a line of music, like that of a strain of music, does not begin until the first stressed note, or syllable is heard. How could it? But in verse, as in music, it is generally not desirable to begin abruptly on the stress, unless for some particular expressive reason. Such a beginning produces an effect of uncontrolled, or at least unmoderated energy, and sometimes of breathless speed, which cannot be corrected in the following measures without a particular effort. In this fact is to be found the explanation of the prevalent 'iambic' line of English spoken verse. In this line there is no more a rising movement than there is a falling one in the 'trochaic' line. It is like

the trochaic line except that it begins with an extra-metrical syllable, which may be called 'anacrusis' in Greek, or 'catch-note' in the terms of music; and when the use of such a syllable is prescriptive, as it is in ninety-nine out of a hundred long English poems, the impulsive and rebellious spirit of rhythm is even more effectively curbed than by the syllable-counting rule.<sup>2</sup>

These two are not, of course, the only devices that our spoken verse employs to resist and control the freedom of rhythm. The handling of pauses at the ends of lines and within them, conflicts between the pattern of the verse-stresses and the fall of the natural, or prose, emphases, difficult or slow combinations of consonants and vowels, are other means to the same end. But it is unnecessary to discuss any of them. Enough has been said perhaps to illustrate the difference between the laws of rhythm and the conventions of style that have been and are so prevalent in a great part of our poetry.

#### IV

The distinction is perhaps too obvious to justify so deliberate a statement. But the results that would follow from a careful observation of it are, as it seems to me, of the utmost importance; and in conclusion I will state two or three of them.

In the first place, it would make possible a revision of the nomenclature of our prosody and the settlement of the confused condition of metrical notation that now prevails. The conflict between the musical and the syllabic theories has resulted in a half-hearted and apologetic use of the older terms in various ways that are admitted to be either inadequate or inexact; it has almost banished notation from school-room and treatise. The former of these subjects is too large and too puzzling to be touched on here; there is great need of a serious and long-continued examination of it by a number of literary students working in coöperation and chosen by various representative bodies of English and American scholars. The subject of notation is not so difficult and should perhaps be considered first. The Modern Language Association of America has indeed already begun a study of it through a committee of five. What

<sup>2</sup> In so brief a statement I have omitted the discussion of the 'trochaic' convention because, in spite of some famous attempts, it has not shown itself a good one for spoken English verse.

success will attend their efforts does not yet appear; but either through their agency or some other, adequate methods of portraying the rhythm of our verse must soon be agreed upon, or the teaching of the oral beauties of poetry will still further diminish in our schools and colleges.

Secondly, a clear recognition of the fact that the old scansion states the terms of a rhetoric rather than the laws of rhythm would lead to the abandonment of many impractical attempts to reduce its operations to an exact and scientific statement. The laws of rhythm are simple, and music provides us with the means of stating them and discussing them intelligibly; but the ways in which these laws mingle with a rhetoric of expression and yield a variety of effects are beyond all formulation; for these are not subject to law; they are the part of poetry that escapes the thumb and finger of science. For instance, the grouping of syllables in speech-units about the stresses, the conflict of sense-emphases with verse-stresses, the relations of sense-divisions and verse-patterns, are examples of such phenomena.

Finally—and this is the most important result—the disappearance from our minds of the fictitious opposition of the old scansion and the new may lead to a further extension of the study of the relations of verse-form and music. We have but tangled our fingers in the fringes of this great subject. How inadequate, for instance, is our knowledge of what we should call “double-time” verse—though the prevalent term is still, I believe, “dipodic” verse; are we not on the verge of discovering that double-time is the standard and prevalent form in our lyric poetry, as it was in the Greek and Latin, and as it always has been in the music of our song, instead of an occasional diversion of Browning, Swinburne, Kipling, and some other recent poets? And this is but one part of a vast field of inquiry in which prosodic study may not only be of great service to the readers of poetry, but may even hope to assist the poets themselves toward the discovery of new modes of formal beauty.

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## SOME PRE-MOHOCK CLANSMEN

BY THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES

Such writers as Steele,<sup>1</sup> Swift,<sup>2</sup> and Gay<sup>3</sup> have made familiar to modern readers the doings of that ruffianly band of eighteenth-century clansmen known as the *Mohock Club*. The latter in his "tragi-comical farce" entitled *The Mohocks* (1712) presents us with one of the most unusual of the vast number of trial scenes preserved in English drama. In the course of this diverting legal procedure Mr. Justice Scruple makes a very suggestive remark: "What says the Statute Book, Brother Wiseman, in relation to these kind of Enormities? I am informed that there were *Mohocks* in Queen Elizabeth's Days. Have you search'd all the Statutes of her Reign for an Act in relation to this Affair?" To which Mr. Wiseman rather impatiently replies: "What occasion for all these doubts, Mr. Justice Scruple? for where the Law is silent, there our Will is Law—If we have no Precedents of *Mohocks* . . . yet *Mohocks* inclusively are comprehended in disorderly Persons" . . .

Now whereas Justice Scruple may have appeared a trifle ridiculous in his insistence on precedent, it must at least be admitted that his information regarding the existence of Elizabethan *Mohocks* was considerably nearer the truth than Mr. Wiseman—or probably Mr. John Gay—realized; for there is an abundance of evidence to show that organized rowdies very similar to those described by Swift and Steele had been operating in England for at least three generations.<sup>4</sup> And all the more striking characteristics

<sup>1</sup> *Spectator*, Nos. 324 and 347.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially *Journal to Stella*, *passim*, and *A Wonderful Prophecy taken from the mouth of a Spirit of a Person, who was barbariously slain by the Mohocks* (1712).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Travia*, Pt. III and *The Mohocks* (1712).

<sup>4</sup> For other interesting accounts of the *Mohocks*, see Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, N. Y., 1888, I, 522-23; Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*; Mary E. Braddon's *The Mohawks* (1886); *The Town-Rake: or The Frolics of the Mohocks or Hawkubites* (1712); Ashton's *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, etc.

\* The existence of similar bands among the Greeks and Romans is pointed out in Mr. W. B. McDaniel's "Some Greek, Roman, and English Tityretus" (*American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 52-68). I owe this reference to Professor C. R. Baskerville.

of the Queen Anne clubmen—their fondness for wine and women, their adoption of unusual titles and insignia, their elaborate and ridiculous initiation ceremony, their night revels in the streets, their terrifying of women and mutilation of men—all had been anticipated by their ingenious predecessors of the seventeenth century.

One who has read even casually in our early drama is familiar with that much ridiculed Elizabethan nuisance known as the “Roarer” or “Roaring Boy,” who strutted, and swore, and quarreled about the streets of London.<sup>6</sup> While these disturbers of the peace were always objectionable in their language and behavior, the majority of them seem to have been essentially harmless and disassociated with organized vice. At a very early date, however, professional criminals seem to have associated themselves with the “roarers”; and all such roisterers—criminal and otherwise—began to organize themselves for the purpose of defying the laws of their country. In a sermon delivered as early as May, 1598, Gossen refers to some such organization. “There was some years since,” he exclaims, “a prophane company about this Cittie which were called *the damned Crewe*, menne without feare or feeling eyther of Hell or Heaven, delighting in that title. It pleased God to drawe them all into one net. They were shipt all into one Bark, and passing downe the River with sound of Trumpets, in a faire day, a faire tide, a faire wind, and a faire new bark, sodainly, about one of the Reaches, a perry of wind came from the lande, and so filled the sailes that they were all run under water before they came to Gravesende: I could never heare to this day, that any one of them escaped.”<sup>7</sup>

We may doubt the judgment of God described by Gossen, but we can accept his assertion regarding the existence of such a “prophane company.” In his diary John Manningham records that, according to his cousin, there was “a company of yong gallants sometyme in Amsterdame which called themselves the Damned Crue. They would meete togither on nights, and vowe amongst themselves to kill the next man they mett whosoever”; and the

<sup>6</sup> For an excellent brief account of the “roarer,” in which many contemporary allusions are cited, see Paul Reyher’s *Les Masques Anglais*, pp. 259-264.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Collier, *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, II, 72-73.

editor of the diary states that a similar band under the same name operated in England under the leadership of the notorious young roisterer Sir Edmund Baynham.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps further light is thrown on the personnel of such "damned crews" by Arthur Wilson's assertion, under the year 1604, that the "Sword and Buckler Trade being now out of date, one Corruption producing another, (the City of London being always a fit Receptacle for such, whose Prodigalities and Wastes made them Instruments of Debaucheries) divers Sects of Vicious Persons, going under the Title of Roaring Boys, Bravadoes, Roysters, &c., commit many Insolencies; the Streets swarm Night and Day with bloody Quarrels."<sup>9</sup> Wilson seems to have been following the author of the *Secret History of the Reign of King James I*,<sup>10</sup> who, if prejudiced, is surely specific and in some respects trustworthy. Discussing the evils of the time, he says that duels take place in every street, while "divers sects of vicious persons, under particular titles, pass unpunished or regarded, as the sect of Roaring Boys, Bravadoes, and such like, being persons prodigal and of great expense, who, having run themselves into debt, were constrained to run into faction to defend them from the danger of the law; these received maintenance from divers of the nobility, and not a little (as was suspected) from the Earl of Northampton; which persons, though of themselves they were not able to attempt any enterprise, yet faith, honesty, and other good arts being little set by, and citizens through lasciviousness consuming their estates, it was likely that the number would rather increase than diminish; and under these pretenses they entered into many desperate enterprises, and scarce any durst walk the streets in safety after midnight."<sup>11</sup>

The literature of the time bears out the claim of the historians

<sup>8</sup> *Camden Society*, pp. 142-3. On Baynham see David Jardin's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, pp. 58-9, 318-20; *The Genealogist*, New Series x, 27, note 2; *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxx, 203-4, xxxi, 149, 159, 489; xxxii, 153-4; *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1601-1603, p. 247.

<sup>9</sup> *The History of Great Britain* (1653) in Kennet's *Complete History of England*, II, 674. Note that Wilson is accused of gross injustice to King James by the historians Sanderson, Heylin and Anthony à Wood.

<sup>10</sup> *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* (vii, 508) states that this work was written not later than 1615.

<sup>11</sup> Edition of J. O. Halliwell, pp. 324-25.

just quoted that gangs of ruffians, more formidable than the ordinary "roarers," had early in the century equalled the exploits of the later and better known brotherhoods. Marston refers to "a company of unbraced, untruss'd rutters in the town" whose source of revenue, in spite of their claim that their "flesh is their only living," is "the plain or the stand, or the plain stand and deliver";<sup>12</sup> and John Stephens<sup>13</sup> was unquestionably exaggerating actual London conditions when he wrote:

*Honest* is now a metamorphis'd name:  
 He that can sweare, blasphemē, be riotous,  
 Roare till the mid-night echo, or beginne  
 Some vn-peased fray, who dares commence  
 A drunken skirmish in a bawdy-house,  
 Fight for his hackney whore, and hazard all,  
 In honour of his damn'd associates:  
 Dares combate with a publicke officer,  
 Be (out of gun-shot) most irregular,  
 Drunke in good earnest, beat flue Constables,  
 Couzen a flocke of geese compendiously:  
 Yet after all put a smoth visage on,  
 Seeme sober, be indulgent of his fame,  
 Though a most practis'd knaue, remembering still,  
 To make the mid-nights all participate  
 Of such enormous acts: o hees the man  
 Reputed sociable in our age: o hee  
 Is reckon'd for the honest gentleman.

And that the practice of beating the watch—a favorite pastime of later midnight revellers—was not unknown in the first quarter of the seventeenth century is further revealed by William Fennor's remark that whereas many gentlemanly roisterers have been "hurt in the watch, the fault lies most of all in themselves and not in the Watchmen, for when a company of Gallants come from some Taverne, or worse place high gon in wine, and will not render an account of their walking at such an untimely season, but draw their swords and fall to hacking them, therefore they are bound first of all by the King's lawes to apprehend them, and secondly by the law of nature to defend themselves, and rather offend then to bee offended."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *What you Will* (1607), III, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Cinthias Revenge* (1613), II, 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Compters Commonwealth* (1617), p. 53. Cf. Baynham's escapade with

Late in 1623 fraternal organizations of unsavory reputation became so bold and formidable as to attract unusual attention. Especially was this true of a fraternity called the Bugle and those clubmen who, borrowing the opening words of Vergil's first eclogue as a suitable title, called themselves *Tityre tues.*<sup>15</sup> Walter Yonge records in his diary<sup>16</sup> that early in December a large number of the haunters of "taverns and other debauched places" in London swore themselves into a brotherhood. The leaders consisted of "diverse knights, some young noblemen, and gentlemen." These were to know one another by a black bugle worn as the official insignia, while their followers were to wear blue ribbons. The oath administered was fantastic; the initiate put his dagger into a bottle of wine and while holding the pommel of the weapon made "oath that he would aid and assist all other of his fellowship and not disclose their council." About eighty or a hundred persons, Yonge continues, were examined by the Privy Council without discovering the "intent" of the society. The King ordered a re-examination. In a letter by Chamberlain, written to Carleton and

the London watch (*Acts of Privy Council*, xxx, 203-4). Note also in this connection "The Man in the Moon Drinks Claret, As it was lately sung at the Curtain, Holy-well":

"Then, though twelve a clock it be,  
Yet all the way go roaring,  
If the band of Bills cry 'Stand!'  
Swear that you must a who . . . ."  
*(Roxburgh Ballads, Ed. Chappell, II, 257).*

<sup>15</sup> The opening words of this eclogue were frequently quoted by Elizabethans, sometimes in such a way as to imply some unusual association with Vergil's expression. Note that the Host in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (written ca. 1598) addresses Bilbo: "I serve the good Duke of Norfolke. Bilbo, *Titere, tu, patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*" (I, 2); and Prig, disguised as a juggler in *The Beggar's Bush* (acted in 1622) utters the words, "*Tityre, tu patulae*" on pretending to pluck the bullets from the noses of the spectators (III, 1). On the origin and significance of the word *Tityretus* see W. B. McDaniel's article cited above, pp. 64-66. Professor C. R. Baskerville has called my attention to the medieval German carol used in connection with a *festum baculi* or ceremony of the Feast of Fools (quoted in Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 320) which suggests an interesting connection between the revelers of James I's time and those of medieval Germany.

<sup>16</sup> Camden Society, pp. 70-71.

dated December 6, other interesting details<sup>17</sup> of these societies are given. Among the "ridiculous toys" characteristic of the clubmen are the having of a prince whom they call Ottoman, the "wearing of blue or yellow ribbons in their hats or elsewhere," and the use of "certain nicknames," as *Tityre-tu* and such like for "their several fraternities." The purpose of these organizations has not been discovered, though some of the members have been committed, viz., "one of the Windsors, and a few others." Another of those committed was Michael Constable, who was examined on December 19 regarding the origin of the Order of the Bugle. The following document,<sup>18</sup> kindly transcribed for me by Mr. Henry R. Plomer of London, is worth quoting in its entirety:

The examinacon of Michael Constable of West Rason in the Countie of Lincolne gent taken before vs Sr Thomas Fowler Knt Sr Wm Pytts & Sr Robert Pye Knt & Fawcett Esq by vertue of Lres from the Lordes of his Maties Counsell this 19th daie of December 1623.

This examinant being examined where and upon what occasion this Order of the Bugle begonne saythe that this examinant wth some fyve or six others gents of the retynne of the Admirall Vice Admirall & Rere Admirall, viz: Raphe Marshe, Robert Knaplock Mr. Sudburie & Thomas Mannors, went ashore in the Isle of Weight, to the Towne of Newport and lay at the signe of the Bugle, from Tuesday vntill Satterdaie; where they did combyne themselves in a league of amitie, but att that tyme tooke noe name, nor gave any signes nor made any Articles, neither made any societie amongst themselves; but after theire retorne out of Spayne, taking knowlege att Sea of a Socyetie that did call themselues by the name of (Tittere tu) [that vpon a] <sup>19</sup> to wch Societie they were invyted, after theire Commyng to London, to a Supper att the Boares head neere Crelegate & haveing a weekes warnyng did gyve themselves the name of the Bugle, and added more to theire Company such as were desyrous thereof to the number of fortie or thereabouts, and made Choyce of a Rybbon of Orendge Tornye Colour, as thother Company of the (titteretu) did wetched<sup>20</sup> Coloure Rybond; and att that tyme made no other associacon but onelie to be merrye, and drincke wyne and take Tobacoe, and called each other Brithers wtout either Articles or other Agremthe. And when they had gathered themselves to some good number [of fortie], the tytle of President was by the Company Conferred vpon this Examinant, the tytle of

<sup>17</sup> *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-1625, p. 125. Quoted in *Calendar State Papers, Venice*, 1623-25, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> *State Papers, Domestic*, James I, Vol. 155 (56).

<sup>19</sup> Here and elsewhere deleted words in the MS. are enclosed in brackets.

<sup>20</sup> "This is exactly how the word is spelt in the MS.", writes Mr. Plomer.

Trē to Mr. Marshe, and Sr Wm Wyndson to be Secretarie and for any other officers this ex doth not remember but hath gyven informecon to the Lords of all that was donne, and this ex and his Company did make the like supper for those of the (Tittere Tu) att the miter in Fleetestreete, before wch tyme they did agree of the charge and made a colleccon of some thirtie poundes by Contribucon which Sr Wm Wyndson did [receive] keepe notes of every pticular man & Mr Marshe did receive the money, and being examined what watchword they had denyeth they had any watchword, but sayeth [ytt was a word] they did vse in merrymt, one to another the word Oatemeale,<sup>21</sup> thereby to call one an other out of theirre lodgeings to meete [att suppers] wch they onelie did in the night tyme as they passed the streete by any mans lodgeing of theirre compayne, and yf any of the Company heard they would answeare by the like word Oatemeale, and would come out and for orders there were none other but such as he hath in wryting delived vnto the Lrs already wherenvnto he referreth himselfe

Mich: Constable

Endorsed: "29th Dec. Examinacon of Mr. Constable concerning the Bugle."

In his letter referred to above Chamberlain says that most of the members of these societies<sup>22</sup> were "young gentlemen who use to

<sup>21</sup> The organization was frequently referred to as the "Oatmeal Ho." Cf. below.

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Plomer has copied for me the following interesting lists (*State Papers, Domestic*, James I, Vol. I, 155, No. 57):

"The names of ye Giants belonging to ye order of the blew.

Giant Asdriasdust	Giant Neuersober
Giant Freelinery	Giant Lord Shouldromuton
Giant Mumthelican	Gonia Lady Linavele
Giant Tossalane	Giant Legomitten
Giant Mumbellican	Giant Neverbegood
Giant Drunckzadoge	Giant Neverpenny
Giant Drunassaratt	Giant Neerapenny
Giant Drinckittupall	

The page containing the "giants" is endorsed: "Names of the orders of Titire tu and the Bugle."

"Those yt weare at ye supper

Sr Francis Fulgam	Mr Tho: Humfreivid
Mr Glover	Mr Ed: Askew
Captayne Alline	Mr Tho: Windesor
Captayn Tho: Harbert	Mr Will Dansyr
Captayn Webbe	Mr Fran: Hewes
Mr Ed: Colles	Mr George Chambers

flock to taverns, thirty or forty in a company." "This combination," he continues, "began first in the Low Countries,<sup>22</sup> in the Lord Vaux's regiment, and hath since spread itself here to the number of eight score already known. What mischief may lurk

Captayne Blaby

Mr Ha: Cundall

Mr Dix: Hickman

Mr Ro: Meeringe

"The names yt weare not at ye supper but of ye culler.

Mr Tho. Russell

Sr Rich: Brookes ["Knt 1621" added in pencil in modern hand]

Sr Walter Waller ["Knt Dec. 1622" added in pencil in modern hand]

Sr Hary Leegh

Sr John Sauidge

Mr Will: Warmistrye

Mr Antho: Penridocke

Mr Will: Riuett

Mr John Undrill

Mr Will: Wasborne

Mr Jemy (?) Wackline

Mr Phill: Garrowaye

Mr Buttler

Mr Ganill

Mr Tho: Freeman

Mr Barnefield

Mr John Folken

Mr Ig: Windesor [Andrew? Cf.  
ballad below]

Mr Samuell Bidges

Mr John Horsye

Mr Tho. Carew

Mr C. Phillott

3 admitted at ye Globe Taverne yt I know not there names.

"These names," writes Mr. Plomer, "are drawn up in double columns on the second half of the sheet and endorsed: 'The names of those of the order of the blew &c.' The appearance of certain well known names of the time in such a connection is, to say the least, an interesting fact not always used by biographers.

<sup>22</sup> Early in 1622 James gave Gondomar permission to raise one regiment in England and one in Scotland for service under the Spaniards in the Low Countries. For information on the subject see Gardiner's *History of England* (1603-1642), IV, 305; *Calendar State Papers, Venetian*, 1621-23, pp. 306-7; *ibid.*, 1623-25, pp. 354, 363; *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1619-1623, p. 378. The fact that Lord Vaux and most of the volunteers who served under him were Catholics, the words in the ballad purporting to be by George Chambers (cf. below), and the fact that Michael Constable was suspected of being a Jesuit (*Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1619-1623, pp. 180, 199, 272) indicate that the members of the Tityre tu were Catholics. This helps to explain the concern of the Government regarding their purpose; and James no doubt remembered that Sir Edmund Baynham, who had been the leader of the "Damned Crew" and who had pronounced Elizabeth's successor to be a "schismatic," was one of those ardent Catholics involved in the Gunpowder Plot.

under the mask, God knows. But sure they are confident and presumed much of themselves to carry it so openly. Whether upon this occasion or no I know not, but there is order taken that the pensioners shall be better appointed and better mounted, and when they ride with the king, to be furnished with a pair of French pistols." And the excitement created in official circles was sufficiently great to cause the Venetian ambassador to write home on December 22 that a "private society of persons bound together in a strict union" had been unearthed in London, and, whereas the majority of the members appeared to be harmless persons, "it is feared that they may have more extensive designs."<sup>24</sup>

All this flurry about the possible political significance of the *Bugle* and *Tityre tu*—which reminds us of the belief of Swift and others that the Mohocks were a sinister political organization—and the helplessness of the government to secure damning evidence against their members appealed to the sense of humor of certain writers of the time. Printed in *Wit Restor'd in Several Select Poems* (1568) is a ballad titled "The Tytre-Tues, or a Mock Songe to the tune of Chive-Chase. By Mr. George Chambers":

Two madcaps were committed late,  
For treason as some say;  
It was the wisdom of the State,  
Admire it all you may.  
Brave Andrew Windsor was the prince  
George Chambers favorite.  
These two bred this unknownne offence  
I wo'd they had bine be ——  
  
They call themselves the Tytere-tues  
And wore a bleu Rib-bin,  
And when a drie, would not refuse,  
To drink—O fearful sinn!  
The Councell, which is thought most wise,  
Did sett so long upon 't,  
That they grew wearie, and did rise,  
And could make nothing on't.  
  
But still, the common people cri'd,  
This must not be forgot;  
Some had for smaller matters di'd  
They'd don—we know not what:

---

<sup>24</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, 1623-25*, p. 175.

Hang'd, drawne, and quarter'd, must they be,  
 So Law doth sett it downe,  
 It's punishment for papistrie  
 That are of high renowne.

My Lord of Canterbury's grace  
 This treason brought to light  
 El's had it bin a pitious case  
 But that his power and might  
 Had queld their pride which swell'd to high;  
 For which the child ungot  
 May with him live e'ne till hee die  
 As silie sheepe that rott.

Let Papist frowne what need we care  
 He lives above their reach:  
 And will his silver Mitre weare  
 Though now forgot to preach.  
 If he were but behind mee now,  
 And should this ballad heare;  
 Sure he'd revenge with bended bow  
 And I die like a Deere.<sup>26</sup>

Richard Braithwaite, in a poem published in 1658 as written twenty-four years earlier,<sup>27</sup> ridicules the plot-finding tendency of the age. Speaking of the "critical ape," he writes:

But zlid, Ide like to forgot! he cannot chuse  
 But heare of Bugle-blues and Titre-tues,  
 Choice blades, brave youths; yea I durst almost sweare  
 That he has notice what their Projects were,  
 So as whats 'ere he speaks in's own defence,  
 He cannot chuse but have intelligence.

He compares the "intelligencer" to a certain "muddie" mayor, who

Mongst other things which he was glancing at,  
 Observ'd one weare a ribband in his hat  
 Of dang'rous colour, for the field was blue,  
 Whence he infer'd he was a Titre-tu,  
 An enemy to th' State; streight to the place  
 He sends his ale-tipt- Sergeant with his Mace,  
 To summon this Titerian to appeare  
 And show some cause why he such toyes did weare.  
 The youth accosts the Maire; the Maire the youth;

<sup>26</sup> Reprinted in *Facetiae* (1874), I, 147-48.

<sup>27</sup> *An Age for Apes*, pp. 247-48.

Who having stroakt his beard & wipt his mouth,  
 Charg'd him upon th' *Allegiance* which he bore  
 His Prince, to show why he such ribbands wore?  
 Sir, quoth the *Youth*, most *Boyes* in all our *Parish*  
 Such ribbands weare in honor of our *Morish*.  
 In honor of your *Morish*, quoth the Maire,  
 You and your *Morish* shall taste both one fare.  
 Brethern this *Morice* is a welchman borne,  
 Who on Saint *Davies* day wearees *Leeks* in scorne  
 Of us true *English-Brittains*—I thinke meete  
 To set you and your *Morish* both by th' feete;  
 For we doe know how's're these Ruffins prate,  
*Ribbands* and *Leeks* are stratagems of State.

The *Tityre-tues* and similar Jacobean fraternities may have been guiltless of any sinister political purpose; but it is certain that they made themselves a general nuisance to the London of their day. Numerous are the references to the habits of these early clasmens, especially the *Tityre-tues*. Jonson is surely paying them no compliment when in his *The Fortunate Isles* (1626) he introduces "Domine Skelton" as the

worshipful poet laureat to King Harry,  
 And *Tityre tu* of those times.<sup>27</sup>

Their boisterous conduct is referred to by Taylor the Water Poet, who in his *Navy Land Ships* (1630) speaks of "Roaring boyes, and Rough-hewed Tittery tus," and by Herrick, who writes in his *New-Yeares Gift Sent to Sir Simeon Steward* (1648):

No newes of navies burnt at seas,  
 No noise of late spawn'd tittyries,  
 No closset plot, or open vent  
 That frights men with a parliament.

The clamor with which they invaded London taverns is recalled by a remark in *Lady Alimony* (pub. 1659 but written considerably earlier): "I verily think our old Tityre Tu's and Bugle Blews are come to town, they keep such a damnable quarter" (IV.2). Allusions to more vicious practices are common. Their lechery and fleecing of the unwary are referred to in Randolph's *Hey for Honesty* (I. 3), where Plutus, the poor God of Wealth, is made to complain:

<sup>27</sup> Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, III, 195.

And if I fall into the prodigal hands  
 Of some mad, roaring *Tytire tu*, he spends me  
 Upon his lecherous cockatrice, or, playing,  
 Throws me away at passage: so am I turn'd  
 Stark naked out of doors, with not so much  
 As a poor purse to make a nightcap of.

Shirley in his *Gamester*, acted in 1633, gives (I, 1) an interesting description of the wild night life of these convivial organizations:

I do not all this while accompt you in  
 The list of those are call'd the blades, that roar  
 In brothels, and break windows; fright the streets  
 At midnight worse than constables, and sometimes  
 Set upon innocent bell-men, to beget  
 Discourse for a week's diet; that swear, damn-mes,  
 To pay their debts, and march like walking armories,  
 With poniard, pistol, rapier, and batoon,  
 As they would murder all the king's liege people,  
 And blow down streets.<sup>\*\*</sup>

Richard Braithwaite in his *The Cuckow* (published 1658 but written much earlier) has a poem called "A Trapanner," which throws further light on the licentious practices of the *Tityre-tues* and similar early organizations. The poem begins:

Look to your Brain-pane, Boyes;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ here comes a Traine  
 Of Roysting-Rufflers that  
 Are knaves in graine.

Then follows an account of how the ruffians rush into a room in a tavern, where a gull is caught in a compromising position with "a Pickhatch Girle new-casten in a Ranters Mould." One calls her wife, another sister, a third cousin, etc., and the victim is deprived of all his possessions—beaver, diamond, watch, belt, suit—the price he is to pay to save his life. The poem concludes:

<sup>\*\*</sup> Goffe in *The Raging Turk* (1631) thus apostrophizes night:

"Oh thou the silent darkness of the night,  
 Arme me with desperate courage and contempt,  
 Of gods—lou'd men, now I applaud the guile,  
 Of our braue roarers which select this time,  
 To drink and swagger, and spurne at all the powers  
 Of either world."

- The act's perform'd; the weakest goes to wall,
- The Naked man is left, to pay for all.
- No *Bugle Blew*, nor frisking *Titire tu*  
Could be compared to this frontlesse Cru.  
No *Land-sharke* of such metall, in our Ile  
As this Tra-panner.

And an interesting marginal note explains the terms *Bugle Blew* and *Titire tu*: "Two select Societies distinguished by Severall coloured Ribands: and sworne to a Platonick Community."

To what depths the unfortunate members of such societies sometimes fell is brought out in Samul Pick's invective against prostitutes<sup>20</sup> who induce

bankrupt Factors to maintaine a State,  
Forlorne (heaven knowes) and wholly desperate,  
Turne valiant *Boults*, *Pimps* Haxtars, roaring boyes,  
Till flesht in blood, counting but murthers toyes,  
Are forc't in th' end a doleful Psalme to sing,  
Going to heaven by *Derick* in a string.

The author of *The Sucklington Faction: or (Sucklings) Roaring Boyes* (1641)<sup>20</sup> writes in a similar vein. He traces the career of his prodigal until he murders "the next man he meets, that never did neither thought him harm" and comments that this "notorious good-fellow (corruptly so called) being a confederate of the Greeks, *Titere Tris*, or joviall roaring Boyes, is of the Poets mind, when he said;

*Facundi calices quem non fecere disertem!*

It was inevitable that other fraternities should have sprung into existence on the order of the more famous *Tityre tu* and *Bugle*. Brome in his *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, acted in 1632, gives a very interesting account (III, 1) of the initiation of the gull Clotpoll into the *Philoblasticus* and *Philobatticus*, a sort of double order also called the "Blade" and the "Battoon." The ceremony is of interest not only as showing the extent to which ambitious "roarers" were imposed upon by more experienced clansmen but also in revealing the fantastic manner in which oaths were administered to initiates. After departing with all his money for the

<sup>20</sup> "Satyre, of gracelesse Grace" included in his *Festum Voluptatis* (1639), p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Printed in Hazlitt's ed. of Suckling, II, facing p. 275.

good of the order—an important prerequisite for admission—Clotpoll lays his hands on the hilt of Captain Driblow's sword and solemnly swears to be true to every member of the "Blade" and "Battoon," never to reveal the whereabouts of a brother wanted by a officer or other suspicious person, always to aid a Brother's "friend" (i. e., his mistress) and a brother in distress, conscientiously to "wear the sable order of the Riband" in remembrance of departed fellow-members, consistently to regard himself "so much the better man" by the amount of liquor he is able to drink at another's expense, and never to allow any man take the wall on him except such as seems ready to lend him money or use violence. After receiving a copy of the "order" containing all the duties of a member of the two organizations, and binding his oath by kissing the Book, Clotpoll joyfully exclaims: "So, now I am a Blade, and of a better Rowe than those of *Tytere tu*, or *Oatmeal hoe*."<sup>51</sup>

A very similar initiation ceremony occurs in John Tatham's *The Scotch Figgaries* (1652), where Trapheir, a foolish gentleman, is taken into an order known as the "Huff," consisting of such "Blades" as Townshift, Pinchcarcase, and Drawforth. The "Lords of the sword" hold that no youngster can enter the fraternity

'till he 'as not only lost  
His 'state, but's credit too.

Accordingly after Trapheir is fleeced of his "'state," he is allowed to swear by the sword that he will show no mercy in cheating others for the profit of the Brotherhood, will not quarrel with a brother, and will squeeze the last penny from any young heir who falls under his influence. The conclusion of the oath is worth quoting:

That when you have drained him dry, you make him free, if he sue for it; if not, let him keep company with the titteretues, and live upon the

<sup>51</sup> Note that on June 28, 1624, a ballad titled "Oatmeale hoe" was entered on the Stationers' Register (Arber, IV, 81), and that in I; i of Dekker and Ford's *The Sun's Darling* (no doubt revised at about the same time) Folly sings a song written while the public was interested in the excitement caused by the government investigation of the newly organized "Bugle" or "Oatmeal" fraternity.

sin of Sodom: That you'll take your chance of the day, where there is need of dripping, without grumbling.

That while you can stand,  
With sword in hand,  
You'll not be in awe  
Of the Halberteer Law;  
Kiss this,—Now y' are free  
[*Kisses the hilt*.]  
Of the Huffs' company.<sup>33</sup>

*Edmund Gayton*<sup>33</sup> refers to the fastidious initiation ceremonies of various fraternities in speaking humorously of the creation of the "Knights Errant":

This Ceremony, I say, is farre short of those of the Garter, or of the golden Fleece, (though of the same continent with this latter) or those of the Knights of Malta. If the Formalities were well compared, they would more resemble these new Orders of the Tityrie-Tues, the Fellow Cues, the confederates, the Dead Boyes, the Tories, the John Doriens, or the late Ranters, or the Hectors, whose rites and customes were never fully executed (like those of the Don) without a Tolosa, or a Molinera, in plaine English, a whore or so, for creature-comfort, as they call it; or as the Hectors, for Carnelevation.

The Hectors mentioned by Gayton were the most famous of all the numerous<sup>34</sup> brotherhoods modeling their way of life on that of the *Tityre-tues* and *Bugles*. The word *hector* had long been in use as a synonym for a swaggerer, but distinct organizations calling

<sup>33</sup> *Dramatic Works of John Tatham*, ed. Maidment and Logan, pp. 132-33.

<sup>34</sup> *Notes on Don Quixote* (Ed. 1654), pp. 11-12.

"The names of other pre-Restoration fraternities are extant; and their reputation as roisterers continued even after the Restoration. In Wilson's *The Cheats* (written in 1662) a Captain Titere-Tu is one of two cowardly "blades" who usurped their military titles and subsist chiefly by bullying and fleecing young heirs. In his Preface Wilson states that the town was full of Captain Titere-Tues between 1646 and 1650. Tope, the old "scourer" in Shadwell's *The Scourers* (1691) exclaims (I, 1) as follows regarding the superiority of old-fashioned "scouring":

"Puh, this is nothing; why I knew the Hectors, and before them the *Muns* and the *Tityre Tu's*; they were brave Fellows indeed; and in those Days a Man could not go from the Red Tavern to the Piazza once, but he must venture his Life twice." Southerne in II, 2 of *The Maid's Last Prayer* (1693) has a character say:

"I remember your Dammee-Boyes, your Swashes,  
Your Tuquoques and your Titire-Tues."

themselves by such a title apparently did not come into existence until about the middle of the century. Fortunately we have a detailed account (published in 1652) of the origin, nature and practices of the Hectors, the essential accuracy of which is borne out by a mass of literary allusion. In this interesting little tract of fifteen pages<sup>35</sup> it is said that

There was no sooner an end put to the Wars of England, but a great Company of Officers and Souldiers being discarded, they repaired to the famous City of London, in hope that new troubles would arise, to maintain them in the same disordered course they formerly practiced in the Armies, but missing fewell to feed the fire of their desires, they began to study living by their Wits . . . and after several consultations held amongst them, 'twas thought convenient by the better sort to dispose themselves into certain gangs and companies, where, for their better ordering affaires they tooke to themselves the name of *Hectors*, otherwise *Knights of the Blade*: But process of time brought other loose Fellowes into their company, who affected with the ranting humours and manner of life, which these Bravado's led, they imbraced to themselves the profession and Name of *Hectors*; a thing not much to be admired; considering how these odde kind of people doe live at as high expence of Dyt, Drinke, and Cloathes, as most Gentlemen of estates in this Commonwealth (p. 1).

The fame of the Hectors had grown so rapidly that in 1655 was written<sup>36</sup> *The Hectors; or, the False Challenge*, I, 3 of which contains the following dialogue regarding the origin of the organization:

Mrs. Lovewit: Hectors!

Mrs. Crisis: This 'tis to be so long in the Country; Do you not know what I mean?

Mrs. Lovewit: Not I.

<sup>35</sup> The full title of the copy in the British Museum reads: "A Notable and Pleasant History of the Famous renowned Knights of the Blade, commonly called Hectors, or, St. Nicholas Clerkes. Wherein is shewed how they first came to that Name and Profession, with the manner of their Life and Conversation, and what Laws and Rules they have made to be observed by them. Being a good Caution to all Gentlemen, Strangers, and Travellours, to know thereby, a way to discover them, and also to prevent them. Very necessary to be published in these times, for a general good to the Common-wealth."

<sup>36</sup> Charles Gildon in his version of Langbaine says that some catalogues had, without sufficient reason, attributed the comedy to Edmund Prestwich (p. 114). Cf. on subject *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), II, 287. Play was published in 1656.

Crisis: Why I mean a certain Order, more famous than that of *Malta*,  
the Garter, Saint Esprit, or the Golden-fleece, a race of Adventurers,  
who, out of what strange humor I cannot tell, have usurped  
the name of that famous Trojane Prince.

Knowell: A Prince! a Pander, a fellow was kill'd in the quarrel of  
a whore.

Crisis: And afterwards, Sir (as I have heard) dragged at a Carts tail.  
Mrs. Lovewitt: Believe me, a very proper patron.<sup>37</sup>

The *modus operandi* of these various gangs is interesting. "All that I can say to their maner of life," writes the author of the pamphlet referred to above, "is, that is consists much in cheat and couseenage, gaming, decoying, pimping, whoring, swearing, and drinking, and with the nobler sort, in robbing . . . They live all upon the spoyle, and very often undo one another, for want of a general acquaintance; for you must know, there are several Gangs or Companies, some meaner, and some higher; but alwaies a provident care is had, that if upon inquiry the business may be discovered, there is to the wronged party a restitution made, but this must be referred to the description of their Laws of Customs" (p. 2).

These "Laws of Customs," which remind one of those of the orders of the "Blade," "Battoon" and "Huffs" already discussed, are curious. No one could be admitted until after he had spent all of his money for the good of the Brotherhood; no quarrel amongst themselves was to come to a duel except by consent of the whole fraternity; they are to cheat whenever possible, a member not being expected to resent even the cheating of his own father; a true account is to be rendered the organization of all goods stolen so that it may be proportioned fairly; under no circumstances is their rendevouz to be revealed, a captured member being expected to die rather than "peach;" and whoever in his cups or at any time reveals any of the secrets of the order is to have "a round forfeit" imposed upon him, the "forfeit" to be spent on the brotherhood.

The author proceeds to enumerate some of the "flim-flams" practiced by the Hectors, that is, their methods of cheating, stealing, and "conyatching,"<sup>38</sup> most of which had been described by

<sup>37</sup> Note that Wilson in his preface to *The Cheats* (1664) says that London was especially bothered with this type of character "between the years '46 and '50."

<sup>38</sup> Note in this connection that Caster and Slur, low companions of Had-

such writers as Harman, Greene, Dekker and Rowlands, and practiced by the earlier gangs of organized rowdies. Especially interesting is a favorite "flim-flam" of the Hectors, that of forcing some innocent Londoner into paying a considerable sum of money rather than risk his life in a duel with some swashbuckler. Most men, remarks our author (p. 14), are for one reason or another willing to buy off the necessity of defending their honor by the payment of a considerable sum. The commonest way of working this trick was as follows: Some "captain" accompanied by a companion<sup>39</sup> at a convenient distance walked the streets of London until he met a promising victim into whom he jostled or insisted on keeping from the wall. A quarrel arose, the other Hector appeared as witness and assistant in arranging the details of the duel to take place in another part of the town. The "upshot" of the matter, writes our author, is that the affronted gentleman having had time to consider his wife, children, and estate, "weighs not so much the hazard of fighting, as inconveniences which will arise to those neare relations, and suspecting the truth of the business, propounds some reward to excuse fighting which though at first slighted, yet at last comes off for a matter of twenty Peeces" (p. 14). The matter was usually settled by "composition,"<sup>40</sup>

land, a fallen gentleman in *The Hectors*, are called "rooking gamesters," and, besides being bullies, are masters of certain "old devices" such as the using of "false cubed Dice, with Quicksilver, the boxes with Springs, besides all other Arts of the hand"; Kick and Cuff, the "hectors" in Shadwell's *Epsom-Wells* (1672), are characterized in the list of *dramatis personae* as "cheating, sharking, cowardly Bullies"; Friendly, one of three "shifters" in Edward Revet's *The Town-Shifts* (1671), says that, in order to make his fortune, he is "resolv'd to turn Hector, quarrel in the streets with Drunkards, and so steal Hats and Perukes, and begin to believe it a very pious way of living" (I, i).

<sup>39</sup>This device was, of course, not original with the Hectors. It had been practiced for years in London. The assistant to the duellist was apparently called "a circling boy." Note that Jonson (*Bartholomew Fair*, iv, 3) refers to "one Val Cutting, that helpes Captaine Jordan to roare, a circling boy." Nares defines a "circling boy" as a species of "roarer" "who in some way drew a man into a snare, to cheat or rob him."

<sup>40</sup>Note that in *The Hectors* (1656) La-gull is tricked in this very way, being freed from the necessity of fighting a famous French duellist (Caster in disguise) by making a considerable loan to a common friend, who is to allay the wrath of the fiery Gaul.

since the Hectors used considerable discretion in picking their man;<sup>41</sup> but sometimes the matter became more serious when a man of valor was imposed upon; for, in spite of the frequent allusions to the cowardice of the Hectors,<sup>42</sup> they consisted, for the most part, says our writer, of "men composed of much courage and resolution, but unhappy in the want of better employment."<sup>43</sup> It is very interesting in this connection to learn the advice given in an important educational treatise of the day—Obadiah Walker's *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen*, published at Oxford in 1687. Warning his readers against "Insolent Children of Hell, ruiners of so many persons and families," he introduces the following noteworthy sentence: "But if after your care to avoid quarrelling, you happen upon such brutes, as either to try your mettal, or out of a bestial love of injuriousness, (for such Hectors

<sup>41</sup> Note that Clotpoll in Brome's *Weeding of Covent Garden* is never to allow any one to take the wall unless he be one who appears ready to lend him money or to use violence. Cf. Marvell's remark (cited in N. E. D. under "hector") : "Thus the hectors use to do, and to give the lye at adventure, where they have a mind to try a man's courage."

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Otway's *The Soldier's Fortune* (II, 1) : "Tis as unreasonable to expect a man of sense should be preferred, as 'tis to think a hector can be stout," etc. Edmund Gayton in Notes on *Don Quixote* (ed. 1654, p. 12) implies that hectors will fight only in the presence of their wenches. Shadwell has Bevil remark in Act II of *Epsom-Wells*: "A Hector dares no more to fight than be honest, and yet 'tis strange they should make it their Trade, when they are so little fit for 't." Cf. also Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1612, ed. of works, I, 347).

<sup>43</sup> P. 14. John Evelyn in *A Character of England* (1659) thus speaks (pp. 37-38) of the drinking of healths and disorders in taverns: "I confess, the *Lady* of the house being much out of Countenance at what had hapned, profered to excuse this disorder, and I was ready to receive it, till several encounters confirmed me that they were but too frequent, and that there was a sort of perfect *Debauches*, who stile themselves *Hectors*, that in their mad and unheard of *Revels*, pierce their veins to quaff their own blood, which some of them have drank to that excess, that they died of the intemperance: These are a professed *Atheistical* order of *Bravos*, compos'd for the most of *Cadets*, who spending beyond their *Pensions*, to supply their extravagancies, practice now and then the High-way, where they sometimes borrow that which they often repay at the *Gibbet*; an ignominious trade, unheard of amongst our Gallant *Nobless*" (i. e., French). Cf. the "stabbing" and "killing" type of hector referred to in song in Jordan's *London Triumphant* (Percy Society, xix, 52) and iv, 1 of Mrs. Behn's *Sir Patient Fancy* (acted in 1678).

this age hath brought forth in greater plenty, then any other I ever read of) the best way is to resent it briskly; and threaten seriously at least, if you do not chastize, the insolency, that makes injuring a profession. (p. 257).

Unfortunately such advice was not always followed discreetly by gentlemen of honor, who, instead of resorting to some more appropriate mode of resistance,<sup>44</sup> were driven into duels disastrous to themselves. In the play *The Hectors* Welbred is injured in a duel with Hadland, a gentleman of courage who has been driven into evil ways; and Dryden was perhaps thinking of the unfortunate ending of similar duels when, in the prologue spoken at the revival of *The Wild Gallant*, he refers to the young country squire who

led by the renown  
Of Whetstone's park, he comes at length to town;  
Where entered, by some school-fellow or friend,  
He grows to break glass-windows in the end:  
His valour too, which with the watch began,  
Proceeds to duel, and he kills his man.<sup>45</sup>

Of much more importance is the poem *To the Hectors, upon the unfortunate death of H. Compton*, which appeared in the 1653 edition of John Cleveland's poems. Henry Compton was killed by George Brydges, Lord Chandos, on May 10, 1652; and it may have been this event that inspired not only the production attributed to Cleveland but the tract cited several times above. Whether Compton was killed by Brydges as the result of an attempt to extort

<sup>44</sup> Highly satisfactory was the method employed by the gentleman in the story which Richard Head says was told him by a fellow on the street in June, 1674: "It was not long since that I was in Holbourn, where I saw two high hat Huffing Hectors (about three quarters Drunk) justle a Gentleman, who had never a Sword by his Side: he asking them the meaning of that rudeness and incivility they instantly drew upon him; it so happened, that the Gentleman at that time (he being much in Debt, and fearing an Arrest) had a brace of Pistols in his Pockets, which he drew, cock'd and presented; at sight whereof one fled, and the other staid no longer than to say, *Da-me Blood, Sir, had you a Magazeen of Swords, I would have stood the shock of them all, but Rot-me, I will not encounter him that carries a File of Musqueteers in his Pocket*" (*Nugae Venales*, 3rd ed., p. 258).

<sup>45</sup> The custom of the Hectors of breaking windows and fighting watchmen is discussed below.

"composition" or whether the duel was one of those quarrels consented to by the whole brotherhood does not appear, but the poem is worth quoting for the light it throws on the life of the Hectors:<sup>46</sup>

You Hectors! tame professors of the sword,  
 Who in the chair state duels, whose black word  
 Bewitches courage, and like Devils too,  
 Leaves the bewitch'd when 't comes to fight and do.  
 Who on your errand our best spirits send,  
 Not to kill swine or cows, but man or friend;  
 Who are a whole court-martial in your drink,  
 And dispute honour, when you cannot think,  
 Not orderly, but prate out valour as  
 You grow inspired by th' oracle of the glass;  
 Then, like our zeale-drunk presbyters, cry down  
 All laws of Kings and God, but what's their own.  
 Then y' have the gift of fighting, can discern  
 Spirite, who's fit to act, and who to learn,  
 Who shall be baffled next, who must be beat,  
 Who killed—that you may drink, and swear, and eat.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Saintsbury (*Caroline Poets*, III, 32 note) states that the Hectors seem to "have had something of the superior quality of Sir Lucius O'Trigger and Captain McTurk about them, as professors and painful preachers of the necessity and etiquette of the duel." Note that their fondness for duels is brought out in Davenant's *The Man's the Master*, where Don Ferdinand, an old rascal who is eager to bring about a duel between his nephew and prospective son-in-law, is said to be "heartily nicked, and may be held the very Father of the Hectors" (Act V). Note the following from John Oldham's *Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, Imitated* (written in April, 1682):

"But, oh, revenge more sweet than life! 'Tis true,  
 So the unthinking say, and the mad crew  
 Of hectoring blades, who for slight cause, or none,  
 At every turn are into passion blown,  
 Whom the least trifles with revenge inspire,  
 And at each spark, like gunpowder, take fire;  
 These unprovok'd kill the next man they meet,  
 For being so saucy as to walk the street;  
 And at the summons of each tiny drab,  
 Cry 'Damme,' Satisfaction! ' draw, and stab."

*Works*, ed. Robert Bell (1854), p. 183.

"That the Hectors may be supplied with drink and wenches, exclaims the author of the *History of the Knights of the Blade, commonly called Hectors* (p. 15), "some innocent Gentleman, that dreams of nothing but the good of his Country and family, is, to avoid a quarrel in effect, made a Purse-bearer to these Goliah-like Champion Hectors."

Whilst you applaud those murders which you teach  
 And live upon the wounds your riots preach.  
 Mere booty-souls! Who bid us fight a prize  
 To feast the laughter of our enemies,  
 Who shout and clap at wounds, count it pure gain,  
 Mere Providence to hear a Compton's slain

. . . . .

Blood always true, true as their swords and cause,  
 And never vainly lost, till your wild laws  
 Scandalled their action in this person, who  
 Truly durst more than you dare think to do

. . . . .

Now you dread Hectors! you whom tyrant drink  
 Drags thrice about the town, what do you think?  
 (If you be sober) Is it valour, say,  
 To overcome, and then to run away?  
 Fie! Fie! Your lusts and duels both are one;  
 Both are repented of as soon as done.

. . . . .

That the bolder type of hectors frequently resorted to out-and out highway robbery, as the author of the pamphlet above said they did, is proved by an abundance of allusions. In fact in the late seventeenth century the word "hector" was frequently used as a synonym for highwayman, Ebsworth<sup>48</sup> going so far as to say that Macheath and his companions in Gay's famous opera were "'High-Toby' men, formerly called 'Hectors.'"

The wild night life of the Hectors—their swaggering and drinking,<sup>49</sup> their riots in taverns,<sup>50</sup> their connection with brothels,<sup>51</sup> their

<sup>48</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, 846. For allusions to the hectors as highwaymen see Evelyn's remark quoted in note 40 above. Cf. also the ballad "The Female Highway Hector" (Second Preface to Vol. VIII of *Roxburghe Ballads*, pp. ix\*-x\*); "Poor Robin's Prophecie" (*ibid.*, prefatory note to Second Division to Vol. VIII, pp. lxxviii\*-lxxx\*); "The Highway Hector" (ca. 1655; quoted in part, *ibid.*, 846). On the motives back of highway robbery practiced by former Royalist officers see F. A. Inderwick's *The Interregnum*, pp. 104-107.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. preface to reader prefixed to Thomas Flatman's *Poems and Songs* (1686); *The Rehearsal* (ed. Arber, p. 129); Butler calls a "Ranter" a "fanatic Hector" (Morley's *Character Writings*, p. 403); Thomas Duffet's *Empress of Morocco* (1674) contains couplet:

"Brandy the best of Nectars,  
 Makes us bolder than Hectors."

Cf. also second entry to III of Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let*; Thomas

breaking of windows and fights with the London watchmen,<sup>52</sup> and their impositions upon harmless pedestrians are frequently referred to by writers of the Restoration. "Scouring," as it was called, became a popular pastime of the gallants of the day; and drunken gangs calling themselves "Scourers" or "Scoures," rioted through the streets of London, wrecking taverns, breaking windows, and fighting the watch. Naturally the protests against such vicious

D'Urfey's *Butler's Ghost* (1682), p. 71; Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, II, 1 and IV, 1; *The Prodigal Son Converted* (*Roxburgh Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, IV, 50), etc.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. "The Hectors and the Vintner" printed in 1691 edition of *Merry Drollery Compleat*, pp. 9-10; song in V, 1 of Davenant's *The Wits*.

<sup>51</sup> Davenant's *Wits*: "The lewd Houses have friends among the Hectors" (III, 1); *The Six Days Adventure* (1671), p. 44; Muly Hamet, the Drayman, on rising from death at end of Duffet's *Empress of Morocco* (1674) remarks:

"Did I her warlike Pimp full fourteen years,  
Outswear her Hectors, and outface her Dun."

Note particularly the lines in the ballad titled "A Total Rout, or a Brief Discovery of a Pack of Knaves and Drabs, Intituled Pimps, Panders, Hectors, Trapans, Nappers, Mobs, and Spanners," etc. (1653), a vivid description of the swearing, defying of constables, robbing on streets, cheating of tailors, tapsters, and prostitutes by such persons:

"The Turn-ball whores cry they are undone,  
And must to Virginia pack one by one,  
And in truth they'll inrich that beggarly nation,  
For never such planters came to a plantation"  
(ed. Thomas Wright for Percy Society, Vol. III, 131-135).

Cf. also Motteux's song "The Town Rake" in I, 2 of Mrs. Behn's *The Younger Brother* (1696).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Davenant's *Wits* (III, 1): "What, quarrel with the King's Watch, Goody-Hector?" Cf. also Shadwell's *Virtuoso*, IV, 2. Note that Betty Goodfield in *The Woman Turn'd Bully* (1675), on coming up to London disguised as a "town-gallant," is advised never to return home at night before one o'clock, to break all windows that dare "oppose" her, etc. David Cranford's *Love at First Sight* (printed 1704 but written ca. 1699) contains a character called Hector, who holds that "Tis Wine . . . that Heroes makes and Wits," and on one occasion (IV, 1) fights the London watch. Crowne at end of second act of *The Country Wit* (1693) conveniently introduces a group of "scourers" to rescue his characters from the London watch. Cf. also *Works* of Tom Brown, ed. 1778, I, 175-177. The ballad entitled "Gallantry-a-la-mode" (1680-81) contains a vivid

conduct were loud and frequent, even the blind Milton apparently expressing himself on the subject in no uncertain terms.<sup>58</sup>

To what extent these drunken rioters sometimes went is no doubt rather accurately revealed in Shadwell's *The Woman-Captain*, where Sir Christopher Smash and his companions break windows to the accompaniment of street music forced into service, wipe out the "milk-scores" and pull down the knockers on dwelling-houses, paint with lamp black the various signs along the street, fight the watch, and maltreat the public in general. According to Sir Christopher (Act II), they have kept Covent Garden awake all night, having beaten<sup>59</sup> fourscore persons—men, women, and chil-

picture of the drinking, gambling, and general misconduct of the "Stout Hectors." Note particularly the lines:

"Then ofttimes the Watch us *Hectors* does catch,  
And nabs us in this late Re'ncounter,  
With swords and with stones we break the 'Loon's bones,  
And so fyfe the Cage or the Compter.  
Thus like Pyrates o' th' Town, we roam up and down,  
And scour the main Sea of the City,  
And he that durst beat the late Watch in the Street,  
Among the Bully-rocks is accounted for witty"

*(Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, IV, 631).

<sup>58</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 497-502; VII, 32-38. Wm. C. Sydney and Macaulay are inclined to think Milton's own windows had been broken by these ardent "Royalists" (*History of England*, Boston, 1900, II, 82 note; *Social Life in England from the Restoration to the Revolution*, p. 286).

For an interesting picture of "scouring" see Shadwell's *The Scourers*, where the more "gentlemanly" sort under Sir William Rant break windows, fight the watch, etc., while similar feats are accomplished by the commoner sort under Whachum's leadership. Cf. also the exploits of Sir Frederick Frollick in I, 2 of Etheredge's *Love in a Tub*; those of Rant, Hazard and Tim in Act IV of Shadwell's *The Miser*; the words of Sir Thomas in Mountford's *Greenwich-Park* (ed. 1691, p. 30). The Father in Otway's *The Atheist* (V, 4) has the doings of the scourers in mind when he refers to Daredevil's burning bawdy houses, "rubbing out milk-scores, and lamp-blacking of signs in Covent-Garden," "breaking of windows, killing constables and watchmen, beadles, tailors, hackney-coachmen and link boys."

"To what extent persons were wilfully mutilated I do not know. Such expressions as this, however, considered with the fact that members of the guard who waylaid Sir John Coventry on December 21, 1670, and cut his nose to the bone are called *The Hay-Market Hectors* in a ballad of the time (cf. Lowe's *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 110-11), argue that such practice

dren; and as he leaves for a similar expedition the audience is informed that windows are to be broken along the entire line of march, every male encountered, from a link-boy to a lord, is to be beaten, every female, from a simpering lady to the wide-mouthed "jade that crys Sprats," is to be kissed, bailiffs are to be beaten excessively, and "filthy Outrage" committed "to the astonishment of the Mobile." Sam. Overcome (Samuel Vincent) in his "Character of a Stayed Gentleman" describes<sup>56</sup> the huffing gentry who after an evening at the play repair to brothels, where they heighten their courage with eloquence and wine. "In these brave humors," he exclaims, "hath many a *Watchman* been forced to measure his length upon the ground, the poor *Constable* been put beside the gravity of his Interrogatories . . . many a timerous female hath been forced to fill the Air with shrieks and bewailings, whilst during this close engagement the thundering Cannon of their Oaths have with horrour filled the Neighbourhood." "The Character of a Town Gallant" (1675) improves upon the account above. The gallant visits a bawdy house after the play. Here he meets a squadron of his fellows, who, having "heightened their Spirits with jollity and Wine," invade the streets about two o'clock in the morning, setting up their "dreadful *Sa! Sa!* more dangerous<sup>57</sup> to meet than an *Indian* Running a *Muck.*"<sup>57</sup> "In these Heroic humours," continues the author, "hath many a *Watchman* had his *Horns* Battered about his Ears; and the trembling *Constable* been put beside the Gravity of his Interrogatories, and forced to measure his Length upon the Ground. The first *man* they meet they Swear to *Kill*, and set all the *Women* on their Heads; and so they proceed till the rattling of Broken *Glass Windows*, the shrieks of distressed

was not uncommon. Thomas Jordan apparently refers specifically to this event in the following lines of a song in *London Triumphant* (1672):

"We must be no talkers,  
For fear the night-walkers  
Do watch for our words,  
And wait with their swords,  
For our noses" (Percy Society, xix, 41).

Cf. also Buckingham's poem on Monmouth (*Roxburghe Ballads*, iv, 528).

<sup>56</sup> *The Young Gallant's Academy* (1674), p. 96.

<sup>57</sup> Note the "sa, sa, sa, sa" of Major Bilboe during his fight with Captain Titere Tu in Wilson's *Cheats* (ed. Maidment and Logan), p. 66.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Dryden's *Hind and the Panther* (ll. 1187-88):

"Frontless and satire-proof, he scours the streets,  
And runs an Indian-muck at all he meets."

*Damsels, and the Thunder of their own Oaths, and Execrations, fills all the Neighbourhood with horror,” etc.<sup>58</sup>* The “good old Timon” in John Oldham’s *A Satire, in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal* (written in May, 1682) speaks thus in giving one of the reasons why he is leaving London:

If this you ’scape, twenty to one you meet  
 Some of the drunken scourers of the street,  
 Flushed with success of warlike deeds performed,  
 Of constables subdued, and brothels stormed,  
 These, if a quarrel or a fray be missed,  
 Are ill at ease a-nights, and want their rest;  
 For mischief is a lechery to some,  
 And serves to make them sleep like laudanum.  
 Yet heated, as they are, with youth and wine,  
 If they discern a train of flambeaux shine,  
 If a great man with his gilt coach appear,  
 And a strong guard of footboys in the rear,  
 The rascals sneak and shrink their heads for fear.  
 Poor me, who use no light to walk about,  
 Save what the parish, or the skies hang out,  
 They value not; ‘tis worth your while to hear  
 The scuffle, if that be a scuffle, where  
 Another gives the blows I only bear;  
 He bids me stand; of force I must give way,  
 For ’twere a senseless thing to disobey,  
 And struggle here, where I’d as good oppose  
 Myself to Preston and his mastiffs loose.  
 ‘Who’s there?’ he cries, and takes you by the throat;  
 ‘Dog! are you drunk? Speak quickly, else my foot  
 Shall march about your buttocks; whence d’ye come?  
 From what bulk-ridden strumpet reeking home?  
 Saving your reverend pimpship, where d’ye ply?  
 How may one have a job of lechery?’  
 If you say anything, or hold your peace,  
 And silently go off, ‘tis all a case;  
 Still he lays on; nay well, if you ’scape so;  
 Perhaps he’ll clap an action on you too  
 Of battery, nor need he fear to meet  
 A jury to his turn, shall do him right,  
 And bring him in large damage for a shoe  
 Worn out, besides the pains in kicking you.  
 A poor man must expect nought of redress,  
 But patience; his best course in such a case

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<sup>58</sup> Hindley’s *Old Book Collector’s Miscellany*, Vol. II.

Is to be thankful for the drubs, and beg  
That they would mercifully spare one leg,  
Or arm unbroke, and let him go away  
With teeth enough to eat his meat next day.

That all such passages are not merely artistic exaggeration is proved by evidence more reliable than that found in drama or poem or tract.<sup>59</sup> But that a good deal of what precedes regarding Tityre Tu, Bugle, Scourer, Hector and the rest is exaggerated there is, of course, no doubt. And in this respect, as in numerous others, these seventeenth-century rowdies remind us of the Mohocks; for all such organizations—be they of the seventeenth, eighteenth, or twentieth century—inevitably receive more publicity and a more picturesque coloring than their deeds and personnel deserve. This picturesqueness should largely disappear when we remember that many of the feats attributed to adventurous or needy young nobles calling themselves Tityre tues or Hectors or Mohocks were really performed by professional criminals of a very ordinary mold. These worthies were as quick to take advantage of such organizations as their successors are to exploit the weaknesses of the Ku Klux Klan.

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"On June 17, 1676, Sir George Etheredge, Lord Rochester, William Jepson, and a Mr. Downes "skirmisht" the watch at Epsom, during which paestime Downes was run through with a pike and died twelve days later (Verity's edition of Etheredge, I, xv); Luttrell records in his diary under January 13, 1681/2 that on the preceding night certain Gentlemen of the Temple were interrupted by the watch while breaking windows and committing other "strange outrages" on which occasion one of the watchmen was killed (ed. 1857, I, 158); and he states (*ibid.*, II, 238) that in May, 1691, Lord Newburgh, Sir John Conway and others "rambling in the night, fell upon the watch and beat them severely," while a little later a watchman was killed in a similar "scuffle" with two gentlemen by the name of Strickland and several companions. Cf. also N. E. D. under "hector" and the Duke of Buckingham's poem directed against the riotous Duke of Monmouth and titled "A Notion taken out of Tully's Dialogue *De Senectute*":

"Or all we meet within the streets abuse,  
As our brave anti-wits and great ones use?  
Nay; could we yet do grander things than these,  
Murder an harmless Watchman on his knees."

## GEORGE JOLLY, ACTOR-MANAGER: NEW LIGHT ON THE RESTORATION STAGE.

BY J. LESLIE HOTSON

In the tangle of Restoration stage history, there is at least one bright thread which seems to have neither beginning nor end. This thread is the story of the life and activities of George Jolly. He appears in 1660 as a dangerous rival of Davenant and Killigrew—the two courtiers who were doing their best to secure a monopoly of the drama in London—and continues for a number of years as a thorn in their flesh.

The new light which will be shed on Jolly in the course of this paper emanates from two sources: first, from German studies of Jolly's wanderings on the Continent during the Commonwealth, and second, from new English documents of importance for the history of the Restoration theatre.

For the lovers of the stage in Germany, George Jolly has a peculiar interest, since under the names of Joris Jollifus, George Jeliphus, and Joseph Jori, he appears in German town archives as the last of the great English strolling players who exercised such a powerful influence upon the German drama. But his story must be told from the beginning.

In 1648, when Davenant was writing his *Gondibert* at the Royalist headquarters in Paris, and while the heavy laws against stage-players were coming out in England, George Jolly springs into view full-fledged as one of the most capable and progressive of the English actor-managers. After the wars, in the autumn and winter of 1647-48, the London companies had begun to open their houses and to present their plays with an almost antebellum vigor. Parliament viewed this renaissance of the theatre with alarm. Something drastic had to be done; and seeing that the former repressive ordinances were not enough to deter the bold actors, both Houses passed the harsh order of February 9, 1648. Branding the stage-players as Rogues, it provided fines and imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second, public flogging.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> While passed on February 9, this ordinance was not printed until February 11. Cf. Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*.

While some of the players braved even these dangers, others felt that England was too hot, or too cold for them. A body of the latter got together, and on March 6, 1648, presented a petition to the House of Lords. They desired 'to have something to be bestowed upon them from the State, and to have passes to goe beyond the Seas.' 'But this Petition,' says the State newsbook triumphantly, 'was utterly rejected.'<sup>2</sup>

Now it looks very much as though George Jolly was a leading spirit among these petitioners, and as though he gathered a few actors and left England in spite of being refused 'passes to goe beyond the Seas.' For on the ground of all the evidence collated by Dr. Herz in his study of the strolling English players in Germany,<sup>3</sup> we must conclude that it was Jolly's band of fourteen actors that arrived in Cologne at the end of April, 1648. They had come by way of the Netherlands, stopping at Bruges; and on Sunday, April 26, in the tennis-court in the St. Apostelnstrasse, Cologne, they performed 'with all propriety and decency,' certain Chronicles, Histories, and Comedies. On Monday they petitioned the town council for permission to play for five or six weeks. The permission was granted for 14 days, on condition that the actors would charge no more than 4 pieces of silver for admission to the benches, and 12 pieces for seats on the stage (*auf das Theatrum*), and that they would give a handsome contribution for the benefit of the poor and the foundlings of Cologne.<sup>4</sup>

Jolly's acting pleased the burghers of that city so well, however, that his stay was prolonged until the end of July. In August the company went off to Frankfort for the great autumn Fair. Returning to Cologne early in 1649 (but after the execution of Charles I in England), George Jolly informed the Town Councillor that his troupe had played in England, the Low Countries, and Germany; that (and here he stretched the truth) he could not

i, 1070. Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, 65. The contemporary newsbooks printed the law in full: *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, February 8-15; *Perfect Diurnall*, February 7-14.

<sup>2</sup> *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, Brit. Mus. E 432. 6.

<sup>3</sup> E. Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und Englische Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland*, 1903, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wolter, 'Chronologie des Theaters der Reichstadt Köln' (*Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1896, p. 100).

go back to England, because a bloody war had broken out there. He asked again, therefore, a permission to act in Cologne.<sup>5</sup>

It would take us too far to follow the complete itinerary of Jolly's band in Germany. Herz gives an excellent map<sup>6</sup> which traces all his known journeyings on the Continent. Our purpose is rather to study the man and his work: to see more of this last member of the great line of Elizabethan strollers.

The English travelling actors had made such an enviable reputation in Germany that many of the later German and Dutch companies advertised themselves as English. Jolly, for lack of English players, was forced to accept a certain admixture of Germans<sup>7</sup> in his company, but he usually announced his band as composed of 'Englische commödianten.'<sup>8</sup>

From all the records we can gather about Jolly we get a picture of the typical violent and rapacious actor-manager of those troubled days. Germany had been ravaged by the Thirty Years' War; and in such a poor country no idealistic or gentle-natured man could possibly succeed with a travelling company. Boldness, rough authority, and unscrupulous dealing were required, and Jolly had these qualities to the full. If a rival actor showed himself in the town, Jolly was capable of attacking him with his fists in order to discourage competition. Numerous complaints of him have come down to us. One Johann Janicke, a stroller, complained to the authorities of Nürnberg of the blows and evil treatment he had received at Jolly's hands.<sup>9</sup> From Dresden came a complaint by letter that Jolly had left debts behind him there.<sup>10</sup> In 1655 he struck and wounded one of his leading actors, Christoph Blümels, who thereupon sued him for damages.<sup>11</sup> Two years later, this same Blümels was committed to jail for having seduced an innkeeper's daughter; but he was soon released with no more than a caution, because Jolly could not act his 'excellent comedies' without him!<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Herz, Karte v.

<sup>7</sup> E. Mentzel, in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1896, p. 185n.

<sup>8</sup> Cohn, in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XXI, 272.

<sup>9</sup> Theodor Hampe, *Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg*, (1900), 284.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 281, 282.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Beside a quick temper and a ready fist, Jolly had a rude tongue, which could be very smooth, however, when it was necessary to propitiate a town council.<sup>13</sup>

The year 1651 was an unlucky year for Jolly. Bringing his company up to Frankfort in August for the Fair, he found to his dismay another troupe already installed there. He learned that his rivals were the Court Players of the late Prince of Orange; and that they were prepared to present 'new and delightful histories, comedies, tragedies, and pastorals, embellished with lovely music and voices and many wonderful changes of scene, all according to the elegant French manner.'<sup>14</sup> This was the first taste that the honest burghers of Frankfort had had of 'pastorals'—that is, plays with music and movable scenery. Nothing daunted, however, Jolly set up his show; but as he was still acting without scenes, on the old style of stage, it is no wonder that the extraordinary splendor of the Netherlandish company drew away all the public from Jolly's tennis-court theatre at the Krachbein Inn. The unfortunate manager could neither pay the theatre-tax for the poor, nor satisfy mine host of the Krachbein. He was forced to pawn all the best costumes and properties of his company to the value of 1000 thalers, and to creep out of Frankfort with only the barest necessities.

By the next year, however, he returned to the same city, having gathered a new company, composed largely of Germans, and advertised as 'hochteutschen Personen.' While he had not yet recouped his losses, he had evidently learned a lesson. He now knew that the popular taste was turning toward the music, decorations, and machines of the Italian opera, and he had made up his mind to fill and even to anticipate the demand. Already in May, 1653, he had developed such an up-to-date company that he was able to perform with success before His Imperial Majesty in Vienna; and in 1654, we find that he had surpassed his old rivals the Netherlanders by including actresses in his company. In a letter to the Council of Basle, he now offers to delight all who love plays 'with his well-practised company, not only by means of good instructive stories, but also with repeated changes of expensive costumes, and a theatre

<sup>13</sup> E. Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfort* (1882), p. 79.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

decorated in the Italian manner, with beautiful English music and skilful women.'<sup>16</sup> For some unknown reason, Basle refused his offer, and Jolly returned to his old quarters in Frankfort.

According to Frau Mentzel<sup>16</sup> (the historian of the theatre in Frankfort), George Jolly 'is an important personality in the history of the Frankfort stage, for he first brought women upon the boards.' For English theatrical history, Jolly is even more important: since his development of music, scenery, and the use of actresses preceded Davenant's opera by several years. Jolly is in reality the first English producer to use the modern stage.

With all the new improvements, Jolly's theatre in the Frankfort tennis-court prospered. He made so much money in 1654 that he proposed to erect a theatre of his own. To the end of making it over into a theatre, he hired 'The Golden Rose' Tavern in the Karpfengasse; but the project was halted by an immediate revolt of the whole neighborhood. Angry citizens objected to having their houses threatened with fire by 'such low fellows who go about with tobacco and drink.'

After a short absence in the winter, Jolly's company returned to Frankfort in 1655 to stay for the whole year. We come now to a most interesting and gratifying confirmation of Mr. W. J. Lawrence's guess<sup>17</sup> that George Jolly made the acquaintance of Charles II on the Continent.

In September, 1655, a small royal party had resolved to go on a lark. 'Next week,' wrote Secretary Nicholas from Cologne on September 17, 'the King, Duke of Gloucester, Princess Royal, and Lady Stanhope are going incognito to Frankfort Fair; a strange journey, all things considered, but young princes think of nothing but pleasure.'<sup>18</sup> The plan was carried out, and on September 25 the Duke of Ormonde reported to Nicholas from Frankfort: 'wee arriued here last night. . . . We haue allready seene the Jews sinagogue, the Faire, and a play, and tomorrow we shall bee at a Lutheran service.'<sup>19</sup> It was impossible, of course, to maintain

<sup>16</sup> Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, 1865, p. cii.

<sup>17</sup> *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1896, p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> 'A Forgotten Restoration Playhouse' (*Englische Studien*, Band 35, p. 282).

<sup>19</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655, p. 325.

<sup>20</sup> *Nicholas Papers* (Camden Society), III, 60.

the incognito long. The royal party met the Elector of Mainz, and were publicly honored by the town of Frankfort. *Mercurius Politicus*,<sup>20</sup> the Parliament newsbook, says: ‘At their departure the Souldiers were in arms, and gave them two Vollies of shot, and some Canon was fired from the walls. I find not that their conversation here hath *made them commendable to any so much as to the English Stage-players, who stile themselves to be his.*’ (Italics mine.)

From the above outlines it is not difficult to picture what happened to the young princes who thought ‘of nothing but pleasure.’ They came, as private citizens, to the Fair, and witnessed a performance by the only actors in town (i. e. George Jolly’s company) at the Krachbein tennis-court. Being on a lark, the princes undoubtedly condescended to strike up an acquaintance with their fellow-countrymen the English players. Perhaps Charles even put up at the Krachbein Inn: for its name today is no longer ‘am Krachbein,’ but ‘König von England.’<sup>21</sup> As soon as Jolly and his company learned the identity of their new friends, they promptly styled themselves ‘The King’s Servant’s,’ and doubtless gave them several performances *de luxe*. It is highly probable that one of the plays given before the exiled Stuart was *Ermordete Majestät, oder Carolus Stuardus, König von Grossbritannien*: a tragedy or ‘trauerspiel’ by Andreas Gryphius.<sup>22</sup> With the combined paraphernalia of ancient and modern tragedy, chorus, strophe, antistrophe, ghosts, and allegorical figures, this play sets forth the terrible end of Charles I. It begins with an ominous dialogue between the ghosts of Strafford and Laud, and ends, after the execution, with a blood-curdling imprecation on guilty Albion by the figure of Revenge. We know that this tragedy was presented in the following March (1656) at a town near Frankfort, by ‘foreign comedians.’<sup>23</sup> In all likelihood, these were Jolly’s actors, which frequently ‘did’ the towns in the neighborhood of Frankfort.

It is no wonder, then, after being fêted by the highly-skilled

<sup>20</sup> October 11-18, 1655. Brit. Mus. E 489. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Mentzel, *Geschichte*, p. 75.

<sup>22</sup> *Dramatische Dichtungen von Andreas Gryphius*, ed. Julius Tittmann, Leipzig, 1870.

<sup>23</sup> *Archiv für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Ober-Main-Kreises*, I, Part 1, p. 74.

English actor-manager in Frankfort, that Charles II, when he came to the throne in 1660, should have been kindly disposed towards George Jolly. But not to anticipate our story, we must see what befell the stroller in the five years remaining before the Restoration.

Frau Mentzel<sup>24</sup> has traced this part of Jolly's stormy life in great detail. Just before the Easter Fair, 1656, Hoffmann and Schwartz, two of his chief actors, deserted him and formed a company of their own. Hiring the Krachbein tennis-court in September for their own use, they forced Jolly to find a poor place, where he could not properly act, and where he got barely enough to keep him alive. In the following winter the seceding actors and their company were employed at the Heidelberg court of Elector Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz; but when the spring came, Jolly took revenge upon them by hiring the Krachbein tennis-court first. The Hoffmann-Schwartz troupe, being obliged to set up their theatre in the unwieldy Pfuhlhof, and being hampered by the illness of their best actress, Schwartz's wife, did very poor business.

They were resolved to turn the tables on Jolly for the autumn Fair, however, and on July 14 ensconced themselves in the Krachbein two days before the Englishman appeared in town. Jolly was put to it to find a place to act. No one would rent him a suitable house, and at length he was reduced to building a temporary shed out of boards. Meanwhile, the other actors had been ejected from the tennis-court. They began to use a house called the Nürnberger Hof; but, driven from there, they tried to follow Jolly's example and build a temple to Thalia out of pine boards. The citizens of the neighborhood, however, protested against 'such a wicked and dangerous design,' and the Hoffmann-Schwartz band found itself again in the huge Pfuhlhof.

Between the two companies there now developed a bitter feud. They undercut each other's prices, printed uncomplimentary bills about each other's performances, and when their opposing members met by chance in taverns, they fell into fierce brawls. By September 29, 1657, the rivalry reached a crisis. Each company, hoping to obtain a longer permission to act in Frankfort, and as if to settle once for all the question as to which company the authorities

<sup>24</sup> *Geschichte*, pp. 78-89.

favored, invited the Elders of the town to attend a free performance. The performances at the two houses were set for the same day, from three to six in the afternoon. The authorities, however, cleverly evaded the invidious position of dramatic judge by accepting *both* invitations, and by informing the two companies that on a certain day both would have to cease their performances.

This order had a prompt effect. Jolly and the Hoffmann-Schwartz combination immediately announced that they had sunk their differences and had joined together; and that now they looked forward in their new unity to presenting ‘something gallant and renowned.’ But alas for good intentions! There was a certain difficulty about Jolly’s temper: for shortly after the first united performance, the leaders of the two companies fell into another quarrel which spread into a general fight between the devoted followers. The old enmity was back with a vengeance, and the Councillor now prohibited both companies from playing.

The Hoffmann-Schwartz company left town at once; but Jolly was not able to go, and begged an opportunity to earn money for his ailing wife, for whom, he said, he had to employ two physicians every day. It does not look as though Jolly deserved much mercy, but his appeal touched the apparently hard-hearted Councillor, who not only granted Jolly permission to act twice or thrice a week for a certain time, but also accepted him as an ‘inhabitant,’ thus allowing him to remain in Frankfort over the winter.

The next year, 1658, saw the coronation of Emperor Leopold I at Frankfort; and so great was the confluence of people to that city that Jolly was enabled not only to pay his debts but also to re-establish his company in its former magnificence, and to plan a theatrical visit to Vienna. In the course of 1658, however, Jolly’s relations with his old companions Hoffmann and Schwartz underwent several vicissitudes. Elector Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz, who knew Jolly very well, and had employed Hoffmann and Schwartz’s company at his court at Heidelberg, gives us some interesting facts in his letters. In May, 1658, the Elector says that the two companies had reunited; for he saw their combined performance of *The Prodigal Son* at Frankfort, where he had come for the coronation. At the same time he gives his opinion of the bad lighting of the tennis-court at the Krachbein. It was so dark that he could see the actors, but could make out none of the other people in the

hall. In spite of this drawback, however, the performances of 'Master George,' as he calls Jolly (using the English words), were very well attended by the nobility.

The companies acted together for nearly two months; but in July they had split again. The Elector puts the blame on Jolly's temper. 'Sein colera,' he says, drove even the actresses from him, and left him with only eight players. Forced out of the tennis-court theatre, Master George was reduced to wretched straits. He was obliged to humble himself to make peace with all his former associates before the group could carry out the plan which they had made to play in Vienna. When he had done this to their satisfaction, they all set off together. Upon the travelling actors' arrival at their destination, however, we learn that their performances shocked the Viennese, who complained that their comedies were 'spiced with the most scandalous obscenities.'

Here we lose track of Jolly, and the last records of his activities in Germany come from Nürnberg, where he held the stage during May and June, 1659. He was twice refused permission to act here, in September and October, but was successful in his petition of November 14. In the baptismal books of St. Sebald, Nürnberg, appears the following entry:

29. Dez. 1659: *Georgius Jeliphus von Chelse in Midlsex bey London ein Comoediant. Maria di Roy von Utrecht in Holland.*

The name of the child follows. (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLVI (1910), p. 128.)

On January 31, 1660, Jolly was expelled from the town because of a passionate quarrel. So Master George ended his theatrical career in Germany—going out in a warm red mist of fiery temper.

\* \* \* \* \*

A few months later the Restoration was in sight in England, and Jolly made up his mind to return to his own country, which he had left twelve years before, and take part in the revival of the drama.

## II

Shortly after Charles II came to the throne, George Jolly landed in England, where he was destined to play an important rôle in the history of the early Restoration stage. Just how important his

part was has never been clearly ascertained. The deep research and keen thinking of Mr. W. J. Lawrence have put before us all that has hitherto been known about Master George's life in England, and all that could properly be surmised on the basis of the obtainable evidence. These results Mr. Lawrence has embodied in two important papers: 'A Forgotten Restoration Playhouse'<sup>25</sup> (1904), and 'Restoration Stage Nurseries'<sup>26</sup> (1914).

A close search, however, among the manuscripts of the British Museum has enabled me to uncover new facts which greatly increase our knowledge of George Jolly, and which necessitate a new interpretation of the old evidence. Before introducing the new documents in their proper places, it is desirable to survey the theatrical situation at the time of Jolly's arrival in London.

Davenant and Killigrew, on August 21, 1660, had obtained a joint grant for two companies, which gave them (on paper) a monopoly of the stage in London. Though it was some time before their monopoly became real, they made use of their grant to select two companies from among those who were acting in London. Killigrew made up his company from the actors who were using the Red Bull, and later moved them into Gibbons's Tennis Court, which thereupon became the first Theatre Royal. This was in November, 1660; and on the 5th of the same month, Rhodes's old company, of which Betterton was the leading actor, entered into articles with Sir William Davenant, left the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and went to act under the knight's direction in the Salisbury Court, which was owned and newly fitted up by William Beeston. Beeston, who had been Governor of the King's and Queen's Boys in 1639, now probably returned (bringing a company of actors) to the Cockpit, vacated by Betterton and company.

At this point, that is, some time in November, 1660, George Jolly appeared upon the scene, and desired to take up his profession. In his petition to Charles II for a license to act, he undoubtedly reminded him of the royal entertainment which he had given to the exiled Stuart at Frankfort Fair in 1655. Now, although we have seen that the Davenant-Killigrew grant prohibited all other theatres, Charles had been so eager to have Italian opera, with its

<sup>25</sup> *Englische Studien*, XXXV, 279.

<sup>26</sup> *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1914, p. 301.

scenery and music, in London, that on October 22, 1660, (about a month before Jolly's appearance) he had issued a grant to Giulio Gentileschi 'to build a theatre for an Italian band of Musicians whom he is bringing into England.'<sup>27</sup> Nothing, however, was done by the Italian on this permission; the great difficulty, of course, was the expense of the undertaking.

Davenant was beginning to make his preparations for opera at Lisle's Tennis Court in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but he was by no means ready to put on productions as yet. When Jolly arrived and asked for permission to give performances, Charles no doubt remembered the delightful plays with music, actresses, and scenes, 'in the Italian manner,' which he had seen Master George present in Frankfort; and in the hope that he might do the like in London, the King issued to Jolly the following grant, dated December 24, 1660: <sup>28</sup>

Charles R

.... Whereas we have thought fitt to allow .... publique Presentations of Tragedies and Comedies .... ; and being well informed of the art and skill of George Jolly Gentleman for the purpose aforesaid, doe hereby grant .... unto the said George Jolly full power and authority to erect one company .... and to purchase, build or hire .... One House or Theatre with all convenient Roomes .... and in regard of the extraordinary Licentiousness that has bin lately used in things of this nature, Our pleasure is that you doe not at any time hereafter cause to be acted or represented any Play, Enterlude or Opera containing any matter of profanation, scurrility or obscenity, and this our Grant and Authority made to the said George Jolly shall be effectual notwithstanding any former grant made by us to our trusty and well beloved Servant Thomas Killigrew Esqre and Sir William Davenant Knt. or any other person or persons whatsoever to the contrary Given under our Signet at the Court at Whitehall the 24th day of December 1660 in the 12th yeare of our Reigne

By his Majesties command  
Edw. Nicholas

In regard to this license, of which he had evidently not seen the original, Mr. Lawrence says, 'It is a moot point whether this license gave Jolly permission to build a new theatre.'<sup>29</sup> The original document here given leaves no doubt upon this point. Mr.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1660-1661*, p. 319.

<sup>28</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II*, xxiv, p. 37. Public Record Office.  
<sup>29</sup> *Studien*, p. 284.

Lawrence, indeed, might have settled the question from another source by examining more closely the grant made in 1664 to William Legge,<sup>30</sup> which he himself reprinted.<sup>31</sup> Legge's patent recites the terms of the grant to Jolly: ' . . . to purchase, build, or hyre, att his cost and charges, one house or theatre.'

On the strength of his new patent, Master George either collected a new company of actors and hired the Cockpit from Beeston, or entered into some arrangement with Beeston and his actors whereby Jolly should take charge of the company and pay Beeston for the use of the theatre. Beeston, who had no authority to act plays, may very well have been glad to sub-let his company to Jolly, in order to bring it within the law. We may surmise, at any rate, that some agreement had taken place, and some disagreement also, for on November 13<sup>th</sup> 1661, an order was issued from the Lord Chamberlain's office, commanding George Jolly and his actors at the Cockpit to cease performing until they had settled their differences with Beeston.<sup>32</sup>

Jolly's company probably used the Cockpit at least for part of the time from 1661 until December, 1662. The evidence for this statement is the above-mentioned order, and a note in the memorandum book of Dr. Edward Browne.<sup>33</sup> This book records the plays which Browne saw at the various theatres in London, probably at the end of 1662. By 1662, Davenant's and Killigrew's tennis-court playhouses in Lincoln's Inn Fields were in full career. Opposite his entry of *Beggar's Bush*, seen at Killigrew's 'new Theatre in Lincolnes Inne fields,' Dr. Browne notes in the margin, 'Kings players'; and, lower, opposite the *Alchymist*, he writes the abbreviation 'K. P.' Now it seems that Killigrew's company (the King's Players) about this time, performed also at the 'Cock Pit in Drewry Lane'; for opposite the *Silent Woman*, seen at the latter playhouse, he notes likewise, 'K. P.' Farther down the same list, however, we come upon the important entry which undoubtedly refers to Jolly's company at the same theatre:

*Dr. Fostus . . . . Licens: Players*

This epithet 'licensed' serves to distinguish this company from

<sup>30</sup> Printed in the *Shakespeare Society Papers*, III (1847), 163.

<sup>31</sup> *Archiv*, p. 302.

<sup>32</sup> Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, p. 62. I have not seen this order.

<sup>33</sup> Brit. Mus. ms. Sloane, 1900.

Killigrew's (King's) players, and from Davenant's players at the Duke's theatre. Besides these two companies, *Jolly's were the only 'licensed players' in London.*

In January, 1663, Jolly received a license from Sir Henry Herbert to raise a strolling company to act plays in the country. From this fact, Mr. Lawrence surmises that Killigrew, as yet unsuccessful in his efforts to have Jolly's license utterly revoked, was obliged to agree to letting him have this partial license as a compromise. The fact of the matter was quite different. Killigrew and Davenant had rented Jolly's license from him for four pounds a week; and now, when he had left London to act in the country, they took advantage of his absence to try to cheat him of his rights by misrepresenting the state of affairs to the King. The steps of their chicanery can best be traced from the beginning by a careful reading of the following documents.

The first of these new documents is an agreement, made on December 30, 1662, between Jolly of the one part and Killigrew and Davenant of the other, by which it is agreed that

1. Davenant and Killigrew, in return for the use of Jolly's patent, shall pay Jolly four pounds a week during his life, beginning December 27, 1662.
2. When Davenant and Killigrew shall set up a company by virtue of Jolly's patent, the four pounds a week is to continue except when the said company is prohibited from acting by reason of the plague.
3. If Davenant and Killigrew shall fail to pay Jolly the weekly stipend of four pounds, within ten days after such failure, they shall deliver to him his patent.

To make this agreement the firmer, Jolly obliged Davenant and Killigrew to enter into a bond of two thousand pounds to hold to its conditions.

It is worth while to append the complete text of the document,<sup>34</sup> and the important parts of the bond:

ARTICLES of Agreement had made concluded Betweene George Jolly of London gent of the one part, Thomas Killigrew Esqr, one of the Groomes of his majesties Bedchamber And Sir William Davenant of London Knight, are as doe followe:

WHEREAS his sacred Majestie by his Royall Grant or Warrant under his his (*sic*) privy Signet . . . at Whitehall the Twenty fourth day of December in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand Six hundred & Sixty did give and grant unto the said George Jolly ffull power & authorety to

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<sup>34</sup> British Museum, Additional Charters, 9297.

Erect a company of players for the representation of Tragedyes Comedyes Playes Operas & ffarces in such manner as by the same may appeare And the said George Jolly did for som tyme exercise the Authority thereby Given And now it is Agreed between the partyes before mentioned in this manner that is to say

FFirst the said George Jolly hath actually delivered the said Warrant or Grant to the said Thomas Killigrew & Sir William Davenant And doth hereby Acquitt all pretences to the same And is contented & willing, That the said Thomas Killigrew & Sir William Davenant, them or either of them shall make use thereof for their or eyther of theire owne purposes and for their or eyther of theire owne benefitts, as they or eyther or them shall think fitt order and Agree.

*Then* the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant in consideration hereof doe for them and eyther of them, their & eyther of their heires executors administrators & Assigneis covenant promise & Agree to and with the said George Jolly & his Assigneis to pay unto the said George Jolly & his Assigneis during the natural life of the said George Jolly the summe of fower pounds of lawfull money

(sic) weekly during the Tearme aforesaid The first payment thereof to begin upon Satterday the Seaven and Twentieth of this month Decembe . . . . thenceforth to be contynued from Satterday to Satterday in every week weekly & successively ontill the said Thomas Killegrew & Sir William Davenant them or eyther of them shall Erect a Company of players by vertue of the said Warrant or Grant And after the said Company Erected Itt is Agreed that the said payment of the sume aforesaid shall bee contynued & paid upon every Satterday ensuinge in every week weekly & successively durante the tearme aforesaid unles by reason of publique prohibition in tyme of plague or pestilence, the said company or those that are to succeed them shall not play. And during such prohibition in such time of plague or pestilence as aforesaid the said payments are to cease, and noe longer. And upon their new Acting or playinge, the said payments are to be revived & contynued in such a manner & forme, & for such time & tearme as in this present Article Aforementioned & expressed

*Lastly* the said Thomas Killigrew & Sir William Davenant doe for them and eyther of them, their or either of their heires executors administrators & assignes covenant, grant & Agree to and with the said George Jolly & his Assigneis, That in case if any default shall happen to bee by the said Thomas Killegrew & Sir William Davenant, them or eyther of them, their or eyther of heir heires executors administratotrs or assignes of the summe or summes aforesaid at such time & times of payment as the same are hereby lymited & appointed That then within tenn daies after such default by Thomas Killegrew & Sir William Davenant, them or eyther of them their or either of their executors administrators or assignes shall deliver & yeild upp unto the said George Jolly or his assignes the aforesaid warrant or Grant Acquitting all future pretences to the same being contented & willinge, that the aforesaid George Jolly or his Assigneis shall make use

thereof for his or theire owne purposes and for his or their owne benefitt as hee or they shall think fitt and Determine. *In Witnes* whereof the parties first above named to theis present Articles of Agreement have set their hands & Seales this Thirtieth Day of December in the fflowerteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the second by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland king Defender of the faith etc. And in the yeare of our Lord God According to the Computation of the Church of England One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty and Two.

(Endorsed:)

(signed) georg jolly

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

(signed) John Caven(?)

Joh Wrightinton at Grayes Inn

(below:) 30 Decimber: 14: Char. 2d 1662./

Mr. Jollyes Articles of Agreement with Tom. Killigrew Esq & Sir William Davenant about his Grant from the King concerning players.

Second membrane:

Now int omnsi psentes Nos Thoma Killegrew . . . Valett Cubicili Dm Regis et Willium Davenant de London mil. . . teneri et firmiter obligari Georgio Jolly de London gen in Duabus mille Libris bone et legalis monet Angl . . . etc.

Dec. 30, 1662.

Sigillat et delibat in prta

(signed) John Craven  
Joh Wrightinton

(signed) Tho Killegreue  
Will D'avenant

—  
dors:

The Condition of the within written obligation is such that if the within bounden Thomas Killegrew & Sir William Davenant, or eyther of them, their or either of their heires executors Administrators and Assigneis doe & shall well & truly observe fulfull & keepe All & singuler the Covenants Grants Articles, Clauses payments & Agreements, contayned specifyed or declared in certein Articles of Agreement bearing the date within, made betweene the within-named George Jolly of the one part And the said Thomas Killegrew & Sir William Davenant, their heires, executors, administrators & assignes, are to be observed done paid performed fulfilled & kept, & that in & by all things according to the purport effect bearing intent & meaning of the said Articles Then the within written obligations to be frustrate voyd & of none effect, or els the sume to remayne & contynue, in full force & vertue. . . .

vera Copia

Two days after this instrument was executed, the Master of the Revels issued (January 1, 1663) letters of authorization to Jolly

'to raise a company of Stage players or less to act Comedies &c throughout England with exception onely to the Cities of London and Westm: and the suburbs of each respective city.'<sup>35</sup> And on January 29, as if the above were not authority enough, the King granted permission to Jolly to act plays in the country, reinforcing his grant with instructions 'to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the peace, Bayliffs, Constables, and head boroughs' to assist and protect the said George Jolly in exercising his profession.<sup>36</sup>

We come now to the carrying out of the dishonorable plan which Killigrew and Davenant had concocted. Having obtained possession of Jolly's patent, they waited until Master George had departed from London. Then, instead of raising a company on the strength of Jolly's patent, as agreed, on July 23, 1663 they approached the King with the patent, and represented that they had *bought* it from Jolly outright. Therefore they asked that now, by virtue of Jolly's grant, they might have another license made out in their own names, declaring their complete monopoly of the theatres in London, and giving them permission to erect a third playhouse, in addition to the two they were already allowed. It was understood that this new playhouse was to be a Nursery for training actors for the two regular theatres.

This petition was favorably received by the King, who believed that what they said was true; and thereupon a warrant for the new license was drafted, and Jolly's patent was declared revoked.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to notice that the warrant only was issued at this time. The *license* or *patent* which carried out the terms of the warrant did not pass the privy seal until eight months later.<sup>38</sup> In the meantime, Davenant and Killigrew had made an arrangement with Colonel William Legge, a Groom of the King's Bedchamber, by which the patent should be made out in his name with an inserted clause giving Davenant and Killigrew supervision and control of the Nursery company. In other words, Legge should be a lay-figure, or sleeping partner, while the actual leader of the Nursery was to be an employee of Killigrew and Davenant.

<sup>35</sup> Public Record Office. *State Papers, Domestic, Entry Book XLVIII*, 6a.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid., Entry Book IX*, 247.

<sup>37</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1663-1664*, 214.

<sup>38</sup> If any license or grant had been issued in July, 1663, its terms would have been recited in the Nursery patent to Legge in March, 1664. The omission of any mention of a July grant proves that it did not exist.

With this plan in mind, the astute managers petitioned the King to make William Legge the nominal patentee, rather than themselves.

Accordingly the patent was issued on March 30, 1664. In referring to it, Mr. Lawrence says<sup>39</sup> that, as part of its preamble, this document recites 'the revocation of Jolly's patent.' This is hardly accurate. It does mention Jolly's patent; not as revoked, however, but as having been given up to Davenant and Killigrew by the agreement of December 30, 1662, 'with the full use and benefit thereof.' Here the trickery is manifest: the reader is intended to suppose that Jolly had given up all his rights, and that the new (Legge) patent was to supersede the old one. Furthermore, it is evident that the new authority was obtained by misrepresentation; for the document, after reciting the terms of Jolly's license, adds, that of this 'said warrant the said George Jolly had made noe use.' This is a lie, inserted probably by Killigrew. The articles of agreement of December 30 expressly said that Jolly 'did for som tyme exercise the Authority thereby Given'; and the Lord Chamberlain's order, already mentioned,<sup>40</sup> commanding Jolly and his company to cease acting for a time, is proof sufficient that Jolly had made use of his license.

At this point it is necessary to bring forth evidence to prove the charge of dishonest dealing on the part of Davenant and Killigrew. This is now at hand in a circumstantial complaint made much later by George Jolly, which categorically recites his grievances. Needless to say, this document, which throws so much new light, has been unnoticed by historians of the stage. Written in the nervous language of the choleric Master George, it tells its own story:

Whereas by a warrant Granted unto George Jolly Confirmed by his Sacred Majesty's hand and Privy Signett, the said George Jolly had full Power and Authority to Erect a Play house and Company of Actors, which ffor some Time he did Excercise. Now upon an Agreemnt made betweene Mr Tho: Killegrew Sr William Davenant, and the said George Jolly the aforesaid warrant was Rented ffor 4 Pounds a week, and upon the non-payment of the said 4 Pounds a week the said warrant to be Resigned into the hands of the aforesaid George Jolly againe: they the said Tho: Killegrew and Sr William Davenant quitting all flormer Pretences to

<sup>39</sup> *Archiv*, p. 302.

<sup>40</sup> Above, p. 433.

the same Agreeing that he the said George Jolly should make use of itt ffor his owne Benefitt and Purpose as he should see fitt. In the meane time Mr Killegrew and Sir William Davenant unknown to the said George Jolly goe privately to his Majesty affirming that they had bought the Warrant and desire his Majesty to give them a Pattent out of itt which his Sacred Majesty (believing it was as they said granted them) The said George Jolly according to Covenants went to demand his Money. They answerd that they coud pay it no longer but according to Covenant he must take the Warrant againe and make use of it as he did fformerly which Accordinly the said George Jolly did, and after he had raisd a Company by Vertue of that warrant Mr Killegrew goes to my Lord Chamberlaine and gets a warrant ffor the said George Jolly to Lay him by the Heeles if he durst Proceed any further, saying they had a Patent and the Warrant was no Longer Significant Whereas they were bound in a Bond of two thousand Pounds if they did not pay the said George Jolly according to Agreements to Lett him Proceed without Interruption. Whereupon he the said George Jolly threatened to Complain to the King and Privy Councell of theire unjust Dealings, They fearing that, profferd the said George Jolly if hee woud raise a Company, build and Provide all necessaryes as a Deputie under them, he and his Actors should enjoy two thirds and they one third to themselves To which the said George Jolly being necessitated (not at all quitting his firt pretence) was fforst to Agree too \_\_\_\_\_

Articles being drawn it was Agreed that the said George Jolly shoud enjoy this Power ffor his Natural Life, and in Case they shoud take it from him (giving him a Months Warning) then to allow him Six and eight pence a Day every Day the Nursery shoud Play. — Now Mr Killigrew since he hath beene Mr of the Revells has taken quite away all ffrom the said George Jolly, and denyes to Pay him the Money due by Covenant, notwithstanding my Lady Davenants Concern in the Pattent, togeather with the Interest of the said George Jolly comes to more than Mr. Killigrews halfe, yett he still unjustly opposes the said George Jolly to the Ruine of himselfe his wife & Children.

My Lady Davenant has wrott in the behalfe of the said George Jolly 3 or 4 Letters pleading his Cause and Condemning the unjust cruelties of Mr Killegrew who will not suffer him to Play even at this Time when both the theatres Lye still, which were so ffarre ffrom mollifing his Nature that he the said Mr Killigrew has declar'd his Designs are utterly to Ruine the said George Jolly. ——————

And which is worst of all Mr Killegrew has Inform'd his Majesty many untruths of the said George Jolly hoping thereby to Cloak his owne Injustice, and Insure the displeasure of his Sacred Majesty upon the said George Jolly.<sup>a</sup>

Although this extraordinary document is undated, the reference

<sup>a</sup> British Museum, ms. Additional 34,729, fol. 124.

to Lady Davenant's owning the patent shows that it came after Sir William's death in 1668; and the mention of Killigrew as Master of the Revels serves to place it at least after April 27, 1673, when Sir Henry Herbert died and Killigrew succeeded him in office.<sup>42</sup>

There is little doubt that Jolly, in this complaint, was telling the truth. It is a pity, however, that he did not specify more exactly just when the various events he describes took place. We know when Davenant and Killigrew got the Legge patent by means of Jolly's warrant; but we cannot say with any certainty just when they defaulted on the four pounds a week and were forced to return the original patent to Jolly. (It is to be noted that they had kept this grant even after obtaining the Legge patent 'out of' it.)

All these new details make it necessary to outline afresh the story of Jolly's activities on the Restoration stage.

In the first place, we do not know how long Jolly's company remained on the road after it left London early in 1663. Presumably Davenant and Killigrew lived up to their bargain with Jolly until after they had secured the Legge patent at the end of March, 1664. When they then refused to pay, Jolly returned to London, received his patent again at their hands, and set about raising a company. Probably he had begun to act when Killigrew, armed with a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain, tried to 'lay him by the heels.' Jolly, as we know from his history in Germany, was a difficult man to deal with in an altercation, especially when he knew that he had the right on his side. Undoubtedly there was a stormy scene. Jolly raged, threatened to complain to the King of Killigrew's double dealing, and boldly went on giving performances. Only by supposing that he continued successfully to act in defiance of Killigrew can we understand the reference made by Chappuzeau (who visited London about the year 1665) to *three* theatres—the King's, the Duke's, 'et une troisième en Drury Lane qui a grand abord.'<sup>43</sup> This must be Jolly's company at the Cockpit.

The only difficulty is to account for Jolly's activities during the whole year which elapsed from April, 1664 (when they returned his precious paper to him), until the closing of the theatres on account of the plague in May, 1665. The best explanation is that he did not set up his theatre in the Cockpit at once in 1664, and

<sup>42</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI, 114a.

<sup>43</sup> *Europe Vivante*, 1667. Quoted by Lawrence, *Studien*, 279.

was only well under way by the spring of 1665, when the pestilence closed all the playhouses. This preparation would explain his prompt and vigorous opening in the winter of 1666-1667 when the stage was again allowed. One can tell that he began promptly, for the stern order which Killigrew brought to bear on him already in March, 1667, reminds the victim of several earlier orders which he had evidently disregarded:

Whereas, Wee are informed that by virtue of a Patent by Vs granted unto you, you are now presuming to sett up a Play-house notwithstanding that you have been severall times commanded the contrary, Wee have thought fitt hereby to require you forthwith to deliver Your sd Patent into the hand of one of Our Principal Secretaryes of State, there to remaine untill Our further Pleasure in this behalfe, whereof you may not faile as you will answer the contrary. Given Att Whitehall the day of March 1666/7 in the 19th year of our Reigne.

By y his Majesties Command "

To George Jolly

Jolly, however, defied even this peremptory command; and Killigrew was forced to go one step farther. On April 2, 1667, he obtained a royal order, signed by Secretary of State Arlington, which officially revoked Jolly's patent:

. . . Wee have thought fitt to revoke, determine, & annull our sd Grant of the 24 dec to the sd Joly as aforsd, & every part, power, & clause therein contained."

To a casual eye, such a blow as this might seem final. But Jolly was not the man to give up easily. He knew that Killigrew and Davenant had cheated him and deceived the King in obtaining the Legge patent for the Nursery playhouse. If he informed the King of the rights of the matter, an investigation might make the two managers very uncomfortable. At the same time, they were much more powerful than he: if he fought them to a finish, he might lose everything.

The battle, then, had to end in compromise. Jolly had to give up the exercise of his independent rights; but the managers were forced to take him into their employ. As Jolly's complaint says, articles were drawn, by which Jolly was to be deputy under Davenant and Killigrew. He was to raise a Nursery company, provide

" Public Record Office. *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II*, cxcv, 173.

• *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 39.

a theatre, and have charge of the same all his life. In return, he and his young actors (composing the Nursery) were to have two-thirds of the income of the house. In case he were replaced by another manager, he was to receive 6s. 8d. for each day the Nursery played.

This is the most important piece of information yet discovered concerning the history and constitution of the well-known but shadowy Nursery. We now know the terms upon which it was set up; and we know that its manager was the famous George Jolly.

On the basis of the evidence given above, the agreement about the management of the Nursery could not have been reached until after April, 1667. In all likelihood Jolly did not find a suitable place and finish fitting it up as a Nursery Theatre until toward the end of 1667.

This hypothesis would fit perfectly with the facts already known from Pepys. On March 21, 1667, Pepys visited the Duke's theatre and saw 'only the young men and women of the house act.' Further, he says, 'they having liberty to act for there own' profit on Wednesdays and Fridays this Lent.' Notice that Pepys does not mention a 'Nursery.' Evidently these young actors were attached to the Duke's House, and had no separate theatre. But the new theatre was manifestly in existence before 1668; for on January 7, 1668, Pepys relates that he went 'by coach to the Nursery, where I never was yet, and there to meet my wife and Willet as they promised; but the house did not act today.'

This theatre, the first Nursery in London, was (as Mr. Lawrence has pointed out \*) in Hatton Garden. In 1667 Shirley's *Constant Maid* was reprinted 'as acted at the New Playhouse called the Nursery in Hatton Garden.' Furthermore, Thomas's *Life of Joe Haynes* (published 1701) says that Joe began at the Nursery, and 'acted under Captain Bedford whilst the playhouse in Hatton Garden lasted.' Captain Bedford is a mystery; yet since we know that Jolly was in charge of the Nursery, Bedford may for a time have been his deputy.

The Nursery did not remain much more than a year in Hatton Garden. At least before April 23, 1669, it had removed to Gibbons's Tennis Court, Killigrew's old theatre in Vere Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. For on that date Mrs. Samuel Pepys told her

\* *Archiv*, p. 308.

husband that 'she spent all day yesterday with M. Batelier and her sweetheart, and seeing a play at the New Nursery, which is set up at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was formerly the King's house.' How long the Nursery was maintained in its new home, it is impossible to say with certainty. All that we know definitely is that the theatre was converted into a meeting-house in 1676.<sup>47</sup>

From Jolly's complaint it is now evident that he was in charge of the Nursery from its beginning in Hatton Garden, 1667, through its removal in 1668 or 1669 to Vere Street, and at least until 1673, when Killigrew became Master of the Revels.

One cannot say whether Lady Davenant's efforts in Jolly's behalf and Jolly's own appeals had any effect on the hard-hearted Tom Killigrew. Whether the veteran Master George was ultimately ruined, or pensioned in his old age, does not appear.

For the sake of Jolly's reputation for skill and excellence in dramatic production, however, a further word must be said. Why is it, the reader will ask, if Jolly was a proficient manager, that Pepys alludes to the performances of the Nursery only with the greatest contempt? The answer must be that Jolly was hampered by poor material. He had to train novices: and as soon as any pupils of his showed ability, they were taken to fill the ranks of the regular companies. Furthermore, if the King's and Duke's companies were not any too prosperous, what is to be said for the Nursery, which received but two-thirds of its own earnings? It is evident that Davenant and Killigrew made the Nursery contribute to the financial support of their theatres; at the same time, they kept the Nursery so poor both in money and good actors that it could never aspire to any rivalry.

Such an end, that of a wretched underling struggling beneath a rapacious manager, is a sad one for Jolly: for Master George Jolly, the last of the famous English strollers in Germany; the first man to introduce actresses to the stage of Frankfurt-am-Main; the first English manager to develop the operatic form (preceding Davenant by several years); and, finally, the actor who had played 'before the crowned heads of Europe.'

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<sup>47</sup> Joseph Haslewood in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 83, Part 2, (1813), p. 334.

## THE OUTSIDE SHELL OF MILTON'S WORLD

BY ALLAN H. GILBERT

Though Milton was acquainted with the Copernican astronomy and apparently willing to accept it, he yet had no scruple in employing the Ptolemaic system. From his description of the flight upward of the souls that populate the Limbo of Vanities, we learn that when he employed the Ptolemaic spheres he thought of them as ten in number:

They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixt,  
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs  
The trepidation talked, and that first moved.<sup>1</sup>

Milton's ten spheres are, however, not Dante's ten heavens, for to Dante the empyrean heaven is the tenth, while for Milton the empyrean is the heaven of heavens, and quite apart from the universe.<sup>2</sup> If it were not, *Paradise Lost*, like the *Lusiads*,<sup>3</sup> would employ eleven spheres. The empyrean as the last sphere causes the motion of the other orbs of the universe; though itself at rest, it so attracts the *primum mobile* that that sphere, longing to be united with the empyrean, revolves at great speed, and carries along the others. This, the explanation of Dante, seems not to have been necessary to astronomers. Galileo does not mention it in his *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the Universe*, neither does it appear in

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost* 3. 481-3.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper I follow Milton's literal use of the words *universe* and *world*. As Masson realized (Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, in Milton's Works, Globe ed., pp. 33 ff.), the two are synonymous, and refer to what is within man's ken, without reference to chaos, hell, or the empyrean heaven. In describing the creation, the angel Uriel says that of the matter included in the compass of the world much went to the making of the earth and heavenly bodies, and

The rest in circuit walles this Universe (*P. L.* 3. 721).

That is, the remainder of the matter was formed into the hard shell of the world. *Universe* equals *world* also in *P. L.* 3. 584; 5. 154; 7. 227, 257; 8. 360; 9. 684. The following are some of the passages in which *world* is used literally, in the sense of *universe*: *P. L.* 2. 1030, 1052; 3. 74, 419, 494; 7. 62, 231, 269; 9. 153; 10. 318, 322. Note especially 7. 227-31. Milton never falls into the error of making *world* and *earth* synonyms.

<sup>3</sup> Book 10.

Milton's little Ptolemaic handbook, the *De Sphaera* of Johannes de Sacrobosco.<sup>4</sup> Hence Milton's abandonment of the empyrean heaven as the last sphere is not strange.

His empyrean is apart from the visible universe, which is once said to be suspended from it by a golden chain, and again to be connected with it by stairs resembling Jacob's ladder. In his treatise *On Christian Doctrine* he says that it is too bold to affirm "that the invisible and highest heaven was made on the first day, contemporaneously with that heaven which is within our sight," and that "it is improbable that God should have formed to himself such an abode for his majesty only at so recent a period as at the beginning of the world."<sup>5</sup> This opinion, like his assignment of hell to a place beyond the limits of the world, rather than in the centre, has backing in the writings of the Fathers.

Having accepted the opinion that heaven and hell are apart from the world, and having represented the world as an island in chaos, Milton had to find some way of bounding it, lest it be mingled with chaos. Moreover, without limits it would not be harmonious with his walled heaven and hell. Hence Milton gives us the hard outside shell of the universe, on which, as on a gloomy continent, Satan wanders after his journey from hell, and on which the Limbo of Vanities has its place. Within this "first convex" of the "firm opacous globe" are the luminous orbs of the planets and stars; without is the darkness and misrule of chaos.

Some students of Milton identify this outer shell with the last of the poet's ten spheres, the *primum mobile*. Masson writes: "Perhaps only the outermost sphere, or *primum mobile*, enclosing the whole universe . . . had to be thought of as in any sense a material or impenetrable shell."<sup>6</sup> And Verity says that the *primum mobile* "is made of hard matter; but for its crust of substance chaos would break in on the world, and darkness make inroads."<sup>7</sup>

This inference that the outside shell is the *primum mobile*, though natural, is hardly correct. We nowhere get the impression that the outer shell is in motion. The inhabitants of the Limbo

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of this work see *Milton's Textbook of Astronomy* in *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. 38, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> Book 1, chap. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *The Poetical Works of Milton* 2. 38 (London, 1903).

<sup>7</sup> *Paradise Lost*, p. 666 (Cambridge, 1910).

of Vanities in their ascent seem to pass through the *primum mobile* as through the other spheres; indeed, it is not in accord with the Ptolemaic astronomy to make a sphere solid. Milton does not study consistency<sup>8</sup> in his pictures, yet it probably is decisive when he writes that Sin and Death, building their great bridge across chaos, fasten it

to the wall  
Immovable of this now fenceless world.\*

This immovable wall, the outer shell of the world, is not the swift *primum mobile*.

The true explanation seems to be furnished by a passage in the *Hexaëmeron* of Basil the Great. Probably Milton had read it, for in his prose writings he several times quotes from Basil's works, one of these passages being from the *Hexaëmeron*.<sup>10</sup>

In his first Homily Basil explains that the spiritual world, the abode of God and the angels, was created before the visible universe, and before the heaven mentioned in the first verse of Genesis. This is in harmony with *Paradise Lost*, and with Milton's treatise *On Christian Doctrine*.<sup>11</sup> Basil then proceeds to discuss the creation of light, and incidentally the relation to the remainder of the world of the heaven whose creation is related in Genesis:

Reason asks, was darkness created with the world? Is it older than light? Why in spite of its inferiority has it preceded it? Darkness, we reply, did not exist in essence; it is a condition produced in the air by the withdrawal of light. What then is that light which disappeared suddenly from the world, so that darkness should cover the face of the deep? If anything had existed before the formation of this sensible and perishable world, no doubt we conclude it would have been in light. The orders of angels, the heavenly hosts, all intellectual natures named or unnamed, all the ministering spirits, did not live in darkness, but enjoyed a condition fitted for them in light and spiritual joy.

No one will contradict this; least of all he who looks for celestial light as one of the rewards promised to virtue, the light which, as Solomon says, is always a light to the righteous, the light which made the Apostle say, "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." Finally, if the condemned

\* For example, in *Paradise Lost* 7. 263-73 he seems to abandon his outer shell.

<sup>8</sup> *Paradise Lost* 10. 302-3.

<sup>9</sup> Milton, *Commonplace Book*, sect. 55 (Camden Society).

<sup>10</sup> Book 1, chap. 7.

are sent into outer darkness, evidently those who are made worthy of God's approval are at rest in heavenly light. When then, according to the order of God, the heaven appeared, enveloping all that its circumference included, a vast and unbroken body separating outer things from those which it enclosed, it necessarily kept the space inside in darkness for want of communication with the outer light. Three things are, indeed, needed to form a shadow: a light, a body, a dark place. The shadow of heaven forms the darkness of the world. Understand, I pray you, what I mean, by a simple example; by raising for yourself at mid-day a tent of some compact and impenetrable material, and shutting yourself up in it in sudden darkness. Suppose that original darkness was like this, not subsisting directly by itself, but resulting from some external causes.<sup>18</sup>

St. Thomas Aquinas thus renders part of the passage:

It is certain that the heaven was created spherical in shape, of dense body, and sufficiently strong to separate what is outside it from what it encloses.<sup>19</sup>

He explains further that this is the heaven which causes the rapid motion of the *primum mobile*. Hence there is good authority for the empyrean heaven as a firm partition between the world and whatever is outside it.

Milton has adopted this outside shell of the world, yet for him it has ceased to be a heaven. He speaks of the highest heaven, the abode of God, and of the starry heavens, but of the external orbicular heaven of Basil he says nothing. He does not even employ it to keep the *primum mobile* in motion, but makes no effort to explain how the planets are "revolved on heaven's great axle." The purpose of this heaven in Basil is not protective, for apparently he thinks of all the space outside it as filled with divine light. Milton, on the contrary, attributes to the space outside the universe the darkness and confusion of chaos, and his outside shell protects the orderly creation. Such free modification of the original idea was easy for Milton because of his partial or complete abandonment of faith in the older astronomy, and his mythological and allegorical treatment of regions outside the scope of the "glazed optic tube" of Galileo.

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<sup>18</sup> *Hæmeron*, Homily 2, sect. 5, trans. by Bloomfield Jackson, New York, 1895.

<sup>19</sup> *Summa*, Part 1, No. 2, Q. 66, Art. 3 (Dominican trans.).

## NOTES ON WALTER MAP'S *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*

BY JAMES HINTON

In the preface to his excellent edition of *De Nugis Curialium* Dr. James writes: "I have, however, from the first renounced all efforts to compile a full commentary upon the text. I am not equipped with sufficient knowledge of medieval Latin, of history, or of romance and folk-lore to be able to contemplate such an undertaking. I only aspire to put a valuable document into such a condition that experts may be able to use it with ease and confidence."<sup>1</sup> In a review of this edition, Mr. C. C. J. Webb comments upon that decision: "The text is vastly improved; but it is disappointing that Dr. James should not have seen his way to giving us, out of his stores of legendary lore, a fuller commentary upon its contents."<sup>2</sup> We may be permitted, for all our gratitude to Dr. James, to share his reviewer's regret. His edition has indeed rendered more readily accessible to scholars an extremely interesting book and has performed that service so well that no other edition of the text will ever be needed. The very fact, though, that Dr. James' edition is certain to make Map's work more familiar calls for the addition of notes that will elucidate and illustrate the varied material of which it is composed. A translation which is soon to appear will still further enlarge the acquaintance of the book. It is, therefore, fitting that work of annotation be carried on by all who can contribute, each his part, even though one may fall far short of Dr. James' "knowledge of medieval Latin, of history, or of romance and folk-lore." Mr. Webb's review has supplemented Dr. James' comments notably, and Dr. Henry Bradley has contributed a valuable set of notes;<sup>3</sup> these and Liebrecht's notes in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, Vol. v, reprinted in his own volume *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), are the only collections of notes known to me. To these I wish to add a few; my

<sup>1</sup> Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, edited by Montague Rhodes James, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Medieval and Modern Series, Part XIV, Oxford, 1914, p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Review*, XXX, 121-23.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXXII, 393-400.

references are to *distinctio* and chapter of *De Nugis Curialium*, and, in parentheses, to page and line of Dr. James' edition.

I, x (p. 7, l. 12)—“Redimunt suos a dominis *sui*.” Dr. James reads *eu* and, in his footnote, says, “perhaps *serui*, as Wright.” In this instance, I think Wright is correct; the manuscript has a curved line crossing the long *s*, which seems to mark a contraction, and *servi* fits the context. In the same chapter (p. 8, l. 1), we find, “nec metuant ut abbas fieri, cum ipsi in oculis habeant alios † que † duos magnates quos etc.” This I take to mean, just as it stands, “nor do they fear lest they become as the abbot, though they have before their eyes also two magnates who etc.” “*aliosque*” being intended as equivalent to *et alios* or *etiam alios*; or perhaps we should restore *eum* before *aliosque*.

I, xiii (p. 19, l. 4)—The reading of the manuscript, *Belloioco* (Beaujeu) is correct, not *Bellooco* (Beaulieu), as Dr. James and Wright both emend. This emendation of Wright's has led to a persistent error in the history of French literature; the error is trivial, doubtless, but it may as well be corrected. Wright assumed that *Belloioco* was “a mere error of the scribe” and identified Map's hero with a certain Guichard de Beaulieu, author of an “Anglo-Norman” metrical sermon known to Wright in MS. Harl. 4388 and in Jubinal's “imperfect edition” from a Paris ms. Map's text, however, makes it certain that his Guichard was a Burgundian, not an Anglo-Norman: (1) “Cluniaci assumpsit habitum” (p. 19, ll. 5-6) is naturally taken to mean “at Cluny”; “uix impetratus ab abbatte” (p. 19, l. 12) confirms this, since not the abbot of Cluny, but the local prior, would have governed if Guichard had been in an English house, there being only one Cluniac abbot; (3) “eiusdem loci monachus” (p. 19, l. 19; cap. xiv) further confirms the sense, since no place has been mentioned, unless Cluny; (4) later in *De Nugis* (p. 172, ll. 1-2, Dist. iv, cap. vii), when the story of this second monk is retold, we find “monachi Cluniacensis qui cum se ibi . . . reddidisset”; this *ibi* must mean Cluny, and so, by locating the house of the second monk, locates that of Guichard “eiusdem loci”; (5) in the second version (p. 172, l. 8) we read “ab abbatte dimittitur,” which accords with the location at the mother house in Burgundy. Fortified with this evidence, we have no trouble in identifying Map's hero with a person otherwise known to history. Guichard III, sire de Beaujeu, or de Beaujolais, lived only a few miles from Cluny, and, towards the end of his life, entered the monastery of that place and died there in 1137. He was succeeded by his son Humbert II (Map's “Imberto filio suo,” p. 19, l. 12), who throughout his career was closely associated with the monastery, usually as one of its most valiant defenders against the predatory barons of the vicinity. In 1150 the abbot, Peter the Venerable, wrote letters to the grand master of the Templars and to Pope Eugenius, petitioning that Humbert be absolved from his vow to take the cross, because of the sore need of Cluny for his protection. He too entered the monastery shortly before his death in 1174. There is no record, other than Map's, of Gui-

chard's temporary abandonment of the cloister, or of a conflict between Humbert II and his son, Humbert III; and, inasmuch as Humbert II died some seven years before *De Nugis* was begun (cf. my article, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 81-132), Map must be mistaken in his "nunc cum filio suo conflictus est." But there is nothing incredible about the general facts of his story, nothing that might not well be true of the historical characters with whom we make identification. (On Guichard and Humbert, cf. *Art de vérifier les dates des faits historiques*, ed. Saint-Allais, Paris, 1818-44, X, 504-06, and *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., Paris, 1738-1904, XII, 17 n, 705-06, XIV, 397, XV, 25, 102 n, 125 n, 130, 132, 134, 155-56, 397, 650-53, 801.)

It is equally well established that the metrical sermon is, as Wright stated, Anglo-Norman. P. Meyer pointed out that all the four MSS. of the sermon are of English provenience (*Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes français*, XV, 94-96); and Arvid Gabrielsson, who has made a critical edition of the sermon, determined that the language is Anglo-French of the late twelfth century, containing Gallicized English words (A. Gabrielsson, *Le Sermon de Guischart de Beaulieu*, Upsala-Leipzig, 1909; cf. also Gabrielsson in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXXVIII, 309-28).

Despite these facts, Wright's identification has been generally accepted. Victor Le Clerc, in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIII, 250-51, being aware of the Burgundian baron, as Wright was not, keeps the identification and emends the sermonizer's name to "Beaujeu." Gaston Paris, in his *Littérature français au moyen âge* (5 ed., revised by P. Meyer Paris, 1914, p. 248), follows Le Clerc. Grüber, in his *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (2 ed., II, i, 481), curiously adheres to the name Beaujeu while he declares that the poet died at Cluny in 1137. Meyer refused Wright's identification, apparently without effect, since his article cited above appeared in 1189, long before the statements of Paris and Grüber; in editing Paris, Meyer does not correct the misstatement, though he refers to his own article, without indicating its content. The issue, however, is plain: Map's "laicorum Homerus" was a Burgundian, and the author of the extant metrical sermon was Anglo-French; it is impossible that they should be the same.

I, XXII (pp. 33-34)—This story of the sheikh of the Assassins is told by William of Tyre (*Belli Sacri Historia*, Basle, 1549, pp. 510-11, cap. XXXI, XXXII) and by Jacques de Vitry (*Historia Orientalis*, Douay, 1597, pp. 40-44, cap. XIV). Map's "senex" is one of the conventional translations of the Arabic "sheikh" (Silvestre de Sacy, *Histoire des Assassins*, translated from von Hammer-Pürgstall, p. 344); other writers translate the word by "vetus" or "vetulus." Thus the leader of the sect of Assassins, "sheikh al djebal," became familiar as "vetulus de monte," or "the old man of the mountain." The misapprehension was not universal, as Wright declares; Jacques de Vitry expressly says that the title was given "non tam

proiecte aetatis ratione quam prudentie et dignitatis praeminentia," and William of Tyre more obscurely suggests the same. The name of the sect seems to have been derived from the drug hashish, which was probably the means by which the "fedawi," or "consecrated," were induced into the frame of mind to commit the reckless murders for which they were noted; Map's etymology, "quasi [qui] sub axe concessis," is on a par with his derivations of "evangelium" (p. 216, ll. 6-9). The story as he gives it agrees essentially with the accounts of the oriental historians, except that the King was not really inactive, but, as William of Tyre makes clear, would probably have brought the Christian murderers to punishment but for his early death in the midst of the crisis.

I, xxv (p. 52, l. 1)—Could "lege deperiit aque," which puzzles Dr. James, refer to the ordeal by water?

I, xxix (p. 56, l. 22)—*Ruttas* should be printed *ruttas*. The word is explanatory of *turmis*, not the proper name of the sect; it means "rout." Cf. Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi*, Rolls Series, II, 49; "Rex Franciae inde duxit ruttam Braebancenorum Teutonicam"; and Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum* (ed. Strange, Coloniae, 1851), lib. II, cap. ii: "praedonibus, quorum multitudo rutta vocatur," and lib. XI, cap. liii: "multitudini praedonum, quae rutta vulgo dicitur, se associant." In Dr. James' index of proper names, *Ruttae* should be deleted.

II, xii (p. 77, ll. 8-23)—After his tale of Edric Wilde and his fairy wife, Map relates how Edric's son, Alnoð (Alnodus), being afflicted with palsy, was miraculously cured at the shrine of Saint Ethelbert in the cathedral of Hereford, and how he gave to that church "Ledebiriam suam, que in terris Uualie sita est" (p. 77, l. 20). The place is more fully named "Ledeburie borealis," p. 75, l. 11, and "Ledebiria borealis," p. 176, l. 8, where the story of the donation is repeated. In this second account Map adds, "quam adhuc eiusdem loci pontifex tenet in pace, sextus ut dicitur ab eo qui eam de manu Alnodi suscepit." Dr. James (p. xxvi) includes this reference to the contemporary "sixth bishop of Hereford" since the donation of Ledeburia borealis to the church of Hereford among his "notes of time" in Map's book; the reference will not, however, afford any reliable information on time, since Map is in error as to the facts, as the following will make evident.

Freeman assembled in an appendix to his *Norman Conquest* the contemporary references to Edric (*Norman Conquest*, 1871, iv, 738-40). Ordericus Vitalis lists Edric among those who submitted to the Conqueror at Barking (Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, Paris, 1619, p. 506), but he is doubtless wrong, for we find Edric in the same year (1067) in active revolt in the Welsh marches (*Florentii Wigornensis Chronicum*, ed. Thorpe, Eng. Hist Soc. Publ., II, 1-2). In 1069 he took part in the siege of the Norman garrison of Shrewsbury (Ordericus in Duchesne, p. 514). In 1070 he made peace with the king (*Florence, op.*

*cit.*, II, 7), and in 1072 accompanied him on his expedition to Scotland (*Florence, op. cit.*, II, 9). Thereafter, he is mentioned no more, but drops out of history.

In *Domesday*, among the tenants *tempore Regis Edwardi*, "Edric Salvage" is found four times, the word "salvage" being written, in each instance, in small letters above the line; of course, it is possible that some of the other Edrics listed refer to this man, but we cannot tell. The four certain entries show Edric Wilde to have held, before the Conquest, the manors of Barintune in extreme north Herefordshire, Mildetune and Fordritishope in southwest Shropshire, and Westune in north Shropshire (*Domesday-Book*, facsimile ed., London, 1783, ff. 183 b, 256, an entry Freeman missed, 258 b, 256 b); the places can be precisely located on the *Domesday* maps in the Victoria county histories. These entries suffice to show us where Edric lived and make clear that he had ceased to hold any lands whatever at the time of the census, by reason either of his death or of the king's displeasure. It is also evident that none of his holdings had become the property of his natural heirs; all had passed into alien hands. Hence we can be sure that Map is mistaken in his story of the donation of one of Edric's manors to the church of Hereford by a son of Edric.

As a matter of fact, "Lebediria borealis" never belonged to Edric, so far as we can tell, though Wright asserted in his note that *Domesday* records it as his. There are two places that Wright might have identified with "Lebediria borealis," Ledbury in eastern Herefordshire, now a well known town, recorded in *Domesday* as "Liedeberge," and a much more obscure little place in southwest Shropshire, listed in *Domesday* as "Lideberie." Both, however, are recorded as belonging to the church of Hereford *tempore Regis Edwardi* and as so remaining. Wright probably understood Map to mean the Herefordshire Ledbury, for his text represents Edric as returning home from a hunt through the Forest of Dean, "per Denis mediām," an error corrected by Dr. James, who correctly reads "per deuia mediām usque noctem." It is, nevertheless, certainly the Shropshire place that Map refers to, as one might be sure from its vicinity to Edric's known holdings; the place is now known as North Lydbury, as I found on a large wall-map in a Gloucester hotel, the hamlet being too inconsiderable to appear in maps of common scale.

The fact that Edric owned lands near North Lydbury would make easy the transference to him of a legend attached to that place. He was just the sort of picturesque borderer to attract into his saga all the remarkable tales of his neighborhood, witness Map's legend of his fairy wife, the tale of his valiant defense of Wigmore Castle, a place, like North Lydbury, which he never really possessed (cf. Freeman, *loc. cit.* and Dogdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 348), and the local traditions extant in Shropshire in the last century (Charlotte Sophia Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, London, 1883, pp. 28-29).

Fortunately, the North Lydbury legend is extant entirely unattached to the saga of Edric, in the *Life of Saint Ethelbert* by Giraldus Cambrensis,

which, long supposed to be lost, has recently been recovered by Dr. James and published by him in the *English Historical Review*, xxxii, 214-44. This version of the North Lydney legend had already been accessible in the excerpts from an account of Saint Ethelbert included in the chronicle that goes by the name of John of Brompton (Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, London, 1652, col. 753), in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (May, v, 241), who took for their work the Brompton account, and in the Rolls Series edition of Giraldus (*Opera*, III, 422-23), where the Brompton life is printed in lieu of the supposedly lost life by Giraldus; but until my Harvard thesis (1915), no one had ever called attention to the variant versions of the North Lydney legend by Map and by the unknown author. Dr. James discloses now that this unknown is Giraldus himself, the Brompton account being plainly excerpted from the Welshman's *Vita*. In Giraldus, the miracle and the donation are put in the time of Offa, soon after the death of Ethelbert; the donor is called "Edwinus quatiens caput" and is described as "uirum quendam potentem et magnum, qui finibus Ledebirie borialis et Montis Gumeri neenon et aliis parcium illarum terris amplissimis dominabatur; and his gift is asserted to be "prima terrarum omnium, ut asserunt, . . . que beato Aethelberto collate fuerunt." (The mention of Montgomery, it may be noted, establishes the Shropshire location of the "Ledebiria" in question, even if the modern hamlet were not known.) The authority for the legend cited by Giraldus is merely "fidelis antiquitas"; the story as told in Brompton gives as authority "Asser historicus veraxque relator gestorum Alfredi regis," but this is due to an omission in that account of another story which Giraldus, as the complete text published by Dr. James shows, says he derived from Asser.

The discrepancy between Map's version of the legend and that of his friend Giraldus is puzzling. Long before the recovery of the Giraldus *Vita*, Stevenson, basing his argument on the Brompton citation of Asser, the only medieval reference to Asser as biographer of King Alfred, had expressed his conviction that the Brompton *Vita* was derived from the lost work of Giraldus, who, as canon of Hereford and of St. David's, was most likely of any one who might have written of Saint Ethelbert, to have had access to a genuine, though rare, work of Asser's (W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1904, pp. lxiii-lxiv). His inference, we now know, was correct, but that does not throw any light on Giraldus' source for the North Lydney legend, as I thought it did when I wrote my thesis. It is certainly strange that two contemporaries, friends, and fellow canons of Hereford should be at such variance in regard to the date of the donation and the identity of the donor while in such perfect agreement on the circumstantial details. The one thing we may feel sure of is that here is one more piece of evidence that Giraldus knew nothing of *De Nugis Curialium*, which was surely earlier than Giraldus' work. As to the authenticity of their stories, we can safely say: first, Map's version is certainly erroneous, for North Lydney belonged to the church of Hereford before the Norman Conquest; secondly, that of Giraldus is possibly

correct, being traceable back to some reliable source through Osbert of Clare, whom Dr. James believes to be the source of the whole *Vita* of Giraldus, or being a reliable addition by Giraldus to Osbert's matter. In either case, it seems to me probable that the Giraldus version rests upon written, historical or quasi-historical, sources, and Map's upon an essentially popular legend that was absorbed into a doubtless extensive Edricsaga.

II, XIII (p. 78)—A remarkably close analogue to Map's story of the strangling witch is found in Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques légendes et apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, pp. 319-21, No. 364.

II, XVI (p. 80, ll. 24-25)—On "vespera laudatur dies," cf. A. Taylor in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI, 115-18.

The story in which this proverbial expression occurs is that of the mysterious "phantom" knight in a tournament at Louvain; an interesting parallel is found in Chrétien's *Cliges*, about line 4750 (I have no text at hand, but only the Everyman translation, where the passage occurs on p. 152).

III, II (p. 110, ll. 2-4)—Wright divides the speeches as follows: "Regina, 'Cur non statim redisti? Quae mora placuit, Ero? Quaevis hora desiderio mora.' Ero, 'Quantum propersavi nunc egressa! quomodo venissem citius?'" Dr. James prefers: "Regina, 'Cui non statim redisti? Que mora placuit?' Ero, 'Quaevis hora desiderio mora.' . . . . Ero, 'Quantum properauit etc.'" He declares, "Some words spoken by the Queen are missing." I do not think so; it seems to me that here Wright, for once, has the better reading. Dr. James gives to Ero an impudent and provoking speech which is quite at variance with the tone of her other speeches. I have examined the manuscript at this point, and find that an attempt has been made by the scribe to indicate the speaker by red dots about the initial letter of the speaker's name, or at times about the first letter of the speech; but the attempt has been carried out so erratically and with so little discretion as to be useless as a guide to the editor. In both instances in the lines quoted above, *Ero* is marked with red dots, but so is the same name, p. 109, l. 21 and l. 32 (both occurrences).

IV, III (p. 146, ll. 19-21)—Compare the following lines from Matthieu de Vendôme's *Comoedia Lydiae* (Edélestand du Méril, *Poésies inédites*, p. 358):

"Quid nunc conjugium, quid nunc sponsalia jura,  
quid confert socii gratia lege thori?  
Nusquam Penelope, nusquam Lucretia dudum;  
· · · · ·  
Parva fides hodie; minor est inde in muliere;  
omnes si numeres, nulla Sabina manet."

Same chapter (p. 150, l. 3)—Phoroneus is mentioned in the *Megacosmos* of Bernardus Silvestris; cf. Skeat, *Works of Chaucer*, v, 147. This story and the next, concerning Valencius, are found in later miscellanies, e. g., British Museum, Ms. Addit. 27336 (Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 671), and this one in Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3. 2. 5. 3, where it is taken from L. Domitii Brusonii, *Facetiarum Exemplorum que Libri VII, lib. vii, cap. xxii*; the ultimate source is always to be sought in one of the manuscripts of Map's *Valerius ad Rufinum*, not in the *De Nugis Curialium* collection. In the case of a story of Map's derived from a well known classical source, as the Pacuvius-Arrius wife-tree story (p. 151, ll. 18 ff.), it is sometimes possible to trace the anecdote to Map, sometimes to Map's source; for instance, Pacuvius-Arrius in British Museum Ms. 27336, ff. 73b-74 (Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 671), is from Map, although the ms. is a Franciscan miscellany from North Italy, for in it are also found Map's Phoroneus and Valencius; likewise, the English *Alphabet of Tales* (ed. M. M. Banks, p. 325, no. 478) derives from Map, since it begins this story with the words, "Valerius tellis"; so also, we may infer, Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (ed. Oesterley, pp. 349-50, no. 637), gets this story directly or indirectly from Map, since three wives are said to have hanged themselves, whereas Cicero refers to only one wife; on the other hand, Jacques de Vitry (ed. Goswin Frenkin, p. 131, no. 68) doubtless drew directly from Cicero or from Quintilian's quotation of Cicero. The story is found also in the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, pp. 330-31, cap. 33; cf. also Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 230, 246, 252), but not in Herritage's text of the English *Gesta* (v. note, p. 516), in Holcot's *Moralitates* (Ward and Herbert, III, 110, 114, 115), and in *Convertimini* (Ward and Herbert, III, 119, 138, 145, 148).

The story of Lais (p. 153, ll. 3-12) is also told by Radulfus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's and fellow canon with Walter Map (*Opera*, Rolls Series, I, 46), who attributes it to Gellius; the reply to the courtesan is, "'Ego,' inquit, 'poenitere tanti non emo,'" which is precisely as it stands in Gellius, who, however, adds, "Sed graeca ipsa quae fertur dixisse lepidiora sunt: οὐκ ὄφειμαι, inquit, μηρῶν δραχμῶν μεταμέλειαν." Except for the word order, it is hard to see the superiority, and for that, it may be noted, Map has done what Gellius might as well have done, writing, "Non emo tanti poenitere." It is interesting that Giraldus Cambrensis, who tells the anecdote twice (*Opera*, Rolls Series, II, 172-73, 185, both in *Gemma Ecclesiastica*), gives the reply in Map's word order, but does not refer to Map, here or elsewhere, when he includes one of the *De Nugis* stories in his works. Perhaps Giraldus had this story from Map's conversation, rather than from his own reading; at any rate, it seems certain that he did not know Map's book, for he is frequently generous enough in his praise of Map as a talker and in recognition of his debt to him for some sharp utterance. John of Salisbury has the Lais story in his *Policraticus* (ed. Webb, II, 65), with the word order of Gellius; it apparently was

common; Vincent of Beauvais tells it in his *Speculum Historiale*, though I have lost the precise reference.

IV, vi (p. 161, ll. 13 ff.)—A similar story of the devil's promise of three warnings before death is found in Wright's *Latin Stories*, pp. 35-36, no. xxxiii, where it is taken from the *Speculum Laicorum*, British Museum Ms. Addit. 11284 (cf. Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 160, 385).

Same chapter (pp. 163-66)—Dr. James remarks that this tale of the pious painter is a contamination of two widely known medieval stories. It may be of interest for me to add a list of other versions, doubtless far from complete.

A. A monastic painter offends the devil by representing him in excessively hideous shape while he paints the blessed Virgin most beautiful; the devil seeks to destroy him by wrecking the scaffolding on which he stands, and the painted Virgin reaches out her hand from the picture and saves him from falling. This version occurs in Odo de Ceritona's *Parabolae*, no. lxxxiii (L. Hervieux, *Fabulistes latins*, iv, 293), whence it is taken by Johannes Herolt Discipulus in his *Promptuarium de Miraculis Beate Virginis*, ex. lxxxiii, and by the author of Ms. Harl. 3244 (printed by Warner in Mielot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Roxburghe Club, p. xxxiv); a wordy version of the story is miracle no. lxiv of Mielot (same ed., pp. 63-64). A variant version occurs in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, lib. vii, cap. 104 (Venice 1591, f. 88, col. 2: "Pictor quidam . . . in partibus Flandriae etc."); from Vincent is derived the version printed by Wright in his *Latin Stories* (no. xxxi, from Ms. Harl. 2316, f. 3b), also that in *Scala Celi* of Johannes Gobii (Ulm, 1480, unfoliated, s. v. "Virgo dei genetrix . . . Undecimo a morte liberat"), and also that in Bromyard's *Summa Praedicanum* (Venice, 1586, f. 12: M, cap. iii, Maria, § 28). The story is found also in Hagen's *Gesamtstabentuer*, no. lxxvi, in *El Conde Lucanor* (ed. Knust, p. 361), in Goedeke's *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter* (Dresden, 1871, pp. 140-41, no. 28), in Pfeiffer's *Marienlegenden* (Stuttgart, 1846, no. 4); it is also retold by August von Platen (*Gesammelte Werke*, Cotta Verlage, I, 227-28), by Theodor Körner (*Sämmliche Werke*, Berlin, 1870, I, 177-79), and by Southey in his "Pious Painter." An extremely bald version by John de Garland is in Ms. Royal 8. C. iv, f. 22, col. 2.

B. The devil, jealous of the extreme piety of a certain monk, usually "custos et thesaurarius" or sacristan in his monastery, lures him into carnal love for a pious woman of the vicinity, incites them to elope with plunder from the monastery and from the woman's home; being pursued, the culprits pray to the Virgin, who compels the devils responsible to extricate them. The earliest version of this is by Jacques de Vitry (*Exempla*, ed. Crane, Folk Lore Soc. Publ., pp. 117-19, no. CCLXXXII); from this comes Wright's version (*Latin Stories*, pp. 44-46, no. XLVII) and that of Etienne de Bourbon (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 448-49, no. 519) and probably that of Rutebeuf (ed. Jubinal, I, 302-29; also in Barbazan et

Méon, *Fabliaux et contes*, IV, 119 ff.). The references given by Lecoy de la Marche in his note on Etienne de Bourbon are worthless, being copied from the *Histoire littéraire*, where they are à propos an entirely different story; the error is partly perpetuated by Crane in his note on Jacques de Vitry. A version of this story occurs in William of Waddington's *Manuel de Pechiez* (in Furnivall's edition of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 402-04, ll. 11813-994), but it is not in *Handlyng Synne*, as Crane's reference seems to imply. A fragmentary version, lacking the first part of the tale, is found in A. von Keller's *Erzählungen aus altdutschen Handschriften* (Stuttgart, 1855, pp. 93-96); the Virgin is not mentioned in the part extant; the devil seems to be a voluntary substitute. Very much like the *Manuel de Pechiez* version is that in the English *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Madden, pp. 476-78; ed. Herrtage, pp. 419-21), and that in *Speculum Laicorum* (British Museum Ms. Addit. 11284, f. 53b) and its probable source in Ms. Royal 5. A. viii, f. 150. Giraldus Cambrensis refers to a somewhat similar occurrence as historical, "satis et plusquam satis notum per Guallias," the unfortunate dupe being the abbot of Ystrat Marchel (*Opera, Rolls Series*, VI, 59: *Itinerarium Kambriae*, lib. I, cap. v).

C. The painter and the elopement stories are contaminated, as by Map. I know of three other contaminated versions: Herolt, *Promtuarium Exemplorum de Miraculis Beate Virginis*, no. XXI; Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 411-26, which begins, "Es vie des Peres trovons Ceste estoire que ci lisons"; *Predigtmärlein Johannes Paulis*, ed. J. Bolte, in *Alemannia*, XVI, 49-53, no. 7, which begins, "Der würdig doctor Alexander de Ales schribt." This last version shows very plainly marks of the contamination in the unskilful retention from versions A and B of features inappropriate to the contaminated story.

IV, XI (p. 181, ll. 17 ff.)—Liebrecht referred to the analogous prophecies to Henry IV, that he should not die until he went to Jerusalem (Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. II, IV, v), and to Robert Guiscard (Anna Comnena, *Alexiadis*, VI, 6). Thomas Cantipratensis recounts a similar prophecy to a Westphalian noble; in this tale, however, not even the letter of the promise is fulfilled, yet the devil's dupe is saved, narrowly. (*Bonum Universale de Apibus*, Duaci, 1627, pp. 585-87, lib. II, cap. lvii, § 61.) G. L. Hamilton, in a review of Gerould's *Saints' Legends* (*Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI, 239), gives further references to stories of Alexander the Great, the emperor Frederick II, and Cecco d'Ascoli; the story cited in Gerould is that of Celestin. I add a brief analogue from Ms. Harl. 4403, ff. 143b-144 (cf. Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 720):—

"Comment vng chevalier donna son ame a l'anemy d'enfer.

"Ci nous dist comment vng anemy dist a vng chevalier qui estoit tous de sy fortes qui le feroit riche homme mais qu'il luy donnast l'ame de luy quant il entreroit en vne ville qui a non Mouffle. Il luy acorda, car mout bien s'en cuidoit garder. L'anemy lui dist, Requieras a vng tel abbe qu'il te fache moine, et il luy feroit recepvoir. Et ainsi fu fait, et se proua si bien qu'il fu puis abbe de son abbaye, et gaigna vng plait a Ronme contre l'archeuesque de Rains pour le chapitre. Et quant l'archeuesque

fu mors, ilz le firent archeuesque. Et quant il fu archeuesque, si ala visiter comme appartenait a son estat, et apres acoucha malades a Gant, dont il auoit este nez. Lors vint le anemy et luy dist, Or sus, beaux amis, je te suis venus querre. Si m'ayt dieux, amis, se ne me aras tu mie; je say bien que je deuoie estre tien quant je entreroie en vne ville qui a non Mouffle, il respond. Tu as dit voir; et ou es tu? Je suis a Gant. Et dist l'anemy, Quel difference a il entre Gant et Mouffle? Donc se confessa et par ainsi fu hors de ses las. L'anemy le cuida de recepvoir, mais par le vertueux sacrement de confession il fu luy meismes decheus quant par ce perdi l'arceuesque."

Same chapter (p. 182, ll. 13 ff.)—The fable of the bundle of rods is of oriental origin and is widespread; cf. H. Regnier, *Oeuvres de Jean de La Fontaine*, I, 335-36 (on *Fables*, IV, 18).

IV, XII (p. 183-85)—Some additions may be made to Dr. James' references on the legend of the Gulf of Satalia. First, in regard to the name of the place, the modern Adalia, may be cited a passage from William of Tyre (*Belli Sacri Historia*, Basle, 1549, p. 391, lib. XVI, cap. xxvi): Tandem vero Pamphyliam ingressi, per abrupta montium, per diversa vallium, cum difficultate nimia, fine tamen hostium conflictu usque Attaliam eiusdem regionis metropolem pervenerunt. Est autem Attalia civitas in littore maris sita, Imperatoris Constantinopolitani subiecta imperio . . . Hanc nostri, idiomaticis Graeci non habentes peritiam, corrupto vocabulo Sataliam appellant, unde et totus ille maris situs [sinus?], a promontorio Lissidona, usque in insulam Cyprum, Attalicus dicitur, qui vulgari appellatione Gulphus Satalie nuncupatur." From this it appears that the common occidental form *Satalia* was due to an incorrect division of the Greek σάλις Ἀττάλεια, the final *s* being heard by the crusaders as the initial of the proper name. The Gulf was proverbial for its dangers to navigation. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, 4 ed., bes. v. E. H. Meyer, II, 825) cited two passages from the *Roman de Renart*, in which he read *satenie* and *saternie*, connecting the name with Satan and Saturn. These passages are quoted by Hilka ("Zu 'Goufre de Satenie,'" *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXL, 130 ff.), along with two others from the *Tornoiement Antecrist* (ed. Wimmer, Marburg, 1888, ll. 474-79, 3458-63), one from *L'estoire de la guerre sainte par Ambroise* (ed. G. Paris, Paris, 1897, ll. 1318-22), one from *La saint voyage de Jherusalem du seigneur d'Anglure* (ed. Bonnardot and Longnon, Paris, 1878, pp. 10, 89), and several versions of the legend. To these may be added a passage in the chanson de geste *Esclarmonde* (ed. Max Schweingel, Marburg, 1889, ll. 903-1048), in which the "Gouffre de Satenie" is the scene of a penance of Judas Iscariot like that in the Saint Brandon legend, as Freymond (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XVII, 72) has remarked. Also may be added a reference by Rabelais to the proverbial tempestuous character of the Gulf (ed. Marty-Laveaux, III, 360: livre IV, ch. xxv, "le gouffre de Satalie"; cf. also livre I, ch. xxxiii, where "Satalie" is included among the lands conquered by Picrochole).

Map's version of the legend accounting for the treacherous character of the waters in this Gulf is the earliest, but two others are nearly contemporary. The chronicle that goes under the name of Benedict of Peterborough gives the legend under the year 1191 (Rolls Series, II, 195-97); this is the source of the account in the chronicles of Roger of Hoveden (Rolls Series, III, 158-59) and of Bromton (Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, col. 1216), though none of the commentators on this legend recognize the fact, or even refer to Benedict. Hilka (*loc. cit.*) comments upon Hoveden's attribution of the voice from the grave to the devil ("et statim intravit Satan in eam, et ait"), but this is one of the few alterations Hoveden himself is responsible for; Benedict writes, "cui illa dicitur respondisse," and Bromton's variation from Hoveden is due to the fact that he follows the common source exactly. The other early version is by Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 11, *Decis.* II, cap. xii). It is a matter of curious interest that Gervase immediately follows the Satalia legend with an account of Nicolaus Pipe and of the legendary belief of Arthur in Aetna and of the "familia Arturi," closely paralleling Map, who tells in order of Satalia, of Nicholaus Pipe, and of the "familia Herlethingi"; there is no question of source here, but the coincidence between the two most interesting miscellanies of the time is remarkable.

The next version, in point of time, is embodied in the Vulgate Arthurian romances. The *Merlin* cryptically refers to the legend in a passage that scribes and translators poorly understood (H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 231; cf. Sommer, *The Structure of the Livre d'Artus*, Paris, 1914, p. 19, where the text of another manuscript, Bibl. Nat. f. fr. ms. 337, and the text of the English *Merlin*, ed. Wheatley, p. 341, are given; also cf. Freymond, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, where *bone*, or *bonnes*, which is kept in Sommer's texts, is emended beyond question correctly, to *borne*, or *bornes*). The legend referred to in this passage of the *Merlin* is to be found in the *Livre d'Artus* (Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, VII, 149-62). The episode is the adventure of Greux with *la Laide Samblance*, the *Laide Samblance* being the misbegotten body of the Satalia legend, "uns cors formez petit aussi come uns enfes de trois ans qui fu engendrez du cheualier en une femme morte quil amoit par amors." This body had been the destruction of a city of Cyprus, having been, "par la folie dune dame," taken out of an "esrin" (cf. Map's *scrinium*) in which her father had put it. Judas Maccabeus had taken it away and cast it in a stream of the "roiaume de Libe." Several knights of the Round Table fail to remove the pest, but Greux at last succeeds, protecting himself with "un drap" from its baleful glance, anointing himself and his horse with a magic ointment, blindfolding his horse, and so becoming able to seize the horror, turn its face away from him, cover its head with a silk cloth, and finally to shut the *samblance* in "un fort esrin de chaisne" and put it in a "baril," which he then "mist en un souterrin qui nestoit mie moult abitez de genz." Terrible storms follow, and at last Merlin has to remove the abominable object to a more remote location. "& Merlin a tant esloit que il uint en celes parties de mer que len clame

le gouffre de Satellie. il ec gita il la figure entre les roches en mer ne onques puis nen eissi & encore i est & toz iors i sera. & ce dit li conte des histoires que quant la figure a fait son tor & ele uient desus se il auient chose que ele uoie les nes toutes les couient a perillier ce seuent li auquant & li plusor qui u pais conuersent." It is interesting that immediately preceding this episode occurs the fifth and last reference to Walter Map in the *Livre d'Artus*: "mais or se taist ici lestoire de lui ne maistre Gautier nen dit plus ici endroit ainz retourne le conte desor le roi Artus & desor les compaignons de la Table Ronde." It is noteworthy that the version of the Satalia legend in the romance is at marked variance with that in *De Nugis Curialium*. Whatever may lie behind the repeated references to Walter Map as authority for, if not author of, the Arthurian romances, there is nothing in common between the story sense, the narrative technique, and the spirit or point of view of the author of *De Nugis Curialium* and that of the author of these romances of Arthur.

The one remaining medieval version of this legend is in the *Travels of Sir John Maundeville*, chapter v. This has been noticed by other commentators, but a curiosity in regard to the text calls for comment here. A voice comes to the hero, bidding him go to the tomb of the violated corpse. Pollard's text reads: "And he yede and opened the tomb, and there flew out an *adder* right hideous to see; the which as swithe flew about the city and country, and soon after the city sank down" (ed. Pollard, London, 1900, p. 19). In place of *adder*, Warner, publishing from Ms. Egerton 1982, prints *heued*, and in a note gives the variant *an eddere* from Cotton Ms. Titus C. xvi and the parallel French text, "dont y vola une *teste* . . . laquelle teste *remua* la cite et la pais, et tantoust la cite foundy en abisme." Freymond (op. cit., p. 71n.) cites a Berne manuscript which reads *teste* and *remira*, and a variant *remuyonna*, and an Italian text, "la qual [testa] subito che ebbe *riguardata* la cittâ." I have not seen the E. E. T. S. edition of Mandeville by Professor Hamelius, but he told me that he regarded *adder* as the correct reading. It seems to me, in the light of the other versions of the Satalia legend, that *teste* and *remira* are certainly to be preferred, though to one acquainted only with the brief version in Mandeville the words might well be unintelligible, as they were, it appears, to the scribes who altered the reading with the purpose of making what seemed better sense.

Liebrecht called attention to a folk-tale of the Transylvanian Gypsies that is so closely parallel to the Satalia legend as to warrant our belief that it is descended from the medieval story (Heinrich von Wlislocki, *Märchen und Sagen der transylvanischen Zigeuner*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 97-98, no. 40). Miscellaneous notes on particular features of Map's story are to be found in the notes of Liebrecht, in his Gervase and in his *Zur Volkskunde*, and in the articles of Freymond and Hilké; there is also an article by A. Bovenschen in the *Zeitschrift für das Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, xxiii, 219 ff.

IV, XIII (pp. 185-96)—The legend of Nicolaus Pipe, or Cola Pesca, which attained its most familiar literary reworking in Schiller's *Der Taucher*

has been the subject of a number of studies, which trace the legend through an interesting number of versions. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tillbury Otia Imperiata*, Hannover, 1856, p. 94, Anm. 24; *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, pp. 49-51 (reprinted from Pfeiffer's *Germania*, v); Pfeiffer's *Germania*, xxxv, 202. H. Ullrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tauchersage*, Dresden, 1884; this is translated, with corrections, in *Mélusine*, II, 223-30, and is revised and extended by the author in Schnorr's *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIV, 69-102; it is reviewed in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXII, 463. B. Croce, *La leggenda di Nicola Pesce*, in *Giambattista Basile*, III an., no. 7 (Naples, 1885); freely translated, *Mélusine*, III, 37-41; reviewed by G. Pitré, *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari*, IV, 803-04, and by A. Graf, *Giornale Storico*, IV, 263-69. G. Pitré, *La leggenda di Nicola Pesce nella letteratura italiana e tedesca*, in *Raccolta di studi critici dedicata ad A. d'Ancona*, Florence, 1901, pp. 445-55. Steinthal, in *Zeitschrift für Volkpsychologie*, XVII, 132, gives a mythological interpretation. To citations from medieval literature given in these studies, add Goswin Frenkin, *Exempla des Jakob von Vitry*, München, 1914, p. 149. On mermen and mermaids, cf. Grässle, *Beiträge zur Literatur und Sage des Mittelalters*, pp. 38-44, and, especially in reference to Map's description, "Verus homo, nichil inhumanum in membris," cf. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Rolls Series, pp. 117-18, where a very full account is given of such a merman caught, during the reign of Henry II, by Bartholomew de Glanville, near the castle of Oreford.

V, III (p. 206, ll. 15-20)—Of these couplets, I have come across only one elsewhere, in *Liber de Hyda*, Rolls Series, p. 291.

V, IV (p. 211, ll. 2-3)—Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 3 ed., I, 693-94, quotes from Map and interjects, "Where is 'Danesey'?" Map's "Danesia" is the hundred of Dengey in Essex; cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 507, where the name "Danesei" is cited from the *Vision of Thirkill* in MS. Royal 13. D. 6; also the *Victoria History of Essex*, I, 372, 453, 457, where the forms *Dengie*, *Dengey*, *Denge*, *Dansye*, etc., appear; in the Essex *Domesday*, ff. 21 a, 24 a, the name appears as *Daneseid*.

Same chapter (p. 215, l. 5)—This hexameter has been identified as from Ovid's *Heroides*, 4. 133, by Dr. James, and also by Mr. Mario Esposito, in *Notes and Queries*, April, 1918, p. 99.

V, V (p. 218, ll. 25 ff.)—Map's assertion about Henry I's building the monastery at Cluny is confirmed very interestingly by a passage in an epistle of the abbot Peter the Venerable: "Cum a trecentis fere annis omnes pene latini reges Cluniacensem ecclesiam dilexerint, et eam tam rerum mobilium quam immobilium donis causa Dei provexerint et ditarerint, inter universos tamen, felicis memorie rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum, Henricus, Willelmus primo ducis dein regis filius, speciali eam amore coluit et veneratus est. Donis autem multiplicibus et magnis omnes jam dictos exsuperans, etiam majorem ecclesiam a rege Hispanorum Alde-

fonso inchoatum, miro et singulari opere inter universos pene totius orbis ecclesias summavit" (G. F. Duckett, *Record Evidences among the Archives of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni, from 1077 to 1534*, Lewes, 1886, pp. 42-43). William of Jumièges also confirms Map: "Ecclesiam quippe Cluniacensem, ut de minoribus taceam, suis impensis ex maiori parte aedificans, ingentes possessiones in Anglia pro redemptione animae suae delegavit" (Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, Paris, 1619, p. 308).

Same chapter (p. 223, ll. 4 ff.)—Dr. James identifies "Galerus camera-rius" and "Bucardus molosus"; "Walerannus ab Effria" is left unidentified. I am not sure that I have the right man; but a Galeran, or Waleran, of Ivry appears among the followers of the Young King in 1173 and he died in 1177, the "turris Ibrea" then passing into the hands of Henry II, much to his gratification (cf. Benedict and Robert de Monte, or de Torigny, *ad annos*; the spellings given in Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens* are Wallerannus de Yveri, Galerandus de Iberra, Waleranno, turris Ibrea, and Wal. de Hyveri). The difficulty with the identification is that this Waleran should have been a subject of Henry II, not of Louis, as Map's hero is; perhaps he held fiefs both in France and in the domains of the English King.

Same chapter (p. 225, ll. 26 ff.)—On Map's anecdotes of Henry the Liberal, cf. Goswin Frenkin, *Exempla des Jakob von Vitry*, nos. XVII, XVIII, two anecdotes of the count's liberality, with references to other medieval collections.

Same chapter (p. 227, ll. 31 ff.)—The chronicle of Morigny relates the same story of the death of Prince Philip (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 81; cf. 217, note a).

Same chapter (p. 228, ll. 16 ff.)—This battle between Louis le Gros and Henry I, which Map has already mentioned on p. 218, took place August 20, 1119. It was more of a sporting event than a battle, since a contemporary account, and that from the English side, declares that Henry's force consisted of 500 and the French king's of only 400, out of which total, "tres solummodo interemptos fuisse comperti"; but, if the loss of life was small, the English could nevertheless glory in 140 captives and in the discomfiture of the King of France, who got lost in a wood and had to pay a peasant to show him the way to Les Andelis. According to the English chronicler, Louis "multum doluit" and "tristis Parisius abiit." Henry and his son, William Aetheling, graciously restored their spoils to the defeated Louis and the young royal cousin, William Clito. The English account is by Ordericus Vitalis, the French version by the Abbot Suger (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 721-24, and 45; Molinier's edition of Suger, p. 92). There is also an account of the battle by Nicolas Walkington de Kirkeham, in Cotton Ms. Titus A. xix, which I have not examined. John of Salisbury refers to it as too well known to need telling (*Policraticus*, ed. Webb, II, 48), and Henry of Huntingdon mentions it (Rolls Series, p. 241). Map's location of the combat, "venisset Ponti-

saram," p. 228, l. 15 and "juxta Gisorcium," p. 218, ll. 14-15, is roughly correct.

Same chapter (p. 229, l. 7)—Map's account of the reply of Louis le Gros to the German Emperor, "Tpwrut Aleman!" is not paralleled in the other historical sources. A. Luchaire (*Louis VI le Gros*, Paris, 1890, pp. cxxxvii, 184) thinks Map's story likely enough and surmises that the response, "dont le sens n'est pas très clair," preceded immediately the invasion of the Emperor Henry V in 1124; if so, the invasion accomplished what the command that elicited the insulting retort failed to do, for Thibaut of Blois furnished a contingent to Louis' army at that time.

The same retort, under similar circumstances, is attributed to the Emperor, who addressed it to Richard Coeur de Lion: "Imperator vero super hoc mandato vehementius indignans, ac si maxima eidem fuisset illata injuria, in verba prorupit contumeliosa, dicens irrisorie, 'Ptrut sire'; sibique nihil esse cum rege Anglicano" (*Itinerarium Ricardi I.* Rolls Series, p. 189; ms. variants, *Ptruht* and *Tprut*, are given). Likewise it is attributed, at a later date, to Philippe le Bel, in several chronicles. The *Chroniques de Saint-Denis* (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XX, 661) tell of a letter sent by Philippe in reply to an arrogant message of Rudolf of Hapsburg: "Et quant il fu ouvert, il ny trouva riens escripts fors troupe alement"; the editor appends a marginal note: "trop alemand, nimis germanè." Another chronicle (anonymous) elaborates somewhat: "Le roy de France receut les lettres; sy en renovya unes en parchemin qui sembloyent moult grandes, esquelles n'avoit riens escript, excepté trout, trout alemant" (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XXI, 127). And a chronicle known as *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre* tells the story, giving the response variously as *pouf alemant* and *trompt, trompt Allemand* (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XXII, 350); the editor here interprets, "trop, Allemand," and adds, "Selon Mezeraï, Daniel, Velly, etc. la réponse de Philippe le Bel aurait été: cela est trop allemand; c'est, en effet, l'interprétation naturelles des mots, trop alemant, qui se lisent dans les chroniques de Saint-Denis. La leçon pouf alemand (bourrade allemande) exprime, au fond, la même pensée." The note further points out the probably fictitious character of the story, but shows no knowledge that it had been told long before of Louis le Gros.

In attempting to explain the meaning of the strange word *troup*, *trout*, *trompt*, the editors were handicapped by the limitation of their acquaintance with it except in this single story. The same interjection, however, is found elsewhere. Thomas Wright collected a number of occurrences in a note on the "Song on the Execution of Sir Simon Fraser" (*Political Songs*, Camden Soc. Publ., pp. 381-82), in which occurs the line:

"Tprot, Scot, for thi strif!"

Wright comments: "The word *tprot* appears to be a mere exclamation of contempt," and cites from a poem on the "Properties of the Shyres of Engelond" the lines:

"Northumberlond hasty and hoot;  
Westmerlond tprut Scotte!"

and also the exclamation, "Tprut! sire king!" addressed to Edward II, in Sir Thomas de la More's Chronicle, and, in Jean Bodel's *Jeu de S. Nicolas*, the line:

"Tproupt! tproupt! buvons hardiemment!"

In a later note on Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (*ibid.*, p. 391) Wright cites the words, "Tprut, Scot rivinger," from the Fairfax and Arundel manuscripts, in which some lines not in his text appear. To these citations, I may add from the well known German poem, "Es ist ein Schnitter, heisst der Tod," the lines:

"Trutz! Tod, komm her ich fürcht dich nit,  
Trutz! komm und tu ein Schnitt!"

and the exclamation, "Tphrowth, hoore!", addressed to Tom Tankard's cow, in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act I, scene ii. The interjection is found also in Rabelais (ed. Marty-Laveaux, vi, 224: "Trut. Trut avant. Exclamation exprimant le dédain, la désapprobation. 'Trut auant (dist le moyne') . . . i, 150. 'Je ne m'empesche. Trut auant.' II, 174").

Liebrecht included in his selections from Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*, p. 41) a story of a local superstition, in which the English words, "Phrut, Haveringermere, and alle those over the fere," are quoted, and interpreted by the Latin, "Phrut tibi, mare, et omnibus qui te transfretant"; his note gives the variants *Pfrut* and *Pruth*. This interjection engaged his attention sufficiently to occasion three notes by him in Pfeiffer's *Germania*; in explaining its etymology and meaning, he surpassed the ingenuity of the French commentators in Bouquet. He first gave assent to Schröder's interpretation of the words, "Tpru vort tpru," in the *Redentiner Spiel*, that *tpru* is a mimic word for a *crepitus ventris*, *vort* being a Low German gloss; Liebrecht cites Map and Gervase (*Germania*, xviii, 456-57). Later he abandoned this interpretation and assembled a number of examples of similar interjections, German *prutz ussen*, *tprütsch*, *britsch*, *pritsch*, Czech *prýš*, Polish *precz*, Russian *protsch*, and Modern Greek *πρίτσας*, *πρίτσι*, to all of which the general signification *fort*, *weg*, *hin* is ascribed (*Germania*, xxI, 399-400). Later still he cited from Joannes Cinnamus a story of similar character to those of Louis le Gros, Philippe le Bel, etc., in which the offensive words are "*πούζη Ἀλαρέ*"; the Greek historian etymologizes *πούζη* from *πούς*,—impossibly, as Liebrecht remarks, since a French, not a Greek, derivation is called for. Liebrecht suggests *pousse* as more likely, but sticks to the opinion expressed in his second note (*Germania*, xxv, 88-90).

All this may be taken seriously if one wishes to assume the task of etymologizing interjections. Liebrecht's examples accord with his theory largely because an interjection expresses emotion, rather than thought, and a contemptuous exclamation may be translated "Get out!" in most cases without damage to the sense implied by the context. It should be noticed, however, that such a meaning does not thrust itself on us in any of the trut-prut stories, and that it is distinctly inappropriate in "Phrut Haveringermere," "Trutz, Tod! komm her," and "Tprot, Scot, for thi striif." The English *tut* will throw more light on *tprut* than Liebrecht's

Slavic interjections, but we need not follow Collier in his surmise that that familiar word is "probably an abbreviation of *Tell you what*," any more than we need derive Hamlet's "Buz, buz!" "ab Hebraico *Bus* vel *bouz*, sprevit" (cf. Furness, *Variorum Hamlet*, I, 172). Furness, in his note on *Othello*, I, i, 4, recalls Collier's etymology, and directs our attention to the *Promptuarium Parvulorum* (Way's note s. v. *Ptot* citing Palsgrave, "Some be interjections of indignacion, *trut*, as *trut avant*, *trut!*") and to Cotgrave ("*Trut*, an interjection importing indignation, tush, tut, fy man. *Trut avant*, a fig's end, no such matter, you are much deceived; also on afore for shame"). It would be interesting to read Liebrecht's etymological note, however, if he had stumbled upon *Tristram Shandy*, bk. v, chap. xv, before he discovered the Czech, Polish, and Russian cognates.

Same chapter (p. 231, ll. 4 ff.)—Dr. James refers to this story of Count Thibaut and the leper in *Giraldus Cambrensis*. It is also found among the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, pp. 43-44), in Etienne de Bourbon (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 127), where it is referred to Jacques de Vitry, in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (ed. Strange, II, 105), in Thomas Cantipratensis' *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, II, xxv, 15 (Dousay 1627, pp. 254-55). Another related story of Thibaut's deliverance from hell at the petition of a leper is published by Horstmann in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LV, 276, from homily collection of the Vernon manuscript, and by Gerould in his *North English Homily Collection* (Lancaster, Penn., 1902, pp. 61-62). Gerould refers to the *Speculum Morale*, III, xxv, x, to the *Alphabetum Narrationum* in Bibl. Nat. Ms. lat. 15913, and to Jacob's Well (ed. Brandeis, E. E. T. S., 1900, p. 247). Versions may be noted in Ward and Herbert's *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 670, III, 7, 326, 328, 332, 335, 541, 616. On the charity of Thibaut, cf. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 293, 582, XIII, 293.

V, VI (p. 232, l. 19)—Dr. James prints "a Chazar"; Freeman (*William Rufus*, II, 673) identifies the place as Achères. One should read, therefore, "Achazar" here and in the Index of Proper Names.

Same chapter (p. 239, ll. 15 ff.)—Map's narrative of the mysterious disappearance of the Emperor Henry V is fuller than any other I have seen, but the same tradition is recorded in several French chronicles (Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 414, 472, XIII, 330, and Hoveden (Rolls Series, I, 181), who adds a passage to the obit he borrows from Henry of Huntingdon. Radulfus Niger (ed. Anstruther, for the Caxton Society, p. 165) merely glances at the popular legend: "Imperator Henricus quo postea fugerit aut devenerit incertum habetur." Giraldus Cambrensis (*Opera*, Rolls Series, I, 186, V, 139, VIII, 300) mentions the tradition and boasts for Chester that the Emperor was buried there, having left his crown and ended his life as a hermit near that town. Giraldus mentions also the tradition that Harold had escaped from Hastings, had lived as a hermit, and was buried at Chester. On that belief, cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 941 ff. and Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (2 ed., 1875), III, 781-90.

Same chapter (p. 241, ll. 6-7)—“Acre, que prius fuit Acharon” and “Sur, que prius fuit Siria” are both errors. The former was a common mistake of Western writers; so much so that Robert de Torigny felt called upon to correct it: “Capta est a Christianis urbs Acchon [Acre], quae antiquitus dicebatur Ptholemaida, quam quidam putant esse Accaron, sed non est. Illa enim Philistia, ista vero Ptholemaida dicitur. Accaron urbs est Philistia, prope Ascalonem; Accon vero, id est Ptholemaida, ab austro habet Carmeli montem.” (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Howlett, Rolls Series, III, 429); cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, cap. xli: “Quinta Philistiorum civitas dicta est Acharon prope mare non longe ab Azoto sita.”

By “Sur” Map certainly means Tyre; cf. Benedict, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi*, Rolls Series, II, 25, “Sur, quae etiam Tyrus vocatur,” and the St. Victor chronicle in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 229, which uses the name “Sur” for Tyre. Map undoubtedly knew a town, not a country, was meant, but apparently he thought “Siria” the name of a town. Dr. James’ Index of Proper Names should be corrected on these two names.

Same chapter (p. 244, l. 30)—For “patricii,” read “Patricii,” and enter in the Index of Proper Names “Patricius, Saresberiensis comes.” Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, was murdered at Poitiers by Guy de Lusignan in 1168 (cf. Benedict, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi etc.*, I, 343; Robert of Torigny in *Chronicles of Stephen, etc.*, IV, 235-36; Hoveden, *Chronica*, I, 273-74; Diceto, *Opera Historica*, I, 331: all in the Rolls Series). There is no other record than Map’s that Tancarville was the King’s deputy after this affair was settled; both he and Patrick were uncles of Guillaume le Maréchal.

Same chapter (p. 246, ll. 7 ff.)—F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, Manchester, 1913, p. 126, n. 3, cites this anecdote in connection with Richard I’s change of his seal, a change which implies the danger of false seals.

Appendix I (pp. 260-61 and note on p. 271)—Another text of the *Causa excidii Cartaginensium* is in Ms. Harl. 7322, f. 162-162b; it begins, “Refert ad propositum suum Flaccianus in gestis Grecorum, capitulo de prudencia.” In the same collection, there are other citations of “Flaccianus”: f. 152, “Narrat Agellius de bellis Armenie c. 55. et etiam tangit diffusius Flaccianus de gestis Grecorum distinctione 10” (The story is the same as *Gesta Romanorum*, no. 1 and Holcot’s *Moralitates*, Ms. Arundel 384, no. 33; cf. Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 110-11); f. 157, “Flaccianus in gestis Alexandri refert” (Story of Alexander and the physician Philip, in Ms. Royal 12. E. xxi, no. 14; cf. Ward and Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 157, which refers to Justinus, *Epitoma*, XI, 8); f. 163, “Secundum Flaccianum in gestis Grecorum” (Image of Amor Fatuus; cf. Ward and Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 179, no. 153). These references do not enlighten me as to the identity of “Flaccianus,” or “Flaccensius.” The story, however, is not to be ascribed to Walter Map.

Appendix II (pp. 261-62)—This fable is found far and wide; cf. Hervey, *Les fabulistes latins*, II, 24, 148, 186, 222, 346, 443, 501, 630; La Fontaine, *Fables*, IV, 22; Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, ed. J. Greven, in Hilka's *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, no. 2; T. F. Crane in *Romanic Review*, VI, 228. The ascription to Map ("Ex dictis W. Map") only goes to show how anything and everything in the nature of story (or satiric verse) was likely to be put forth under his name during the century in which he died. To me it is simply incredible that the author of *De Nugis Curialium* had anything important to do with the prose Arthurian cycle; if impressions as to style and personality expressed by the style are worth anything toward judging of authorship, I would say, without hesitation, that Walter Map cannot have written the prose romances or anything remotely like them. Yet they have passed for his; his name is freely used in many of the manuscripts. And so with the Goliardics, and so with these stories. However much or little he wrote in addition to *De Nugis*, he clearly became, for at least several generations, a sort of stock authority or source on whom any anonymous tale, jest, or other specimen of "wit" might be fathered.

In addition to these notes on the text, I have a few to present on Dr. James' Preface and his Notes; I refer to pages of his edition:—

XIII—*Herlewini*, in the letter of Peter of Blois, is the reading of Giles; it should be *Herlekini*, as in MSS. Royal 14. C. IV, f. 63, Cotton Vespasian E. XII, f. 105, Harley 3709, f. 12, Royal 10. A. XVIII, f. 78, Bodley 303, f. 166, Bodley 570, f. 105 b, Bodley 759, f. 125 b, New College Oxon. F. 127, f. 120.

XIV—The reference of Higden is doubtless to Geoffrey of Monmouth's source, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, not to Walter Map.

XV—(1) To the citations of stories from *De Nugis* by Camden may be added the stories of Turstin fitz Simon and Adam of Yarmouth, of Henry I and his chamberlain, of Matilda's counsels, of Stephen Beauchamp and Robert of Gloucester, and of Geoffrey of York, in Camden's *Remaines*, London, 1637, pp. 246-51.

(2) The reference to Burton should read "Mem. 2."

XXIV-XXVI—For comment on these notes of time, cf. my article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXII, 81-132, *passim*.

XXVII—The earliest personal reminiscence by Map is not the conversation with Becket. Earlier is the incident related on p. 227, ll. 1-20; "me presente Parisius" and "qui nuper duxerat regis Hispanorum filiam" prove Map to have been in residence at Paris shortly after the marriage of Louis VII and Constance of Castille in 1154. The incident related in Dist. II, cap. II (pp. 64-65) must, therefore, be still earlier, since "cum

"primo transfretauit" (p. 64, l. 19) date the occurrence before Map's first visit to France, and since Map declares that Gilbert de Lacy, who left England for Palestine probably in 1158, or very soon thereafter (cf. *Dict. Nat'l. Biog.*, *sub nom.*; *Pipe Roll*, 4 Hen. II, index, *sub nom.*; William of Tyre, *Belli Sacri Historia*, Basle, 1549, p. 453), had a similar experience as a consequence of his hearing of Map's miraculous deliverance from the sea. Dr. James' further comments on this page may be supplemented, and in part corrected, by my article referred to above.

**xxxii**—The Ridewas commentary on *Valerius ad Rufinum* is found in a Trinity College, Dublin, manuscript, A. 5. 3, to which Mr. Mario Esposito called my attention. It is interesting to note that Dr. James' suggested emendation, *uariam* for *uanam*, is supported by the reading of the Trinity College manuscript.

**xxxviii**—Mr. Ritchie's article appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, xli, 123-46.

264, note on p. 40, l. 1: Robert de Burnham is mentioned also in the *Cartulary of St. Peter's of Gloucester*, Rolls Series, ii, 170, *ad annos*, 1148-68.

270, note on p. 237, l. 31: For "Budaeus," read "Busaeus."

I have, in general, refrained at this time from historical notes on anecdotes which Map relates from his own experience. I hope soon to publish a number of such notes in connection with a sketch of Map's life, since the biographical accounts on which one must now depend can in some respects be amended.

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## SOME CHAUCER ALLUSIONS (1561-1700)

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

Unquestionably Miss Caroline F. E. Spurgeon has incorporated in her monumental *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (1357-1900) the majority of the important references to Chaucer preserved in the literature composed between 1550 and 1700. That numerous minor allusions have escaped even so indefatigable a student as Miss Spurgeon is not surprising to any one who has read at all extensively in the abundant and frequently inaccessible printed matter composed during the years under consideration. A few such references unsystematically noted in the course of my reading in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature may, I hope, not only prove of some interest in themselves but lead to the printing of similar "supplements;" for the citations below are, of course, not offered as anything like a complete list of the Chaucer allusions which escaped Miss Spurgeon. Nor is the list as long as I might have made it; since I have omitted sundry passages which appear to be *possible* or *probable* echoes of Chaucer.

1561. Letter from Maitland to Throckmorton, June 10, 1561, quotes the following line from Chaucer (*Calendar State Papers, Foreign* 1561-2, p. 136) and Throckmorton repeats it in his reply (*ibid.*, p. 164):

With empty hand men should no haukis lure.

1576. Lambarde, William. *Perambulations of Kent* (Ed. 1826, p. 176). Discussing the squabble between Edmund Staplegate and others for possession of Manor of Bylsington, Lambarde writes that Edward III had seized the property " (for so much as he [Staplegate] was in his minoritie at the time of the death of Edmund Staplegate his father) and had also committed the custodie of his body to one Iefferay Chawsier, to whom he paid £104. for the same," etc.

1579. Spigurnel, Thomas. Prefatory poem to Anthony Munday's *Mirroure of Mutabilitie*:

For all that Chaucer had great praise  
For penning verse which he did use:

By pratling pen his fame to raise  
 And so to occupy his muse,  
 Yet therein sure he did abuse,  
 His muse, his minde and eke his wit:  
 By leauing things that were more fit.

1580. M., Tho. "To the Reader" prefixed to John Baret's *Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionary*:

From these he turnes, to England home aliuie,  
 His natuie soile, where he was borne and bred,  
 And there with floures he stuffeth first his Hiue,  
 From which he Honie from the best hath shred,  
 From Chaucer, More, from Ascham, and the rest,  
 There floures he cropt, and iuice thereout hath prest.

1586. Political letter of July 7, 1586, from A. B. to Lord Burghley makes a casual reference to "Chaucer's provysey"—"theaft ys made good purchace" (cf. note by Gertrude H. Campbell in *Modern Language Notes* for June 1914, pp. 195-6).

1595. Campion, Thomas. *Thomæ Campiana Poemata* (Works, Ed. Vivian, p. 336):

Vt taceam musas, toto quas orbe silentes  
 Chaucerus mira fecerat arte loqui.  
 Ille Palaemonios varie depinxit amores,  
 Infidamque viro Chressida Dardanio.

- 1600? Goddard, William. Third Satire of his *Dogges from the Antippedes*, printed with his *A Mastif Whelp*:

Woemen I'ue done my worst, toth' worst of men,  
 But now I'le occupie on you my penn.  
 Praie giue me leaue to doo't: *Old Chaucers Iest*  
 With some of you (I knewe) agrees with' best  
 With whom that earnest iest dus best agree  
 Let them (for baudie phrase) finde fault with mee.

1600. Lewkenor, Samuel. *A Discourse . . . of all those Citties wherein doe flourish at this day privilidged Universities*, p. 71 verso. Speaking of the origin of Cambridge, he writes:

For proofe of which opinion hee alleadegeth the authoritie of *John Lidgat Monke of Berrie*, and scholler to that famous Poet, and onely *Homer* of our English nation, *Geffrey Chaucer*, whose verses in old English, as I found them written, I have here underneath set downe.

[A three page quotation from Lydgate follows.]

1601. Percy, William. *Cuck-queanes and Cuckolds Errants*, Act IV, scene 12:

Now if your worship would but give mee your leave, to come upon you, myself, who am (as Chaucer verie adaptly hath applied it) a lewde man.

1602. Manningham, John. *Diary* (Camden Society, p. 11):

All our new corne comes out of old feils, and all our newe learning is gathered out of old bookeſ (Chaucer).

1605. Crosse, Henry. *Vertues Commonwealth* (Ed. Grosart, p. 109):

Farre from the decorum of Chaucer, Gower, Lidgate, etc. or our honourable moderne Poets.

Academici autē, qui hoc vsq; quicquid aut dictū erat, aut factum, ad teretem illā & magni Arbitri eruditam aurem omnia limāsent, vt etiam hominum mīndū eruditorum, & in primis illustrium foeminarum auriculis aliiquid darent, quales inter tot *Phoebus* nostre fulgentes stellas, fuisse aliquas non poterant non suspicari, in *Sydnai* nostri, *Chauceri* scriptis frequentiores, quam *Plauti* aut *Aristoteli* (nec enim omnes, aut *Arabellae* sunt, aut *Luciae*) hoc tempus maximē indicarūt opportunum. . . .

1615. Andrews, John. *The Anatomie of Basenesse*, Sig. B2:

Many yeeres since the famous Chaucer writ,  
that, these same men which beare a double visage,  
are as meere monsters in good Natures linage;  
And for good mens societie vnfitt.

1616. Rid, Samuel. *The Art of Jugling or Legerdemain*, Sig. Fi:

Chaucer in one of his Canterbury tales rehearseth this iest of a cousoning Alcumist.

1618. Gurlyn, Nathaniel. *Certain Elegies Done by Sundrie Excellent Wits. With Satyres and Epigrames*. Gurlyn's commendatory poem to Henry Fitzgeffrey contains the lines:

Permit me then! For Ile Praise what I see  
Deficient heere (thy name Fitz-Ieoffery,)  
Were English Fitz aright, and I ha' done  
So rightly art thou called Ieofferys—Sonne  
Then adde time Age but to thy industry,  
In these againe will liue Old-Ieoffery.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> With this passage should be compared Robert Hayman's verses to Charles Fitz-Geoffrey (cf. Spurgeon, I, 201) and Stephen Haxby's lines to

1620. Anon. *Horae Subsecivae*. Essay titled "Of Affection" contains:

Old Antique words, such as have beene dead, buried, and rotten in the time of our Great Grand-fathers, would become the ghost of *Chaucer* on a Stage, but not a man of the present time.

1626. Vaughan, Sir William. *The Golden Fleece*, Part I, pp. 111-131:

".... Sir Geffrey Chaucer," complains Scotus in his speech before Apollo's court, in his "Plow-man's Tale" (which had enormous influence on reformers—Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, etc.) made the griffon represent Catholicism and the Pelican the Reformed Church. The tale is quoted (pp. 112-121) and Chaucer makes a ten page oration against the Pope (pp. 121-131), which evidently pleased Apollo.

1626. Hawkins, William. *Apollo Shroving*, a drama acted at Hadley, IV, i. One character, commenting on a bit of verse containing the expression "Souse not thy glittering globy eyne," has this to say: "Know'st not what eyne be? I see thou art no Poet, thou hast never read *Chaucer*. Hast thou never heard of eyne twaine?"

1628. Wither, George. *Remembrancer*, Pt. I, p. 194:

And, if uncouth'd, unkist (as Chaucer saies).

1630. Randolph, Thomas. *Aristippus* (Ed. Hazlitt, I, 21):

But I of complexion am wondrous sanguine,  
And will love by th' morrow a cup of wine:  
To live in delight was ever my wone,  
For I was Epicurus his own son,  
That held opinion, that planily delight  
Was very felicity perfite.

(Cf. Prologue to *C. T.*, ll. 333-38).

1634. Jonson, Benjamin. *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (Gifford-Cunningham Ed. of Jonson, III, 221):

A busy man! and yet I must seem busier than I am, as the poet sings.

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him (*ibid.*, p. 216). Cf. also D. W.'s. verses prefixed to Fitz-Geffrey's *Sir Francis Drake* (*ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 48). The D. W., it should be noted, is Degory Wheare (Cf. G. S. M. Smith's "Charles Fitzgeffrey, Poet and Divine," *Mod. Lang. Review*, XIV, 254 f.), the first incumbent of the Camden History Professorship at Oxford (cf. *American Historical Review*, XXVII, 733-37).

1635. Johnson, Edm. *A Quare with a Quare concerning Iohn Quis* appended to John Gower's *Pyrgomachia*:

What John? What Gower? John Gower, Chaucer's friend?  
 He liv'd; & wrote renow'd in times of yore:  
 And now belike, according to the lore  
 Of great Pythagoras, himselfe doth lend.  
 Thus, by Soule-shifting, Vergil's ghost did wend  
 To Spencer's lodge. Who Ovid was before;  
 Is Drayton since. Thus Lucan Fates restore  
 In May. Thus Orpheus soule Quar'l's attend.  
 Let Heralds thee engower when thou wilt brave it:  
 Thy Muse for name; and fame makes *Affidavit.*<sup>\*</sup>

1636. James, Richard. *Iter Lancastreuse*. A marginal note to line 13 (cf. Corser's edition for Chetham Society, p. 1):

Theis were not chief Lords, but free men, whoe after grieve  
 to great worshippe. Whence Chaucer in his character of ye  
 Frankelin—

At sessions there was he Lord and Sire  
 Full ofte there he was Knight of ye Shire.

1637. Whiting, Nathaniel. "Il Insonio Insonnadado" appended to *Albino and Bellama* (*Caroline Poets*, ed. George Saintsbury, III, 544-5).

After mentioning Homer, Ovid, Vergil, etc. in speaking of poets at the court of the gods, he writes:

Amongst the moderns came the Fairy Queen,  
 Old Geoffrey, Sidney, Drayton, Randolph, Greene,  
 The double Beaumont, [ ] Drummond, Browne—  
 Each had his chaplet, and his ivy crown . . .  
 A pregnant witted bard did silence break.  
 Homer 'twas not, he could not see to speak.  
 Vergil it was not, he had got a wrench:  
 Nor B. nor M., for they had got a wench . . .  
 Old Geoffrey's language was not fit for plea.  
 Drayton on's brains a new Moon-calf was getting,  
 And testy Drummond could not speak for fretting.

\* Marginal note reads: "See his *Monument* in *Saint Mary Overyes Church neere London.*"

\* Note that Gower's *Pyrgomachia*, or *The Castle-Combat* itself is a mock-poem written in the meter of *Sir Thopas*: the same is true of R. S.'s (R. Speed?) *The Counter Scuffle. Whereunto is added, the Counter-Ratt* (1635) and "The Pigg" in *The Loves of Hero and Leander: A Mock Poem*, etc. (1653).

Again (*ibid.*, p. 550):

A great while since the cheating miller stole  
 The scholars' meal by a quadruple toll:  
 They gave him th' hornbook, taught his daughter Greek,  
 Yet look in Chaucer—done the other week.  
 Ir'n sinewed Talus with his steely flail  
 Long since i' th' right of justice did prevail  
 Under the sceptre of the Fairy Queen:  
 Yet Spenser's lofty measures makes it green.

1638. Lisle, William. *Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue*, Sig. C<sub>8</sub>:

What late Roman well vnderstood the phrase of their twelue tables? *Tully* himselfe scarce vnderstood the Latine that Laelius spoke: nor wee Chaucers English; nor hee, that was spoken before the conquest. If he did, hee would neuer haue borrowed so many words from abroad, hauing enough and better at home, except it were to please the Prince and Nobles, then all Normanizing, a fine point of Court-rhetorickē for those days. But I have heard that an Englishman Scottizing once to our King, was roundly reproved for it, blessed be his Maiesty that so hateth flattery.

1640. Brathwaite, Richard. *Art asleepe Husband? A Boulster Lecture*, p. 201:

That Wife of Bath, upon whose Tale, at the instancy of some peculiar Friends, wee have by way of Comment, lately annexed some *Illustrations*, could tell you well enough, what would please a woman best.

1648. Bold, Henry. *Marston Ale-House, April 13, 1648* (1664 Ed. of Poems, p. 146):

Then like to Mother Gubbin's mode in Chaucer  
 Sends out the Flagon covered with a Saucer.

1651. Sheppard, S. Third Pastoral appended to his *Epigrams*:

LINUS.

Indeed I know thou lov'st to heare  
 Of nought, but how thy Oxe will beare  
 His yoke, and when thy sheep to sheare  
 That thou mayst make a gainefull yeare,  
 But yet to mee more pleasant is  
 To hear *Tytirus* play I wis  
 Upon his oaten Reed, while hee  
 Doth make delitious mellodie,  
 (As once to *Orpheus* Harp) each tree  
 Does nod, Beats of the wood agree

To cast aside their furious kind,  
And take to them a gentle mind,  
While he records in pleasant verse  
Sweet tales of Love, and doth rehaerse  
His dreames and songs, the stones do move

## CORDON.

O foole with fancies much in love,  
I wot not what *Tytirus* was,  
Nor for his tales and songs, do passe,  
But yet I pray thee let me heare  
Yet more of this fantastick geare,  
If they were Shepheards like as we.

## LINUS.

O *Cordon* that cannot be,  
They passe us Swainlings all as farr,  
As doth the Moon the smallest Star,  
But I to thee will not display  
What I have heard my Father say.  
Next unto *Tytirus* there came  
One that deservd a greater name,  
Then was bestowed, but when she swaid,  
Whom to this day some call a Maid,  
Then *Collin Clout* his pipe did sound,  
Making both Heaven and Earth resound;  
The Shepheards all both farre and near  
About him flock'd his layes to hear,  
And for his songs he was so fam'd,  
He was the Prince of Shepheards nam'd:  
And next to him was the sweet quill  
Of far renowned *Astrophil*  
Admired, who whether that he chose  
To pipe in Verse or else in Prose,  
Was held the bravest swain to be,  
Ere folded Flocks in *Aroadie*:  
After him rose as sweet a Swaine,  
As ever pip'd upon the Plain,  
He sang of Warres, and Tragedies  
He warbled forth, on him the eyes  
Of all the Shepherds fixed were,  
Rejoycing much his songs to hear.  
And thus liv'd He who sweetly sung,  
*Orlando*s fate in his own tongue,  
Who would not deigne t' divulge his own,  
But to another would be known,  
O gentle Shepheard we to thee  
Are bound in a supream degree.

And after him a swain arose,  
 In whom sweet Ovid's spirit chose  
 For to reside, he sang of Love,  
 How Cupid Ladies hearts can move,  
 And each how large the Continent  
 Of Arcadie is in extent,  
 He praised his maker in his Layes,  
 And from a King receiv'd the Bayes.

Yes, Coridon, Ile tell thee then,  
 Not long agoe liv'd learned Ben,  
 He whose songs, they say, out-vie  
 All Greek and Latine Poesie,  
 Who chanted on his pipe Divine,  
 The overthrow of Cataline.  
 Both Kings and Princesses of might,  
 To heare his Layes did take delight,  
 The Arcadian Shepheards wonder all,  
 To heare him sing Sejanus fall.  
 O thou renowned Shepheard, we  
 Shall ne're have one againe like thee.

Then he goes on to praise Shakspere, Beaumont and Fletcher, a "Renowned Laureate," a "Shepheard rag'd in stone" and destined for destruction. Finally he pays a very flattering compliment to Sir John Suckling, ending as follows:

O gentle Shepheard still pipe on,  
 Still take deep draughts of Helicon,  
 And thou'l be rankt I make no doubt  
 With Tytirus and Collin Clout.

1657. Howell, James. *Londinopolis*. Writing of the giant May pole or shaft in Aldgate Ward (p. 55):

Jeffrey Chaucer, writing of a vain boaster, hath these words, meaning of the said Shaft.

Right well aloft, and high ye bear your head,  
 The Weather-Cock, with flying, as ye would kill

That all the street may bear your Body Cloke.

(Cf. words of Stowe quoted by Spurgeon, I, 159).

*Ibid.*, p. 180.

Speaking of Alderney Church in Cordwainer-Street:

Richard Chaucer, Vintner, thought to be the Father of Jeffrey Chaucer the Poet, was a great Benefactor to this Church.

*Ibid.*, p. 355.

Referring to those buried in Westminster Abbey:

And (whom in no wise we must forget) the Prince of English Poets, Geoffrey Chaucer; as also he that for pregnant wit, and an excellent gift in Poetry, of all English Poets came nearest unto him, Edmund Spencer.

1658. Flecknoe, Richard. *Enigmatical Characters*. In character "Of a Busie Body" quotes:

Nowher so bisy a man as he ther nas,  
And yet he semed bisier than he was.

(Cf. Spurgeon, Appendix A, p. 72).

1658. Phillips, Edward. *The New World of English Words*, Sig. A<sub>3</sub> verso:

There will be occasion to peruse the works of our ancient Poets, as Geffry Chaucer the greatest in his time, for the honour of our Nation, etc.

(Cf. Spurgeon, I, 236 and Appendix A, 73).

1659. Anon. *Lady Alimony*, II, v. Lady Caveare complains that her husband has not read "The 'Wife of Bath's Tale,' nor what may please A woman best."

1660. Forde, Thomas. *Familiar Letters*, p. 43.

Not like the merry Scholar in *Chaucer*, that he might lie with the *Carpenters* wife.

1664. Wilson, John. "The Author to the Reader" prefixed to *The Cheats* (ed. Maidment and Logan, p. 13):

To be short . . . there is hardly anything left to write upon but what either the ancients or moderns have some way or other touch'd on. Did not Apuleius take the rise of his *Golden Ass* from Lucian's *Lucius*? And Erasmus his *Alcumestica* from Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*? And Ben Jonson his more happy *Alchymist* from both?

1680. Shadwell, Thomas. *The Woman-Captain*. At the end of the first act servant says to Gripe the userer:

Well said, old *Chaucer*, say I—  
'Twould make one scratch wher' t does not itch,  
To see Fools live poor to die rich.

1684. Lacy, John. *Sir Hercules Buffoon*, III, i. To become a poet the young squire is told to swallow daily two verses

"beginning with Chaucer and through all the poets to Mr. Bayes." Next he is given a pill

Having in it the refined quintessence  
Of wit, true wisdom, and well-worded sense.  
It being wrapt up in two lines of Chaucer.

1686. Jevon, Thomas. *The Devil of a Wife*, Act II, p. 26: Jobson, the cobbler, sings *The Wanton Wife of Bath* attributed to Paul Moore (Spurgeon, Appendix A, p. 54). Ballad also appears as Air X in Charles Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* (1748).

1692. Hacket, John. *Scrinia Recarata*, Pt. II, p. 18:

'Tis custom to Toll a little before a Passing-bell ring out; and  
that shall be done in a Moral strode; as Chaucer calls it.

*Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

Our time honoured Chaucer, in his pretty Fiction of the House  
of Fame, condemns the Giddiness of common Talk, in a very pleas-  
ant Art, . . .

*The University of North Carolina.*

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## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MIDDLE ENGLISH DIALECTS \*

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The abbreviations in this bibliography are, in general, those used by Wells in his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400*, Yale University Press, 1916. No attempt has been made to list here all the dialectal studies of Middle English literary works, inasmuch as the student may consult the references printed by Wells for any particular document; but it has seemed necessary to include monographs of outstanding importance, even if they also appear in the bibliography of the *Manual*. No works on Old English dialects have been included. A few studies (starred) of purely historical interest have been added. Some of the studies listed (with a dagger) the compilers have been unable to examine. In the sections of Part I the arrangement is alphabetical; in the sections of Part II, the arrangement is according to counties, or where this is not possible, according to documents or groups of related documents.

### I

#### GENERAL STUDIES OF SOUND-CHANGE AND DIALECT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

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## II

## SPECIAL STUDIES OF THE DIALECTS

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## RECENT STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT

BY EDWIN GREENLAW

Not all of the books to be mentioned in this review fall within the confines of philology narrowly interpreted, but they contribute in one way or another to the better understanding of problems in which students of literature are interested. Some of them are special studies in limited fields; others survey larger provinces. They are related to one another because each one deals with some phase of the history of thought.

### I

In the first group may be placed studies in the history of the idea of progress. A number of years ago Professor James Harvey Robinson published an extremely valuable syllabus of the intellectual development of western civilization.<sup>1</sup> Various sections of this syllabus dealt with the concept of progress: its late appearance, the slow undermining of the old idea of a descent from a Golden Age, the difficulties imposed by theology, and the gradual evolution of the theory from Bacon to modern times. His bibliography mentioned a number of essays, mostly parts of larger works, which referred to the subject. More systematic is the appendix to R. H. Murray's *Erasmus and Luther*.<sup>2</sup> While the book deals chiefly with the attitude of Erasmus and Luther to toleration, it treats many of the aspects of European thought during the Reformation: the conception of natural law, the influence of the universities, the growth of literary and scientific skepticism. In general, Dr. Murray differs from Smith, who holds that Luther was not a Modern and that Protestants and Catholics alike have been consistently opposed to the march of scientific and social improvement. Murray's point of view is that while Luther's own work tended in many respects to intolerance, its results contributed to the growth of toleration. Similarly, the process of criticism to which Erasmus contributed in the *Praise of Folly*, for example, Dr. Murray holds to have been a necessary and valuable element in the growth of toleration. The result is that though neither of his subjects had any true grasp of the idea of progress, their whole work looked forward, preparing the way. It is this conception that makes the essay on progress which closes the volume much more than an appendix. Theology could not of itself formulate a concept of progress, since it held man's nature to be depraved and

<sup>1</sup> *An Outline of the History of the Western European Mind*. New York: New School for Social Research. Fourth Edition Revised, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> *Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and New York, Macmillan, 1920. "The Conception of Progress in Classical and Renaissance Writers." Pp. 401-446.

man's hope to be in the Atonement, and since it looked for the end of the world in a short time. Humanism could not formulate such a concept, for Dr. Murray finds nothing in classical thought, excepting for some hints in Seneca, that resembles the modern idea. It was not until the seventeenth century that such an idea was formulated; the work of Erasmus and Luther helped prepare the way.

Professor Robinson's syllabus and Dr. Murray's essay are succeeded by Professor J. B. Bury's recent volume entitled *The Idea of Progress*.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Bury makes it clear in his Preface and again in the closing words of his book that he does not deal with his subject as the final reach of the human mind. It may, in time, submit to its own negation of finality. But whether we believe in it or not, the idea of progress is at present the controlling idea of western civilization, and the history of this idea is a matter of importance. Of the nineteen chapters into which the book is divided only the Introduction and the first six chapters deal with the period prior to 1700. The Introduction alone suffices for the period from classical times to the end of the sixteenth century. Neither the ancients nor the men of the Middle Ages formulated any theory of progress. Professor Bury's history, therefore, practically begins with Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, 1566. Erasmus and Luther are not even mentioned, nor is Dante, in spite of the fact that in *De Monarchia* Dante wrote that all we have is based on the labors of the past and our chief duty is to make the world right for posterity, two of the cardinal principles of the idea of progress as formulated by Professor Bury. The tests to which the author subjects the works he passes under review are freedom from authority, from the idea of a controlling Providence, from the idea of degeneration of man and nature, and, on the positive side, a belief in an advance over past times; an avowedly utilitarian motive, including care for posterity; and a sense of an infinite process, having no goal. These tests are fully met, for the first time, in Fontenelle.

Because of its clearness of outline and interesting style the book is immensely stimulating. It provides an outline which is capable of being expanded in many ways, so that we may arrive, in the end, at an interpretation of modern life. Professor Bury limits himself rather narrowly to the philosophers, just as Mr. J. M. Robertson, in his *History of Free Thought*, limits himself almost exclusively to the theologians. To fill in the outline, one needs not only Robertson but also such essays on historiography, for example, as those by Dr. Firth in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. Two other lines of investigation need to be followed out: the new spirit of research, and the relation of all this intellectual activity to literature—scepticism, distrust of authority, toleration, the new philosophical history, the new science. For the first, our histories of education supply little light; they are concerned, in the main, with the history of elementary teaching. The idea of progress is intimately con-

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<sup>8</sup> *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth*. New York: Macmillan, 1921. Pp. 377.

nected with that spirit of research found in Gilbert's tract on his proposed academy, found in abundance in the work of Bacon, in the work of the Royal Society and the writings of its historian, and in the numerous organizations and proposed organizations which flourished in the seventeenth century. And for the second, while Professor Bury treats one phase in his discussion of the debate on Ancient and Modern learning, we must look elsewhere for adequate treatment of the relation of the famous quarrel to the scientific movement on the one hand and to literature on the other. Of even greater importance is the study, neglected by all these writers, of the effect of the new science on the literature of the seventeenth century.

All this is written in no spirit of criticism of Professor Bury's book. His special study was a single phase of the intellectual movement that began with Bacon and Descartes. The great merit of his book is that it follows a new path, or one infrequently travelled, so that the student of literature, for example, may get some relief from the usual discussions of the Cowleyan ode, the end-stopt couplet, and the drift toward romanticism in the eighteenth century.

The last book to be noticed in this group differs from the books by Dr. Murray and Professor Bury in that it is confined to a single phase of the larger problem. The monograph by Dr. Richard F. Jones is ostensibly an inquiry into the sources of the conflict satirized by Swift in *The Battle of the Books*.<sup>4</sup> The study traverses some of the ground covered by Professor Bury, and its great merit is that Dr. Jones, writing independently, has seen the philosophic and scientific significance of the old debate instead of following the usual custom of treating it as a literary quarrel made in France. More accurately, Professor Jones follows suggestions in Rigault, Brunetière, and others, in place of following Macaulay and Saintsbury. This is, in the opinion of the present reviewer, the sounder interpretation.

The monograph is based on three definite stages in the development of the quarrel: "the 'Controversy over the Decay of Nature' with Goodman and Hakewill as opposing heroes; the 'Controversy over the Royal Society,' with Stubbe opposed to Sprat and Glanvill; and the 'Controversy over Ancient and Modern Learning,' wherein Temple and Boyle face Wotton and Bentley." Mr. Jones regards Bacon as the man largely responsible for the quarrel, on the ground that he marks the first important break with antiquity, and "his spirit directed the campaign through the whole of the seventeenth century." From the second of these positions there can be no dissent, although the interpretation Dr. Jones places upon it is perhaps too literal. If the movement which culminated in the Royal Society was one of the two most important aspects of seventeenth century thought (the events leading to the Act of Toleration being the other), that movement was directed by the spirit of Bacon. But it is not so easy to agree with Dr. Jones's first position. Was not Bacon's warfare less clearly directed against antiquity than against scholasticism? Through the

<sup>4</sup>Richard F. Jones, *The Background of "The Battle of the Books."* St. Louis: *Washington University Studies*, viii, pp. 97-162, 1920.

*Advancement of Learning* and *Novum Organum* his constant complaint is not against Aristotle so much as against the tyranny of the schools. "They learn nothing but to believe"; they deal in "vermiculate questions"; they have reduced learning, too soon, to method. In truth, the idea of progress is implicit in Bacon to an extent which Professor Bury does not fully recognize. The first two of Professor Bury's tests are fully stated; the third, the debt to posterity, is not phrased, perhaps, in so many words, but it is hardly less clear. And Dr. Jones seems to err as greatly in representing Bacon as a champion of modern versus ancient, unless by ancient we mean medieval. Bacon's quarrel was with the universities of his own time, not with ancient thought.

So also was the quarrel of the Invisible College of 1645 and of its successor, the Royal Society. In bringing Sprat's eloquent and admirably written book to the attention of students of English literature, Dr. Jones has rendered a great service. It is rarely represented in anthologies. A few critics quote the passage about the fondness of the members of the Society for a severely simple diction; few know the author's passionate praise of learning, his enthusiasm for research, the charm of his style.

Dr. Jones traverses some of the ground covered by Professor Bury, for example, in his treatment of Glanville, Hakewill, Fontenelle, Perrault, and others. But he puts more stress on the English aspects of the theme, and he connects the whole subject with the literary debate in which Dryden and Swift bore leading parts, while Bury's treatment of the literary quarrel is confined to brief comment on Bentley, Temple, and Wotton. By beginning with Murray's *Erasmus and Luther*, proceeding with Bury's *Idea of Progress*, and finally using the stimulating essay by Dr. Jones, the student of the development of English thought will find much that is valuable in itself and suggestive for further work. All of it relates to the origin and growth of the spirit of progress, which has been well defined by a reviewer of Croce's *History* in the *London Times*, as "the rhythm of development itself, which carries us to the point of achievement, and then presents new objects to achieve."

## II

In the second group are placed several books of interest to the specialist and also to the general reader in the history of thought. The first of these is the new edition, in one volume, of Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*.<sup>8</sup> This monumental work, in its original issue in twelve volumes, has been of absorbing interest to all students of early civilization. To give within the compass of a single volume practically the complete work is a service to scholarship of the highest value. The organization of the book is the one already familiar to students who have used the original issue; many chapters are the same in language; the condensation has been effected by the use of a larger and more compact type page and by

<sup>8</sup> *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1922. Pp. 752.

the omission of bibliographies and many of the notes. There is a certain gain in this plan, quite apart from the fact that the book may now find a place in many private libraries from which the original issue was debarred by reason of cost. This gain is in narrative interest, without the interruption of citations of authorities and other scholarly impedimenta. So read, the book is a fascinating story. It is not only a work of profound learning; it is equally distinguished for the dignity and beauty of its style. Meantime, the admirable index guides the searcher for curious bits of folk-lore, while the documents on which the author's thesis is based may be traced in the larger work as needed.

Somewhat akin to this work is the important study of medieval magic recently published by Professor Lynn Thorndike.<sup>\*</sup> This book is the result of twenty years of labor, and will at once be recognized as one of the most admirable products of American scholarship. Frazer's book had previously dwelt on the connection between magic and religion among primitive peoples; Thorndike's deals with the connection between magic and experimental science during later times. Besides its value to students of magic and the occult arts, we have in the two volumes important contributions to the history of medicine, the history of other laboratory sciences, and the biography and bibliography of medieval authors. The bibliographies alone render it indispensable to the student of medieval civilization.

The subject is treated under five "books": The Roman Empire; Early Christian Thought; The Early Middle Age; The Twelfth Century; The Thirteenth Century. In Book I are very full accounts of Pliny and Galen, with briefer but adequate accounts of Seneca, Ptolemy, Plutarch, the Greek alchemists, Apuleius, and others. Book II treats the Book of Enoch, Philo, the Gnostics, the Christian Apocrypha, Origen and Celsus, Physiologus, and Augustine. In Book III some of the chapter headings are Nectanebus, Post-Classical Medicine, Pseudo-Literature in Natural Science; Arabic Occult Science; Latin Astrology, Treatises on the Arts, and Marbod. Books IV and V deal with the remarkable intellectual activity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which a host of scholars appear, with extended treatment of men like Albert and Roger Bacon. Each book is supplied with an adequate index, and it is only necessary to consult this in order to gain an idea of the immense range of Professor Thorndike's researches and the number of topics on which investigators may find discussion and bibliography.

The chief value of the book consists in the bibliographies and the abstracts of manuscripts that are often inaccessible or difficult to procure. There is little interpretation of the vast materials the author has accumulated. At the beginning we are told that magic is a way of looking at the cosmos, which is true enough, and suggests the philosophical aspects

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\* *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era*. New York: Macmillan, 1923. In two volumes, pages 835, 1036.

of the material. Little is made of the fact, and the connection between magic and science is often more arbitrary, as Professor Thorndike presents it, than organic. For the material here gathered for the first time we should all be grateful; but these materials need some interpretation, and Professor Thorndike might have written a better conclusion to his whole work than the one which now stands. The impression left upon the reader of the two volumes is that the Middle Age was vastly more complex than we are in the habit of supposing. A single illustration may be given. Both Murray and Thorndike are correct in protesting against placing too much emphasis upon Roger Bacon's magic. Thorndike, in particular, marshals evidence to show that the greater part of it was pure convention, notions held by numerous predecessors and contemporaries. But besides the 75 or 80 per cent. or the 90 or 98 per cent. of convention there is an element which Albert and Aquinas did not possess. This element is the really significant fact about Roger Bacon, and this Murray recognizes more clearly than Thorndike.

In his Princeton lectures, Maurice de Wulf surveys the medieval period from a different standpoint.<sup>1</sup> Here no such mass of new materials is presented; the author's purpose is to supply an introduction to medieval thought, chiefly from the philosophical viewpoint. His materials are the books written by medieval scholars, and they are drawn chiefly from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Other matters: politics, art, literature, are drawn upon to supply a necessary background, but the book is an exposition and defence of the scholastic philosophy. Students of Francis Bacon, for example, need such a survey, in order not to be led astray by Bacon's hatred of scholasticism and its method.

In his opening chapter, Dr. de Wulf gives some useful hints on the method of investigation. The first requirement, he says, is to learn to think in terms of the period studied. It is impossible to understand a period through its philosophical writings or its literature alone; the history and the culture of the period are essentials. Again, we are not to judge the period as either worse or better than our own, but must refer our study of it to a fixed standard: the dignity and worth of human nature. He protests, throughout the book, against the view that the history of medieval philosophy is a department of the history of religion, and is careful to distinguish between philosophy, based on reason, and theology, based on the idea of revelation. He finds modern ideas in the medieval period, but shows the differences between the ideas of the thirteenth century on the worth of the individual and of his independent life and ideas held in later times. Chapters on the search for unity, on the impersonality of the work of the medieval scholars, on the scholastic philosophy, on individualism and social philosophy, on the theory of the state, on the conception of progress, prepare for an evaluation of the intellectual movement as a whole and a study of the influence of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press, 1922. Pp. 313.

thirteenth century upon later times. The three main doctrines of the scholastic philosophy,—the value of the individual, intellectualism, and moderation,—are set over against pantheism, neo-Platonism, and all mystical thought. Because these doctrines had their clearest exposition in the thirteenth century, the author regards that period as "the watershed of European genius in its diverging flow."

The problem of the most effective form for the publication of brief monographs is a serious one. With the multiplication of research journals, each of which covers the entire field of linguistic and literary investigation, scholars find it increasingly difficult to keep up with the current publications in their respective fields. The difficulty consists not in the number of pages to be read but in finding the pages. The medievalist, for example, could keep up with research in his field if all of it in any one year were bound in one or more volumes instead of being distributed through scores of journals and university publications. One solution of the difficulty is found in the recent publication of a volume entitled *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*.<sup>\*</sup> This volume consists of sixteen essays, all of them dealing with medieval subjects; and supplied with bibliographies and notes. The first three papers deal with folk-lore and romance. "Arthur in Avalon and the Banshee," by Professor Loomis, discusses various analogues of the Coming of Arthur as a preparation for the theme of Arthur in Avalon, which is connected with the story of Fraech in the *Book of Leinster* and with folk-superstitions in which the idea of return has disappeared and the bean-sidh or banshee is a messenger of death. In this form the superstition still clings to old and great families. Professor Beckwith's essay on "Polynesian Analogues to the Celtic Otherworld and Fairy Mistress Themes" is closely related to the preceding article, and is an illustration of the way in which research in folk-superstition among contemporary tribes that are still untouched by conventional civilization may contribute to the study of historical folk-lore. The third article in this group, by Professor Peebles, is entitled "The Dry Tree: Symbol of Death," and shows the long life of this superstition from a Babylonian cylinder seal of 2000 B. C. to wide currency in the thirteenth century and later.

A second group of essays deals with such literary problems as "Elements of Comedy in the English and Scottish Ballads," by Professor Winifrid Smith; "Homely Realism in Mediaeval German Literature," by Professor Fiske; and "Queen of Mediaeval Virtues: Largesse," by Professor Whitney; together with source studies like "Chaucer and Machaut's *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*," by Professor Kitchell, and "The Original of Hoccleve's 'Ballad to the Virgin and Christ,'" by Professor Sandison. Studies in literatures other than English are further represented by Professor

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\* *Vassar Mediaeval Studies: By Members of the Faculty of Vassar College*. Edited by Christabel Forsyth Fiske. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923. Pp. 493.

Coulter's essay on "The Genealogy of the Gods," and "Classical Elements in the *Gesta Romanorum*," by Professor Bourne. These studies represent work by scholars in English, German, French, and the classics; a unique feature of the volume is the inclusion, among philological studies, of articles representing other interests. There are two groups of this sort; one of them historical and the other illustrative of science and the arts. To the first belong the valuable study of "Litigation in English Society," by Professor Baldwin, who discusses the social side of litigation and the large place held by law in the life of the people; "On the Burning of Books," by Professor Brown, which is a study of the policy of "fighting ideas by the method of extermination," with apposite modern applications; and Professor Thallon's article on "A Mediaeval Humanist: Michael Alkominatos." Science and the arts are represented by the discussion of "An Italian Mathematical Manuscript," by Professor Cowley; "The Realism of Gothic Sculpture," by Professor Tonks; and "Foretokens of the Tonal Principle," by Professor Dickinson.

It is impossible, within the limits of a brief review, to give an adequate summary of this most interesting volume. The extraordinary thing about it is the sense of unity one gets from reading it through: it is really a book, not a heterogeneous collection of papers. As an example of collaborative scholarship, the sort of work now being fostered by the Group system of the Modern Language Association, it is inspiring. The example of the Vassar scholars may be commended to other groups, and the enlightened policy which led to the publication, in a single volume, of essays related to each other through their study of a great culture-period as viewed from the standpoint of the folklorist, the philologist, and the student of history or of the arts, may be commended to other university authorities who wish not merely to make the results of investigation known, but to make them effectively known.

The last book to be noticed deals with the transition from medieval to modern times. Like the preceding volume, it is a collection of essays, this time by one scholar. Professor Tilley's work on various aspects of the French Renaissance is too widely known to require special comment; the present volume will add to his high reputation.\* Of the eleven essays in the book, three relate to Rabelais and one to the influence of Montaigne, while the most valuable of the essays, under the title "Follow Nature," combines the two great writers in a study of unique value to every student of literature.

The opening essay deals with the University of Caen and its relation to early French humanism. This is followed by a study of the prose chivalric romances, which in turn is succeeded by the important essay on Rabelais and Geographical Discovery. Here Professor Tilley shows the interest of Rabelais in French exploration in America, his use of the

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\* *Studies in the French Renaissance*. By Arthur Tilley. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. 331.

*Novus Orbis* of Grynæus, his acquaintance with the work of Cartier and his use of all this material in his account of the search for the Northwest passage. In "Humanism Under Francis I" many facts are given concerning migrations of humanist scholars from one university to another, the almost superstitious reverence for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the interest in science. The whole is related to Rabelais' *Pantagruel*, which is a sort of history of contemporary French humanism. The essay on Gallot du Pré, an early sixteenth century bookseller, gives many facts concerning the book-trade and early printing, and is accompanied by an excellent bibliography. "Doret and the Pleiade" draws an engaging portrait of an inspiring teacher of the classics and discusses the origin of the Pleiade. The important study entitled "Follow Nature" criticizes Brunetièrē's theory of a philosophy of nature developed by the libertins of the early seventeenth century. Professor Tilley treats the injunction as an aspect of the ethical discussion, Epicurean in origin, of early humanists like Vittorino and Valla. By the opening of the sixteenth century the theory was applied to the American Indian. For example, Amerigo di Vespucci's widely circulated account of his third voyage describes the natives as living "according to nature" and says they "may be called Epicureans rather than Stoicks." More's *Utopia* was suggested, in part, by Vespucci's accounts of his voyages and in it the injunction, "Live according to Nature" plays a considerable rôle.

In his recent book on Molière,<sup>10</sup> Professor Tilley emphasizes the great dramatist as a writer of comedy—"not of tragedy dressed up as comedy—but of real comedy, meant to evoke laughter and resting upon the broad and secure foundation of humour and common sense."

<sup>10</sup> *Molière*. By Arthur Tilley. Cambridge University Press, 1921.  
Pp. 363.













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